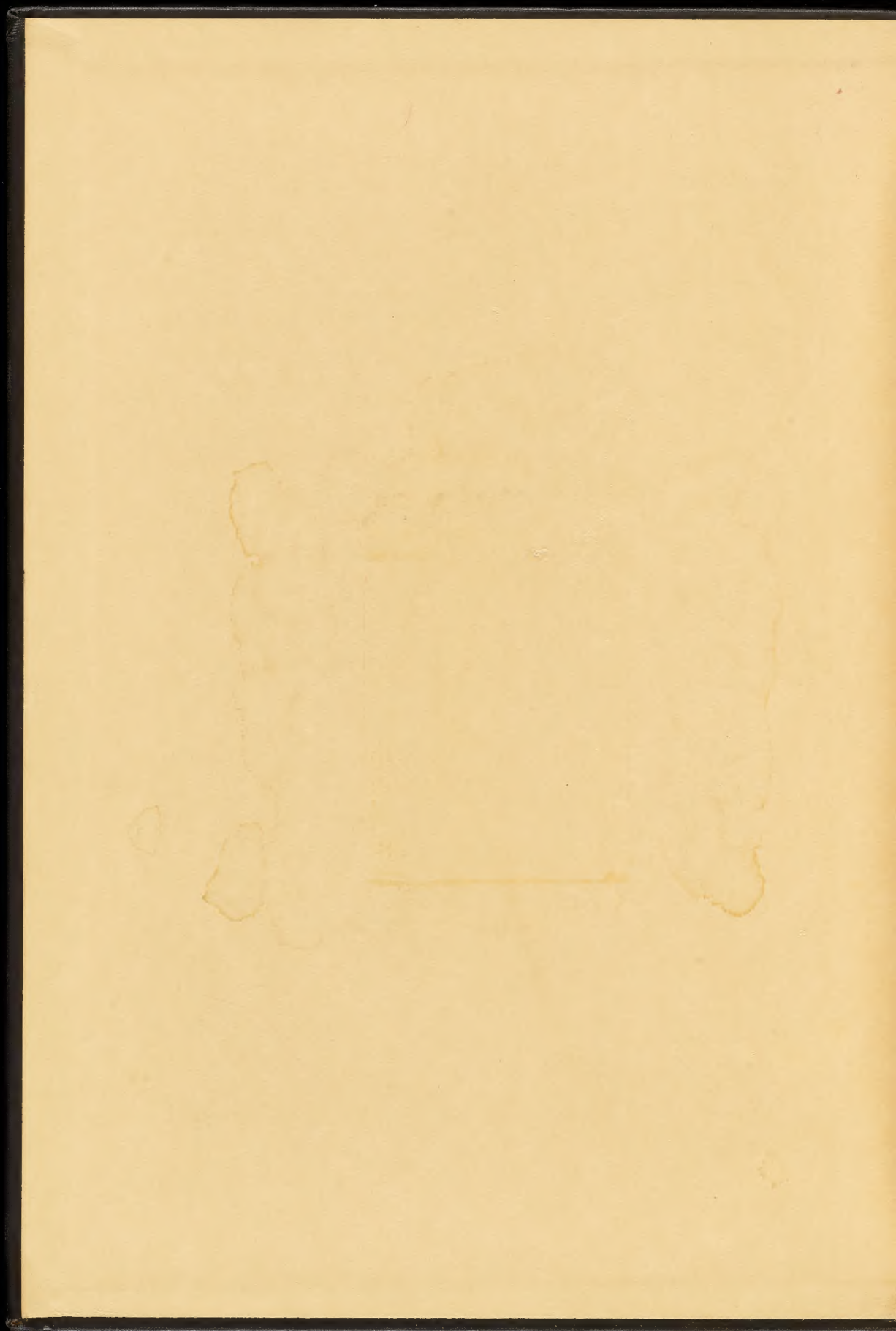


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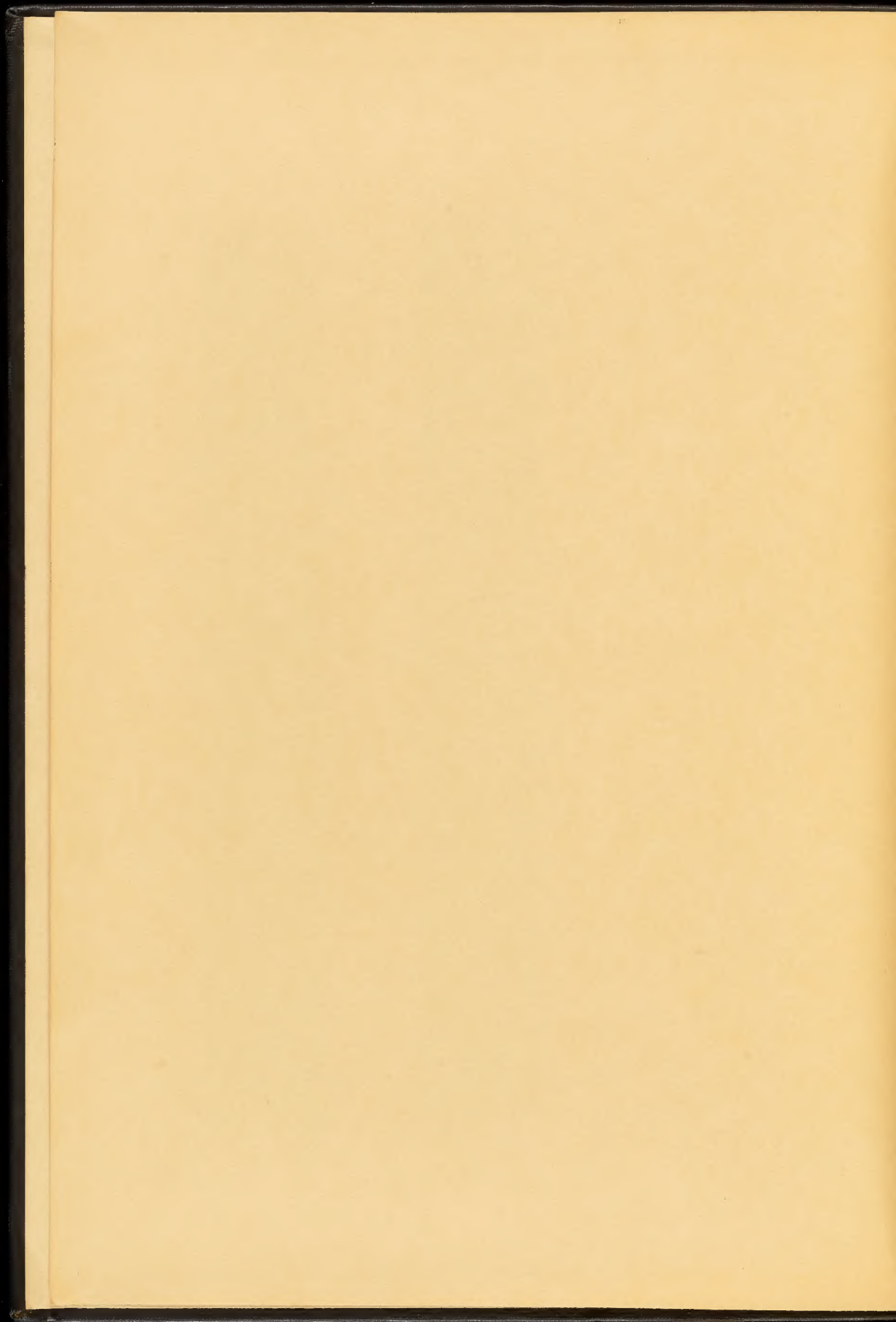








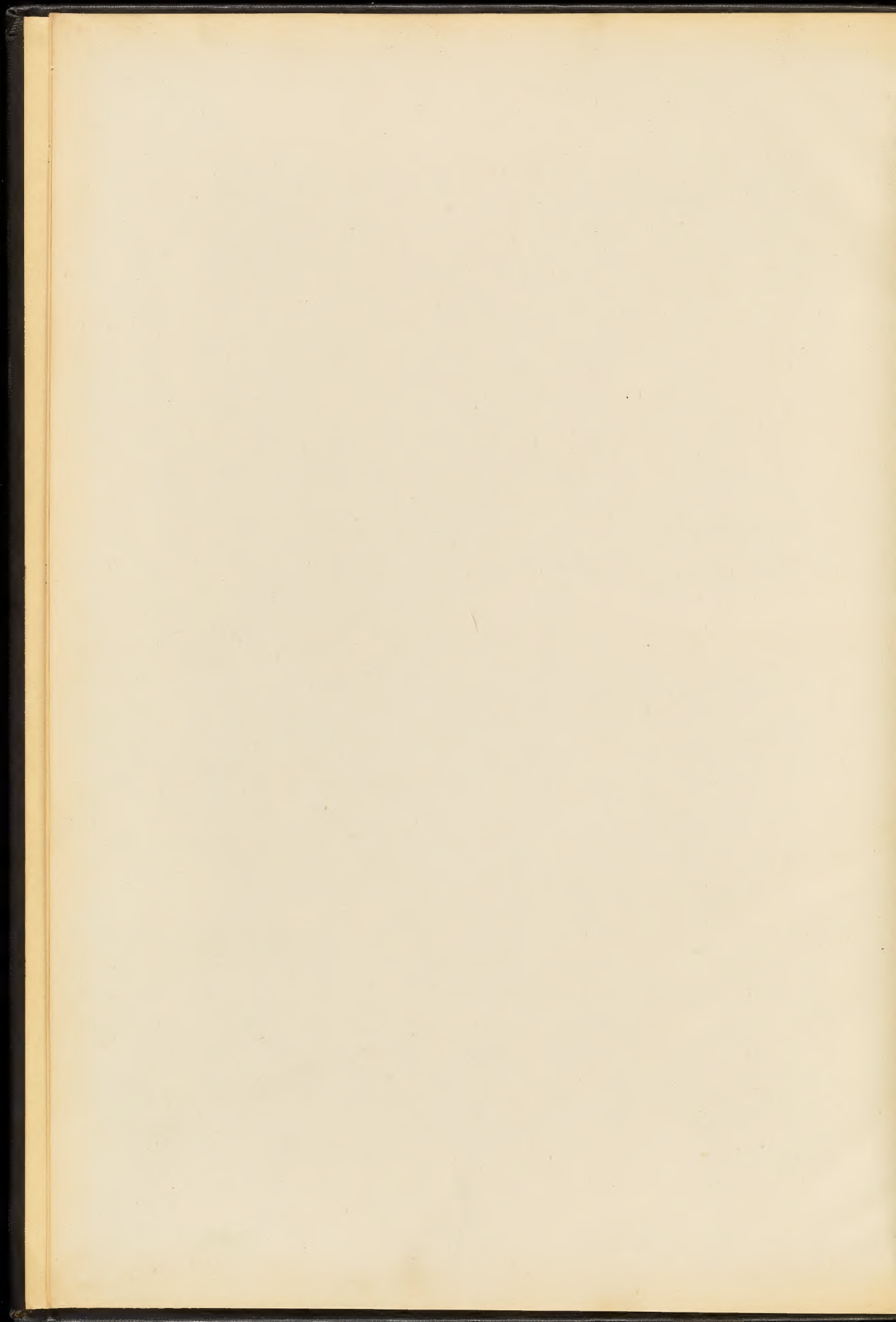














# THE OLD-NORTHERN RUNIC MONUMENTS

OF SCANDINAVIA AND ENGLAND,

NOW FIRST

COLLECTED AND DECIPHERED

BY

DR. GEORGE STEPHENS, F. S. A.,

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WITH MANY HUNDREDS OF FACSIMILES AND ILLUSTRATIONS, PARTLY IN GOLD, SILVER, BRONZE AND COLORS;

RUNIC ALPHABETS; INTRODUCTIONS; APPENDICES; WORDLISTS, ETC.

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GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED  
TO THE  
LEARNED EVER-TOILING AUTHOR  
OF  
"THE SCULPTURED STONES OF SCOTLAND",

JOHN STUART, LL. D.,

SECRETARY TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.

IN MEMORIAM.

1813—1877.



## FOREWORD.

Fifteen years have fled since Vol. 2 of this work left the press. As was likely, fresh Old-Northern finds have come in, often from undreamt of quarters, and some of them wondrous costly. I am therefore now able to spread out, at the feet of the many men and women who deeply love our Northern mother-tong, another armful of new laves bearing its words in one or other of its manifold shire-talks.

In so doing, I have tried to better mistakes, and to add details where needful. For *new* material usually throws light on the *old*. Ever painfully creeping on, we gradually see more strongly and clearly the outlines of this winning but hard field of word-lore. Now and then, a rare fault has been spotted in my drawings of the objects themselves. In every such case the engravings have been corrected and repeated in the text. So also, occasionally, I have been led to alter *the date* provisionally assigned to the pieces handled.

To give my reader the benefit of all this, I have arranged *all* both first-printed and now-added Rune-bearers — wherever they happen to stand in the folios — in one time-flow, as in my 4to HANDBOOK, publisht at the same time; but so as to lose no room worth speaking of. *Every* piece will therefore be found in its right place as to presumed date, those *not* altered craving only a line or two. Still, the study of Rune-lore will go on, new truths will be seized, and some of my versions or datings may have to give way. I am only a Pioneer.

Nevertheless, generally speaking, I look on my system of transliteration and translation as unshaken, and as abundantly strengthened by these additional stores. Any doubt could only remain while the material was so small. The final result is now sharply and distinctly enough (as was so reasonable on the mere ground of Comparative Philology), what I have pointed out so often — that, in the very early period to which these rune-scripts chiefly belong, say the first 700 winters after Christ, the *Scando-Anglic* dialects, in all essentials, were in much the same stage of development as *all the other* same-time Scando-Gothic folk-tungs. Consequently, those *peculiarities* which *now* stamp the *Scandinavian* branches of the great Scando-Gothic tree *are of later local growth*. The chief of them are even *younger than the Wiking period*. They are therefore never found in Anglic Britain, which was chiefly planted by Northmen in the 2nd and following centuries, and was half re-planted by them in the 9th and 10th. The great truth remains, that the master-key to Scandinavian linguistics is the careful study of the oldest North-English, in connection and contrast with the conservative South-English dialects. This alone will enable us to follow the same general movements in



the mother-land and the colony, tho the colony never followed the Middle-Scandinavian in such local novelties as a Post-article and a Passive or Middle Verb, and the like.

But we are never too old to learn. None can be more willing than I to give up his opinions in whole or in part, whenever it can be shown by FACTS — to which alone I bow — that I have been mistaken<sup>1</sup>. Meantime I only need refer to my rapid summing-up in my Vol. 1, pp. VII—XIX.

For the friendly help given me by so many large-hearted men, I must thank again and again. Their names and deeds are chronicled in the text. I am also most obliged to my artists for valuable assistance in my need, often at inconvenience to themselves. And I do not forget to acknowledge the taste and care shown by my Printer, Hr. A. Thiele, whose patience and ingenuity my book has often tried.

My first 2 bands held about 175 of these runic on-livers. The tale is now swollen by more than 70 others, making a total of nearly 250 Old-Northern pieces. Of this number England, the colony, shows *nearly one-third as many as all the other Northern folk-lands put together*. This is most cheering, and we may hope that yet other finds are toward, a gleesome boon to us or our children.

The printing of this band began Feb. 1879, and ended Feb. 1884. Hence its many unevennesses, notes, additions, betterings and so on<sup>2</sup>. Could not be helpt. The Index will put all this right, and must be incessantly consulted.

It is likely that *new* "last finds" may come in, but not that I shall be spared to handle them. If I am — I will. If not — I leave them to better hands.

*Cheapinghaven, Denmark. Feb. 15, 1884.*

GEORGE STEPHENS.

<sup>1</sup> "Nous demandons à la science plus de mesure et de sobriété, et savons nous résoudre à ignorer." — *M. L. de Valroger*. *Les Barbares et leurs Lois*. 8vo. Paris 1867, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> Jan. 25, 1884. TWO BETTERINGS MO! — *TANG stone*, p. 484. A note from my learned correspondent Adjunkt Torin has this moment reached me. He says that I have misunderstood him, and that a piece of the stone is broken away at the top, above the left line. If so it would give room for about 4 runes, sufficient for the name. But what would then the 2 picture-marks mean? I therefore think that the slab here has been raw and jagged ("broken" if we will) and therefore past over by the rune-cutter, as so often in such cases. — P. 488. SPÄRLÖSA, under the low-down word KN-FELIKI. Compare also the end of the *East Gårdstånga* block, Frosta Härad, Skåne, Sweden, No. 1416 in Liljegren's *Ran-arkunder*, which is taken from Worm's *Monumenta* p. 169. As far as I know, it has not been independently engraved since Worm's day. The copy in "The Reliquary", Vol. 10, London 1869, p. 8. 8vo. (as to whose source the writer, the Rev. G. Dodds, is silent) is doubtless a free sketch from Worm's woodcut. But a separate drawing, from "Presterskapets Berättelse", is in the Collections of the late Prof. C. Sæve, now in the Upsala Bookboard. It substantially agrees with Worm. The seemingly correct grave-runes read:

PULFR UK ULFR RUSPU STINO PISI CPTIR OSMUT, LIFA FILAKA SIN.  
 THULF (= THORULF) EKE ULF (= WOLF) RAISED STONE THIS AFTER OSMUND, LIEF FELLOW SIN  
 (their dear weapon-brother).

Worm translates STINO PISI as an ac. sing., Rafn (*Piræus* p. 180) as an ac. pl. If in the plural, which may be, the fellow-stone is lost.

## BETTERINGS TO VOLS. I AND II.

### FOREWORD.

P. XXXVII. — Mr. Gilpin, in his "Remarks on Forest Scenes", says that he has "oftener than once met with the following tender elegiacs in churchyards in Hampshire:

"*Him* shall never come again to *us*,  
But we shall surely one day go to *he*."

*M. Schele de Vere. Studies in English. 8vo. New York, 1867. p. 243.*

Shortly after the appearance of my work, the heretical beer-seller received a hint, and the "Københavnke" inscription was at once silently painted over. We now read the usual "correct":

"BEVERTNING  
OG  
OLHANDEL."

P. LXIII. — The first (Christian) technical example of this I in law-documents which I have seen, is in a Latin Bill of Sale (now in the Vatican library) of the year 539, where the seller signs "EGO Deutherius". See Maffei, *Istoria Diplomatica*, 4to. Mantova 1727, p. 153.

From a yet earlier Latin Deed of Gift to the Church at Ravenna — written before an. 476 — where (see Maffei p. 145) "Armatus v d [— vir devotus] Scolar" acts as *Scribe* and Witness, it is evident that the M. Gothic BOKAREIS in such documents answers to the above Latin SCOLARIS, and means something like a *Courtscribe* or *Lawyer's Clerk*, probably a lower ecclesiastic. Witnesses who sign "pal scl" [ Palatinus scholaris] were, according to Maffei, p. 165, soldiers of the Guard, Palace Officers.

P. LXIV. — My friend Prof. S. Bugge informs me (Dec. 1868) that he has examined the Tingvold stone, and that it bears ALLÀ *not* OLLA and MINNAR I *not* MINNRI.

P. LXIX, l. 15. — For **F** read **N**.

### INTRODUCTION.

#### WAYSIDE HINTS.

"Selon nous la première chose à faire dans les questions de l'espèce, et j'ajouterai même dans toutes les questions, c'est de remonter d'abord à la source; et avant la discussion théorique, d'en venir à une vérification matérielle. Malheureusement c'est ce qu'on ne fait presque jamais; et l'on préfère écrire pendant huit jours pour démontrer qu'une chose ne peut pas être que d'employer une heure à se convaincre qu'elle est." — *Boucher de Perthes, Antiquités Celtiques et Antédiluviennes. Vol. I. Paris 1847, p. 267.*

"Language is a natural production, living and growing, as much as a tree or flower; and no natural development can be called a corruption. The only corrupters of dialects, that I know of, are the *literary men* who 'improve nature', by writing them, not as they *are*, but according to their notions of what they *ought to be* — i. e., in accordance with "rules of grammar" derived from other languages [for instance the peculiar and comparatively modern Icelandic] with which they may be acquainted. As though grammar were anything but a systematic statement of usage! What would be thought of the botanist who should mutilate his specimens of flowers and plants to improve their symmetry, or make them fit into pre-arranged artificial systems, instead of following nature, and drawing his laws and systems from her!" — *Prince L. L. Bonaparte*, quoted by James A. H. Murray, in his "The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland", London 1873, p. 75, note 1. 8vo.

"It is customary to speak of Scotch [the North-English spoken in Scotland] as one dialect (or language), whereas there are in Scotland several distinct types, and numerous varieties of the Northern tongue, differing from each other markedly in pronunciation, and to some extent also in the vocabulary and grammar. The dialects of adjacent districts pass into each other with more or less of gradation, but those of remote districts (say, for example, Buchan, Teviotdale, and Ayr) are at first almost unintelligible to each other, and, even after practise has made them mutually familiar, the misconception of individual words and phrases leads to ludicrous misunderstandings." — *James A. H. Murray*, l. c. p. 77.

"Imposer à la langue des règles tirées de la raison générale et abstraite telle que chaque époque conçoit cette raison, conduit facilement à l'arbitraire. Un dictionnaire historique coupe court à cette disposition abusive. Comme il consigne les faits, il remplit, quant à la langue, le rôle que remplissent les observations positives et les expériences quant aux sciences naturelles. Ces faits ainsi donnés, l'analyse, j'allais dire la raison grammaticale, s'y subordonne, et, en s'y subordonnant, trouve les vraies lumières. Il faut en effet transporter le langage des sciences naturelles dans la science des mots, et dire que les matériaux qu'elle emploie sont les équivalents des faits expérimentaux, équivalents sans lesquels on ne peut procéder ni sûrement ni régulièrement. Puis intervient le rôle de la critique lexicographique et grammaticale, s'efforçant de tirer de ces faits toutes les informations qui y sont implicitement renfermées. De la sorte la raison générale se combine avec les faits particuliers, ce qui est le tout de la méthode scientifique." — *Litttré*. Dictionnaire de la Langue Française. Préface.

"Ce qui est vrai pour les anciennes monnaies, comme aussi pour les œuvres de l'architecture, ne l'est pas moins en ce qui touche les monuments de l'épigraphie. A chaque lieu nouveau qu'il visite, l'antiquaire voit varier les formules, les symboles, l'écriture, la disposition, les ornements des marbres. Indifférentes en apparence, ces dissemblances si marquées méritent d'être étudiées avec soin. Nées parfois de la diversité des temps, aussi bien que de celle des lieux, elles peuvent guider dans la restitution des textes, accuser la nationalité des personnages, l'âge des inscriptions, apporter même des documents pour l'histoire des idées." — (*Le Blant*, Hist. des Inscriptions antérieures au 8<sup>me</sup> siècle. 4to, t. 2, p. 152. Paris 1865). — See also his valuable details on his next-following pages.

Words or word-forms sometimes undergo a change, take a rush and become fixt and fashionable and orthodox, within a single generation or even less. We have many curious examples of this. I will mention one, as being so modern. In Act 2 Sc. 2 of Shakespear's *Merry Wives of Windsor*, in the first edition, 4to, 1602. Falstaff says to Ford:

"you shall  
And you will, enioy Fords wife."

The 2nd 4to (in 1619) and the amended and enlarged play in the first folio of 1623 both change AND into IF, and IF it still remains.

Now this old word AN or AND, now almost dead in English, as also in Scandinavia where it once was so familiar, was abundantly common in our older English, but rapidly fell away in the 17th century. In his valuable reprint of this 1st 4to (London 1842, 8vo.) Mr. J. O. Halliwell says concerning the above change (at p. 62): "The edition of 1619 reads, 'if', and the same correction has been made in other places, showing a change in the language in *seventeen* years only."

In *The Geographical Magazine* (4to. London August 1876, p. 201) is a "Migration map", of Great Britain and Ireland, each County colored. It shows that of the persons born in each county there were then living in other counties of the same kingdom from 1 to over 40 per cent! Such things



have always been the same, more or less, everywhere. The mixture and modification of language and dialect from this cause alone will be immense, especially in times where all is uncentralized and floating and unfixed.

In the following extract "Germania", as explained by the author himself, is = *Scando-Gothia*, "Teutonicus" is = *Scando-Gothia*, and "Dani" is = *the later Scandinavian or Wiking* conquests and settlements in Britain. — "Postea verò, quum *Anglo-Saxones* Germaniæ item populus, (si saltem Germaniæ fines, quod aliqui faciunt, eò usque extendere liceat, ut Danos etiam & Norwegios comprehendant) in Britanniam pervenerunt, — — — — — Erat autem illa Anglo-Saxonum lingua antiquæ Teutonicæ propago, ut & Francica illa in Galliam advecta, & hodierna Germanica, Belgica, Danica, Sverica, Borussica, aliæque affines linguæ. Et ferè pura mansit in Angliâ, seu impermixta, usque ad *Normanorum* tempora; nisi quod voces aliquot Cambricas admisit, ut & Cambrica vice-versâ ex hac nonnullas. Quamvis enim *Dani* interim hic pedem posuerunt, nulla tamen inde linguæ immutatio secuta est, nam & eorum lingua vel planè eadem erat vel saltem maximè affinis." — *Johannis Wallis Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae. 8vo. Hamburg 1688. Prof. p. 7.*

"An enthusiastic philosopher, of whose name we are not informed, had constructed a very satisfactory theory on some subject or other, and was not a little proud of it. „But the facts, my dear fellow", said his friend, "the facts do not agree with your theory." — "Don't they", replied the philosopher, shrugging his shoulders, "then, tant pis pour les faits"; — so much the worse for the facts." — *Ch. Mackay. Memoirs of extraordinary Popular Delusions. 8vo. Vol. 3, London 1841, p. 313.*

"One curious fact about English is, that many idioms found in the oldest books disappear for hundreds of years, and then crop up again. — — — — — It is the same with words."

*T. L. K. Oliphant. The Old and Middle English. 8vo. London 1878, p. 47.*

"The resources of language are truly wonderful." *Id. p. 70.*

"We have already lost enough and too much of the good Old English." *Id. p. 72.*

"Senere politiske Begivenheder kan ingen Indflydelse have på Behandlingen af Skandinavernes fælles Ejendom."

*Later political events can have no influence on the way we should handle the common heirlooms of all the Scandinavians.*

H. K. RASK. Ms. note by him in a copy of Nyerup's "Verzeichniss", which had belonged to his brother Rasmus Kr. Rask. At p. 15.

## RUNIC LITERATURE.

Continuation from p. 12—14, 827.

Prof. F. E. C. DIETRICH. Inschriften mit Deutschen Runen auf den Hannöverschen Goldbracteaten und auf denkmälern Holsteins und Schleswigs. (Germania. 10ter Jahrg. 3tes Heft. 8vo. Wien 1865. pp. 257—305).

Prof. F. DIETRICH. Die Runeninschriften der Goldbracteaten entziffert und nach ihrer geschichtlichen bedeutung gewürdigt. — Die Burgundische Runeninschrift von Charnay. (Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum herausg. v. Moriz Haupt. Neue Folge. Ersten Bandes erstes Heft. 8vo. Berlin 1866. pp. 1—123). — Drei altheidnische Segensformeln (i. l. I B.'s 2es Heft. pp. 193—217).

Prof. F. E. C. DIETRICH. Runeninschriften eines gothischen Stammes auf den Wiener Goldgefässen des Banater Fundes. (Mit einer lithogr. Tafel). Germania. 11ten Jahrg. 2tes Heft. 8vo. Wien 1866. pp. 177—209.

Prof. F. DIETRICH. Sieben deutsche runeninschriften aus Baiern, Franken, der Mark-Brandenburg und Braunschweig. (Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum herausg. v. Moriz Haupt. Neue Folge. Zweiten Bandes erstes Heft. 8vo. Berlin 1867. pp. 73—123).

- Prof. MULLENHOFF. Über das Abecedarium Nordmannicum. (i. l. pp. 123—133).
- B. V. HEAD. Anglo-Saxon Coins with Runic Legends. (In Numismatic Chronicle, New Series, part of Vol. 8, London 1868).
- "Bidrag til Tydning af de ældste Runeindskrifter. II. Af SOPHUS BUGGE". (Tidskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik. VII, 4. Kjøbenhavn 1868. pp. 312—363).
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- Rev. D. H. HAIGH. Miscellaneous Notes on the Old-English Coinage. (Numismatic Chronicle, London, 1869. 8vo).
- J. J. A. WORSAAE. Om Forestillingerne paa Guldbracteaterne. Et Tydningsforsøg. (Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. 8vo. 1870. Kjøbenhavn. pp. 382—419, Pl. 14—23).
- "The copies of some runic stones. By GEORGE STEPHENS". (Tidskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik. VIII, 4. Kjøbenhavn 1870. 8vo. pp. 307—9).
- D. H. HAIGH. The Runic Monuments of Northumbria: A paper read at the meeting of the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire, at the Cutler's Hall, Sheffield, on Friday, April 29, 1870. 8vo.
- "Bemærkninger om Runeindskrifter paa Guldbrakteater. Af SOPHUS BUGGE". (Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1871, Kjøbenhavn. pp. 171—226).
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- E. JESSEN. Noter til Hr. Etatsraad J. J. A. Worsaaes Foredrag om Forestillinger paa Guldbracteaterne. 8vo. Kjøbenhavn 1871. pp. 1—15.
- "De ældste Runeindskrifter sproglige Stilling. Af KONR. GISLASON. II". (Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. 8vo. Kjøbenhavn 1871. pp. 353—372).
- Geschichtliche Forschungen von ADOLF HELFFERICH. 1. Frankfurt A. M. 1871. 8vo. — Chapter 6 (pp. 202—231) bears the title: "Die Alphabete in ihrem Verhältniss zu den Runen".
- Dr. C. HOFMANN. "Ueber die Clermonter Runen", in "Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. und histor. Classe der k. k. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu München". 1871. Heft. VI. pp. 665—676. — München 1871. 8vo
- KARL TORIN. Westergötlands Runinskrifter. 1sta (2dra) Samlingen. Lund 1871 (7). 8vo. — Text and Plates. — Also as part of: Westergötlands Fornminnesförenings Tidskrift. 2dra (3dje) H. Lund 1872 (7).
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- "Veblungsnæs-Indskriften. Af SOPHUS BUGGE". (In Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. 1872. P. 3. pp. 192—196).
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- D. H. HAIGH. Notes in Illustration of the Runic Monuments of Kent. (From "Archæologia Cantiana", vol. 8. London 1873. 8vo).
- "Runeskriftens Oprindelse og Udvikling i Norden. Af LUDV. F. A. WIMMER". (In Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. 1874. Kjøbenhavn. 1ste og 2det Hefte. pp. 1—270. With plates).
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Dr. L. LINDENSCHMIT. Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen vorzeit. Mainz 1874. Vol. 3. Part 4. (Plate and description of the Frei-laubersheim Fibula). 4to.

GEORGE STEPHENS. En Svensk Historisk Run-brakteat. (Pp. 47—64 of "Svenska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift". Vol. 3, Part: 1. Stockholm 1875. 8vo).

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L. F. A. WIMMER. Les Habitants du Nord Scandinave dans l'Age du Fer. (In "Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistoriques. Comte-Rendu de la 4e Session. Copenhague. 1869". Copenhague 1875. 8vo. pp. 410—425).

Indberetning til direktionen for det kgl. norske videnskabers-selskab om en med dets stipendium foretagen antikvarisk undersøgelsesreise i sommeren 1874. Af INGVALD UNDET. (Printed in "Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskabs Skrifter". Vol. 8, Part 2. Thronhjelm 1875. 8vo. pp. 19—36). Contains the Vatn stone.

Rune-inskriften paa Ringen i Forsa Kirke i Nordre Helsingland. Udgivet og tolket af SOPHUS BUGE. 4to. Christiania 1877. (Overprint of Christiania Universitets Festskrift i anledning af Upsala Universitets Jubilæum i September 1877). Pp. 58, and facsimile of the runes.

On Runic Inscriptions discovered at Thornhill. By the Rev. D. H. HAIGH. (Overprint from the Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 1877). Pp. 40, with engravings.

Dr. L. LINDENSCHMIT. Die Alterthümer unserer Heidnischen Vorzeit. Vol. 3, Pts 7, 8. 4to. Mainz 1877. Engraving and text of the 2nd Nordendorf Runic Fibula.

O. RYGH og SOPHUS BUGE. En i Norge funden Spænde med Runeindskrift fra Mellemjernalderen. (Aarbøger for Nord. Oldk. 1878, pp. 59—72. Kjobenhavn). The Fonnås Brooch.

RUD. HENNING. Die Runen auf der Spange von Vimose. (Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum. Vol. 22. 8vo. Berlin 1878. pp. 311—316).

P. J. COSIJN. Het Burgundische Runenopschrift van Charnay. (Taalkundige Bijdragen. 1ste Deel. Harlem 1877. 8vo. pp. 273—277).

## THE LANGUAGE OF THESE MONUMENTS IS OLD, AND IT IS NORTHERN.

P. 21. — I now take the *UITRINT* of the Tillidse stone and the sideward *UITRIK* on the Sandby stone, like the *UITRIK* of the Yttergård stone, Upland, to be = *honor-stone*, *rune-minne*, and *UAN* on these and the Ballestad stone to be = *WAN* FORTH, MADE, RAISED. I therefore now fill up:

I MUN SAN (stanha,  
meþ stain hafr lif,  
UITRIK SUSI  
IR UAN SIL(fa).

AYE MUN (shall) SOOTH (true) (stand,  
mith (while) the-stone hath) LIFE,  
WITTRING (rune-mark) THIS  
AS (which) WAN (raised) SILFA.

See my article on the Yttergård stone, Upland, Sweden, in Runa, Part. 6, fol. Stockholm 1873, p. 94.

P. 33. — For OSUAN read OSUAR.

P. 37. — On the 2 Måstad stones, Upland, (Lilj. 89, 90, Dybeck, folio, 139, 273), FASTBIURN and BURUN on the one (FASTBIURN and DURUDR on the other) raise the stone in memory of their lord (BUANTA) INKIFAST. — KUD HIALBI HONT on the one, KUD HIALBI HONS ANT on the other.



P. 38, 917, 977, 979. — As to the various popular spellings of the word *ENGLAND*, and the frequent slurring of the *N*, I will give an English example from a Song in a Ms. of the 15th century now in the British Museum. The last verse ends:

"and cryst saue mery yglon, and spedyt well".

See Mr. Furnivall's transcript of this Carol in *Notes and Queries*, July 31, 1869, p. 94.

P. 38. — o for w. Add:

HAN OAR, *HE WAS*. Engeby, Upland.

OAUF (= WAUF, HWALF), *VAULT*. Giesingholm, N. Jutland.

I HOITA UADUM, *IN WHITE WEEDS* (white robes, as a Catechumen). Thorsåtra, Upland.

SOAINBIARN. *SWAINBIARN*. Billsta, Södermanland.

SOERÞ *BETA*, *SWORD THIS*. Greenmount, Louth, Ireland.

OARN BISKU(P), *OUR BISHOP*. Gauthem, Gotland.

In Latin writers also we often find o (before a and i) to represent this digamma-sound. *r* is found in runics for the same purpose, the old rune for *w* (P) having fallen away.

P. 39, l. 9. — KRULIFS might also be = Isl. GRÓLIFS. *Carl Sæve*.

P. 69. — We have a good example of the real popular meaning of *SAXON* in old times among us, that is, *Northern* or *Scando-Gothic*, in Sir Alex. Acland-Hood's mid-15th-century English Ms. translation of Trivet's French Chronicle. See Chaucer Society, *Originals and Analogues*, Pt. 3, London 1876, 8vo. *The Story of Constance*. At p. 230, when she is driven on the coast of Northumberland: "And she spake redyly the tonge of Saxonn, whyche was the langage of Olda [the keeper of the castle], as she was full well taught in many diuerse languages." — That is, Northumbrian, North English, Anglian, in forn times was "Saxon". — "And whan that Olda had herde her so resonably speke hys langage, and found with her so grete tresoure, [he] supposed well that she was doughter of som kyng of Saxones beyonde the see, as of Alemyne. or of Saxonie. or of Suece, or elles of Denmark." — Thus the "Saxons" of our author comprehended Germans, Saxons, *Swedes* and *Danes* — which latter at this time often included *Norwegians*, who were under the same king as Denmark.

"The Highlanders of Scotland call a Lowland Scotchman "*Gall*" and an Englishman "*Sasunnach*" in their own language. The native Irish, in like manner, call an Englishman "*Sasunnach*" and an English-speaking Irishman "*Gall*". — — — — *Gall* is a name for Dane or Norwegian in Old Scottish, Highland, and Irish ballads, as well as in old Irish Chronicles. A Frenchman is known to the Bretons by the same name. — — — — *Gall* is defined as primarily meaning "stranger or foreigner" in some Gaelic dictionaries and glossaries, and it is probable that it is cognate with the Anglo-Saxon *Wealth*, "a foreigner".

H. Maclean. The Academy, London, Nov. 25, 1876, p. 523.

In Vol. 1 of his Ms. "*Adversaria*", in my collection, the learned Fin Magnusson says:

"Det er vist at Romerne indbefattede Jyderne under Navnet Saxer . . . . Saxer, Danske og Nordmænd have udentvivel paa de Tider i talrige Hobe angrebet de Brittiske Kyser, men da de første vare Romerne, som dem nærmeste, mest bekendte, have de kaldt alle de nordiske Søerovere med dette Navn".

*It is certain that the Romans included the Jutlanders under the term Saxons. . . . Saxons, Danes and Norwegians doubtless in those days attacked the British coasts in powerful bands; but as the first were nearest the Romans and therefore best known by them, they called all the Northern sea-rovers by this name [of Saxons].*

# RUNIC REMAINS AND RUNIC WRITING.

P. 56. Line 21. — Mr. Brash (*Archæologia Cambrensis*, April 1869, 8vo, London, p. 151) says "about one hundred and fifty" Ogham stones are now known; but the tale is constantly increasing. Authorities differ widely as to the exact number.

P. 57. — This Dunbel stone has been re-examined and re-engraved by R. Brash, Esq. in *The Journal of the Royal Hist. and Archæol. Assoc. of Ireland*. Vol. 2, 4th Series, 8vo. Dublin 1872, p. 244. He reads and renders:

SAFFI QEGI MAQUI DDATTAC.

(*The stone of*) *the-SAGE QUEG, the-SON of DDATTAC.*

At p. 230 of the same *Journal* Dr. Ferguson thinks there are only two words, proper names,

SAFFIQEGI TTOCATTAC.

The stone is injured where the two readings differ.

P. 58. — Some of the oldest Ogham stones bear only one word, the name of the deceased. Others are longer, and most mention also the father's name. The longest inscription yet found is one of the 3 Ardmore stones, county of Waterford, which is also unique as going *three* generations back. See the masterly paper "Ogham Readings. — No. 1" by R. Brash, in *The Journal of the Hist. and Arch. Assoc. of Ireland*, Vol. 1, 3rd Ser. 8vo. Dublin 1868, pp. 168—186.

He adds, p. 183: — "In my rendering there is nothing far-fetched or visionary; it is quite in keeping with the inscriptions found on similar monuments elsewhere, expressing the name of the deceased and his patronymic; but it goes further, in giving his pedigree to the fourth generation. This is the only instance of the kind I am aware of; the names of the father and grandfather are found on one or two stones, but this example stands alone. The third line distinctly states he lost his life on the water, or was wounded on the water, perhaps in a sea fight on the coast, and was interred on shore; this is quite consistent with the finding of this memorial within a few perches of the sea: indeed it is a remarkable fact that the great majority of our Ogham inscriptions have been found not only in close proximity to the sea, but very many actually on the strands and sea cliffs."

P. 64. — Add from Symeon of Durham, about 1125; VODEN; VECTA, VETTA; WITTA; WICHTGILS, WICHTGIL; HENGEST, HINGEST; and HORSA. — From "Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea", ed. Hodgson Hinde, Vol. 1, Durham & London 1868, p. 202. (*Surtees Soc.* Vol. 51).

P. 78. — Since the above was written, these two decorated stones have been engraved on a larger scale in Dr. H. Hofberg's "Nerikes Gamla Minnen", pp. 77, 78. See also a later and exhaustive treatise on these sculptured Ball-stones ("Stenkloten" på Ättehögarne) in *Svenska Fornm. For. Tidskrift*, Vol. 2, 8vo, part 2. Stockholm 1874, pp. 165—205. It is by Baron O. Hermelin, who describes, adding many excellent engravings, all the stones of this class then known to him in Sweden and Norway.<sup>1</sup>

I believe these stones, however altered and conventionalized, were all originally made for worship as Gods or Fetishes, Elf-stones, or what not, but in fact at first as Phallic Symbols, the Linga and the Yoni, Creation and Preservation, placed on the tumulus as triumphant emblems of Light out of Darkness, Life after Death. And the Priapus and Cups sometimes seen on Burial-urns must have the same meaning.

See H. Rivett-Carnac's "Rough Notes on some Ancient Sculpturings on Rocks in Kumaon, similar to those found on Monoliths and Rocks in Europe" (in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1877, 8vo), and A. Wilder's edition of Westropp and Wake's "Ancient Symbol-Worship. Influence of the Phallic idea in the Religions of Antiquity", 8vo. New-York, 1875.

In a grave from the stone age in Denmark was pickt up a few years ago a small tapering stone, some inches long, standing in a small rough ring of stone. This is now in the Husaby Museum, Smoland (Småland), Sweden. It *may* be called an accident or meaningless. But if in India, — where such

<sup>1</sup> Of these he engraves 17, but others have since been found. Some of them are absolutely perfect Phallic stones, as perfect as any in India or elsewhere.

things, large and small, more distinct or conventionalized away until they are only a barbarous roundlet, — are found by thousands, it would at once have been recognized as *the Linga and the Yoni*. And such small pieces appear so utterly useless to the common gravehunter, now a *trade* pursued by hundreds of persons, that *this one is the only one* I ever met with. They are cast away by the finder, or often rejected as mere nature-stones. Even should I be mistaken, there is no harm in my drawing attention to these objects.<sup>1</sup>

I have pointed out in their places that several of the grave-minnes bearing O. N. runes were worship-stones, carved with regular Cups &c., *ages before* they were used a second time for funereal purposes.

P. 79. — The very oldest (not Roman) gravestones in German and Saxon and Gallic lands are, as we all know, very few and *never* in the vulgar tung, and NOT in Runes. They are *all* of them raised over *Christians* and are *all* of them in *Latin*. As to those in Gaul — which from the victorious Franks got the name of France:

"L'ignorât on d'ailleurs, nos marbres suffiraient à faire voir que l'art d'écrire fut gardé par l'Eglise, aux siècles mérovingiens. Parmi tant de personnages barbares qui requrent en Gaule la sépulture, ceux qui furent chrétiens nous ont seuls en effet laissé des épitaphes, monuments écrits que je cherche vainement sur les tombes de leurs frères morts dans l'idolâtrie. Le paganisme et l'ignorance étaient donc, semble-t-il, dans le même camp." — *Edmond le Blant*. *Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au 8e siècle*. Vol. 1, Paris, 1856, 4to, p. CXII.

Pp. 87, 88. — See the VAKSALA stone in the ARCHAIC MONUMENTS.

P. 90. — Formulas of *Prayer* and formulas of *Threats* against violating the tomb, carved on *Christian* grave-stones, will be found in Le Blant, *Inscr. Chrét.* Vol. 1, p. 290, fol.

P. 90. — See Le Blant, *Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule*, vol. 1, p. 11, fol. on the early Christian grave-formula *qwas, LVX, LYMEN*, as opposed to the "*darkness*" of the heathen funeral stones.

Pp. 90, 829. — In Sir Henry Dryden's "Notes of three Chambered Tombs in the Parish of Carnac, Brittany" (*Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Vol. 7, part 2, 4to, Edinburgh 1870, p. 395, plate 49), he says: "Some of the strokes are as much as half an inch wide, apparently, at first, of concave form, and several on *κ* and *λ* show in them a *white* or *yellow* paint. There are some sculptures of similar character in a chambered tomb at Airlie Barns, near Dundee. In the strokes there has been noticed a *black* paint."

Pp. 92, 283, 811. — As a striking example of the enormous destruction to which monuments are subject, I may mention, that the synodical act of the Memphis Priesthood in honor of Ptolemy 5, B. C. 198, was ordered to be engraved and placed, and doubtless *was* engraved and placed, "in EVERY temple of the first, second, and third class near the image of the everliving King." Tho thus copies once existed by *hundreds*, only ONE is now extant, the so-called Rosetta Stone (see *Records of the Past*, Vol. 4, London 1875, p. 69), and this one is so broken that 2-thirds of the hieroglyphic text and parts of the demotic and Greek texts are LOST.

Pp. 93, 887. — Two-writ (palimpsest) Ogham stones have also turned up. Thus Mr. Brash (*Archæologia Cambrensis*, 8vo, London April 1869, p. 152) points out the Kenfegge Pillar, Glamorgan-shire, as one of this class, "appropriated as the monument of a Romanised Briton [and inscribed with Roman letters, "PUNPEIUS CARANTORIUS"], after having long performed a similar office for some invading Gaedhal [whose minne was kept up in Ogham marks]." And at p. 167 the same scholar concludes as to the Fardell stone, now in the British Museum: "We have, then, three distinct individuals commemorated on this pillar-stone. In Ogham, "Faccuci, the son of Cuici"; in Roman, "Fanoni, the son of Rini"; and finally [also in Roman] "Sasramni"."

<sup>1</sup> Long after this was written 2 undoubted Phallic stones, comparatively large, have been found in Sweden. They are out of granite, the Cone upright in the hollow Ring, well finishd. The one (from Vestmanland) is decorated with rude flutings outside. They seem made as Penates, House-altars. The smaller one is in the Museum of Count Gust. M. Hamilton, at Hedensberg in Vestmanland; the other is in that of Jos. S. F. Stephens, Esq., C. E., at Husaby in Smoland, on which domain it was found.



## RUNE-LORE.

P. 106, No. 18. — Adjunct B. E. Bendixen, who visited Munich in 1873, has kindly informed me that **A** stands *under its name*, -UYR, and that the rune immediately before it (the last but one) has *no name* over it.

P. 109, No. 37. — I have to thank the same friend for the information, that Lauth was not quite correct. The codex is No. 14436, and in the "Siriatic" alphabet has **†** (not **‡**) calc; while the mark for *ki* should be **ſ**, for *uur* **ſ**, for *inc* **‡**.

No. 38. The same gentleman tells me that the character for *asc* should be **ſ**, for *peru* **ſ**. for *elx* **‡**.

No. 39. By the same authority the stave for *l* should be **†**.

P. 114, 832. — Nos. 68, 69. The first part of "Germania" for 1868 (Ed. by F. Pfeiffer. 8vo. Neue Reihe. Erster Jahrgang. Erstes Heft. Wien 1868 and Plate) contains pp. 77—91 an article by Prof. Franz Dietrich of Marburg bearing the title "Ein Westfälisches Runenalphabet". On looking at it we see at once that the Alphabet in question is neither "Westphalian" nor "Runic". I had therefore at first decided on passing it by. But it struck me that possibly some one might suspect me of a *suppressio veri*. So I will state the case as it stands.

This "Westphalian Runic Alphabet" was found in a codex ("266 fol. membrum foliorum 195") of the 9th or 10th century, in the Vatican Library, by Prof. A. Reifferscheid of Bonn. By him a description and facsimile were sent to Prof. Pfeiffer, who communicated the same to Prof. Dietrich.

This skinbook contains chiefly writings of Ambrosius, and would seem to have come from the Benedictine monastery at Corvey (Corbeja nova) on the Weser. It begins with a short list of Priests, which is followed by 4 alphabets, one with a, b, c, &c. overwritten, a second with alma, bina, calda, &c. overwritten; then the Greek staverow, and then the Hebrew, as often elsewhere in manuscripts. The two latter cannot interest us here. The first Prof. Dietrich takes to have been drawn up for private correspondence, the second to have been a "Westphalian Runic Alphabet". But *both* of them are of the same kind as so many other such which I have already laid before the reader, or otherwise described, in my long list of Alphabets. They are fanciful and barbarous characters, a jumble of Latin and Bastard and Runic marks, brought together in the usual way by some ingenious or idle monk as ciphers for secret writing. — But the reader shall judge for himself. I give them here, Heliotyped by Hr. Pacht, from Prof. Dietrich's plate:

a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k (sic!)	l	m	n	o	p	q
†	h	z	ſ	h	x	‡	R	h	u	r	h	ſ	n	v	
s	v	x	y	alma	bina	cald	dotta	emera	faueta	ges	heleð				
ſ	ſ	ſ	u	ſ	ſ	ſ	ſ	ſ	ſ	ſ	ſ	ſ	ſ	ſ	(i cut off)
ka	cana	lida	mis	non	ota	ponta	quinon	rorot	sisso	tonta	uegon				
R	r	n	v	o	o	ſ	h	ſ	ſ	ſ	ſ	ſ	ſ	ſ	(x cut off)
yr	z & da														
ſ	ſ														

No. 70. — My friend G. M. Atkinson, Esq. of the South Kensington Museum, London, has kindly drawn my attention to a diffuse Scandinavian-runish Futhorc arranged in Roman order preserved in a book-fell purchast by the British Museum in April 1836, where it is now "Add. 10.374". It occurs on the top of the first leaf, in "Chartularium de Whalley". The title of the manuscript is "Liber loci Benedicti de Whalley", and it is frequently referred to in Whitaker's History of Whalley. In the first ed. there are extracts at p. 114—140. and the staverow is given at p. 139. But we have it still more correctly in the 4th edition, just publisht, edited by the Rev. Ponsonby A. Lyons. At p. 181, Vol. 1, of this 4th edition the editor remarks:

"But the most singular circumstance in this volume is, that it contains the Runic Alphabet, together with some other contractions. It does not appear how they came to the knowledge of the Monks, or what use they made of them.

"A more careful fac-simile of their Runes than was given in former editions. Mr. Eirikr Magnússon remarks: 'The first line represents the Scandinavian Runic Alphabet, not the Anglo-Saxon. The writer differs from other authorities in representing c by the third character in the first line, which is a corrupt representation of the common rune for s occurring even more frequently than the drop-like character here afterwards shown for that letter. It is clear that the writer knew not the phonetic value of the rune for þ the aspirate, or that for ð the soft, also mistaken for *each* the character used for X. Out of the compound runes following the last mentioned character little is to be made. But it is almost certain that the whole must have been copied from an Icelandic M. S. which is attested by the graphic correctness of the strokes. It seems likely that the scribe was a Frenchman, as he gives the sound of the rune for u as *ou*.'

The copy here given is Heliotyped by Hr. Pacht from a most careful facsimile from the codex itself, made by Mr. Atkinson's own hand.



Nos. 71, 72. — In the Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland (No. 19, Vol. 3, 4th Ser., July 1874, 8vo, pp. 202—236) my learned friend G. M. Atkinson, Esq., of the South Kensington Museum, has a very curious and interesting paper on Ms. Ogham Alphabets, from late Irish codices, especially the Book of Ballymote, in the bookboard of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, compiled in the year 1391. This treatise is illustrated by 4 large densely-filled plates of facsimiles, drawn by Mr. Atkinson himself from the originals. We here see crowds of fanciful staverows adapted for secret and playful writing, exactly like the cryptic Futhorks of the Scandinavian runish Branch- and Twig-marks; &c. But also foreign letters are introduced for the same purpose. Among these we find the "Ogam lochlanach ann so", the *Scandinavian Ogham here*, 2 rude and barbarized transcripts of our familiar Scandian staves. They are thus described by the author at p. 228 (correcting a couple of misprints):

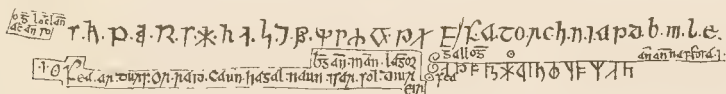
"No. 11 and 2. Ogam lochlanach ann so, the Scandinavian Ogham here. The inhabitants of the coasts of Norway and shores of the Baltic Sea were called Lochlandach, Lochlandaig, i. e. Lake Landish, Lakelanders.

"No. 12. FATORGHENIASDEMLE, found at Greenmount."

Mr. A. should have added, that the rune-line omits the i. and that the last 4 staves (after e, which is = æ, y, -e) are probably ng, d, æ, e.

"No. 13. Gall ogam, foreign Ogham. [Gall meant originally an inhabitant of Gaul, afterwards any foreigner. In the eleventh century a Dane was a Gaul; in the sixteenth century an Englishman was often so styled]. Anmand na feadh sa, the names of these letters: Fea, Ar, Turs, Or, Raid, Caun, Hagal, Naun, Isar, Sol, Diur, Bergann, Mann, Lagor, Eir. [This is not the usual order of the Icelandic Futhorc.]"

Here also Mr. A. should have noticed that the c (or κ) is omitted in the rune-row, and that several of the types are uncommon and valuable. I give the 2 Futhorks here, Heliotyped by Hr. Pacht from Mr. Atkinson's Plate 4:



Nos. 73, 74. — In the same book and plate Mr. Atkinson gives 2 other such Scandinavian staverows. They are from Codex Clarendon, Vol. 15, Add. 4783, in the British Museum. Date not given. Nor has Mr. Atkinson one word about these alphabets in his text. After a line of Oghams, a secret alphabet, comes "Ogam lochlandach ant so", the *Scandinavian Ogham here*, as before. Then the rune-row:

F. U. D. O. R. K. H. N. (I again *omitted*, but added at the end) . A. S. T. B. M. L. E. followed by, as I suppose, D. Æ, E. I.

Then "Gall ogam", *foreign Ogham*, as before, and the values:

F.A.T.O.R.C.H.N.I.A.S.D.B.M.L.L.E. No more given.

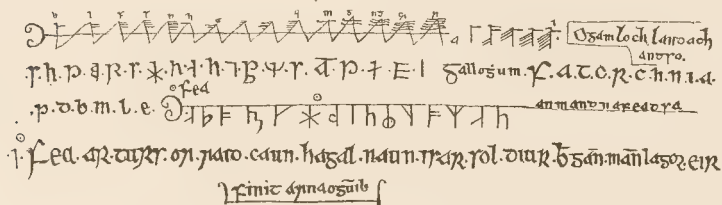
R. Next Futhork. "anmand na fead so", the names of these letters, followed by the runes:

F (Fea), A, D, O, R, K, H, N, I, A, S, D, B, M, L, E (=  $\mathbb{C}\mathbb{E}$ , Y, -R).

Thereafter the names:

Fea . ar . turs . or . rato . caun . hagal . naun . isar . sol . diur . bergann . mann . lagor . eir .

I give these 2 Futhorks here from Mr. Atkinson's plate, Heliotyped by Pacht:



No. 75. The late lamented Irish scholar Eugene O'Curry discovered on an ancient vellum leaf in Trinity College Library, Dublin, a Scandinavian Futhork neither in the Futhork nor the ABC order, but arranged according to the Ogham or Beithluisnion order. It is unhappily defective at the beginning, 5 letters being lost. Its well-known old-Irish introductory words are as follows, as given by Mr. Atkinson, l. c. p. 235:

“Tucad anall a truail claidheim ri Lochland,

In togum dar lear asi a laim fein ro dasber

Hither was brought, in the sword-sheath of Lochlan's king,

The Ogham across the sea. It was his own hand that cut it."

The Alphabet itself is given by the Rev. D. H. Haigh in the Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, Vol. 2, Pt 1, New Series, 1859, Dublin 1858, Plate at p. 170, fig. 6, from which I here copy it, Heliotyped by Hr. Pacht:

A↑1F⊕YmP#R1↓V↑1⊕⊙N\*†  
 blfrrnhdeeqmznysenaoeieaouiuaiaae

No. 76, 77. — We have to thank Prof. Reifferscheid for yet another, and this time a precious find. He happily discovered in the Vatican at Rome (Codex Urbin. 290 membr. fol.) at the end of a section in large octavo. last leaf (71, b), dating from about 990—1010, 2 Anglo-Northern runish alphabets, together with other such *curiosa*, and some valuable hints as to Ulfilas and his labors. The







No. 82. — I may as well here mention the staverow engraved by Hickee in his Thesaurus (Gram. A. S. p. 168), as it is the source whence was copied the alphabet No. 53, which is about 450 to 500 years younger, another instance of the difficulty of really dating (as to origin) many of these things. For a description of this skinbook see Wanley's Catalogue, p. 63. It is the Bodleian Codex Nero, D, II, 19, Oxford, written about A. D. 880—900, and is famous as containing a Portrait of S. Dunstan drawn by himself, a Greek Alphabet, Greek Bible-verses, also Greek Bible-verses written in *English* characters and valuable for the sounds there given, &c. The Runic alphabet is called that of Nemnius, and is said to have been "invented" by him for the Britons (Welsh), that they might no longer labor under the reproach of having no written characters. The agreement with No. 53 is so minute, that I need only mention a couple of slight variations:  $\mathfrak{K}$ , a;  $\mathfrak{d}$ , e;  $\mathfrak{t}$ , n;  $\mathfrak{h}$ , q;  $\mathfrak{s}$ , s;  $\mathfrak{x}$ , x; the second z-mark is here correctly called *et estiam*; the ei-mark *emc*; oe, *orn*; au, *aur*;  $\mathfrak{y}$ , inne, hinc.

No. 83. — Another very old copy of this Letter-row is found in an Oxford codex, and is engraved in Thomas Hearne's "Ectypa Varia", folio, Oxon 1737. It begins: — "Nemnius istas reperit literas uituperante quidam [?] quodam] scolastico saxonici generis quia brittones non haberent rudimentum at ipse subito ex machinatione mentis suae formauit eas ut uituperationem et hebitudinem demeret gentis suae." — Marking only variations, it has, c, curi; e, egin;  $\mathfrak{h}$ , g, guidir;  $\mathfrak{s}$ , h, huil; i, iechuit; k, kam;  $\mathfrak{m}$ , m, mum; n and q as in 82; s, sung; t, traus; u, uir; x, iel;  $\mathfrak{y}$ , yy, ofr; et, estial; ae, aion; ei, emc; ego, henc; oe, orn.

No. 84. — St. Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne in Dorsetshire, is generally thought to have been born in 639, and to have died in 709. In his "Anonymi Epistola ad Sororem Anonymam" he gives a Runish Staverow, the names of the letters only but no runes. It is as follows:

"Asc. berc. can. dour. chu. feli. gip. hagal [*printed ha. gal*]. is. ker. lagu. man. not. os. pert. quiron. rat. suigil tac. ur. ilc. iau. zar."

I quote from "Sancti Aldhelmi Opera. Nunc primum ed. J. A. Giles", 8vo, Oxonii 1844, p. 105. We see that the letters are: A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R. S. T. X. Y. Z. But, with his usual carelessness, Mr. Giles does not state the name or age of the Ms. It may be a century or two later than Aldhelm's time, and a corrupt copy. And Aldhelm's original most likely gave the runes also. However, if written by Aldhelm at all, this must be the oldest Rune-alphabet yet known in the *Latin A. B. C. order*. But it has sunk to 23 full staves.

In the London "Athenæum" for Apr. 7, 1877, p. 447, Capt. Richard F. Burton, referring to his "Ultima Thule", Vol. 1, p. 285—7, points out the existence of Branch or Palm-runes, called by the Arabs El-Mushajjar or the *tree*-formed, in Arabia. The alphabet (El-Abjad) is redd from right to left, and divided into 6 groups. The same system of cryptographic writing has also been applied to the old Persian or Pehlevi. But Capt. Burton does not tell us whether this Branch-alphabet is old or young in Arabia or Persia, known to a few or to many, little or much used. Has it been copied from the Scandinavian use, which goes back to at least the 9th century, in England to the 8th, and which must therefore be at least as old as the 7th? Or has the Scandinavian been taken from the Arabian? Or are both independent of each other, among the swarms of cryptographic systems in vogue in the east and the west?

On turning to the gallant and learned Captain's Ultima Thule, 1875, we get a little more light, but not much. The author there states that the Nestorian Matrān (Metropolitan) Butrus showed him at Hums, the old Emesa, in 1871, a Ms. containing these two ciphers; but again not one word as to whence they came &c. As they are in the 'ABC order, it is clear enough that the *idea* has been translated and adopted from the Scandinavian, which is in the *RUORC* order, to the Arabic, or from the Arabic to the Scandinavian.

But I have never seen or heard of any monument of Eastern antiquity inscribed with these Twig-runes, nor have I seen any such alphabet mentioned in any solid work on Oriental palæography. Nor has any one of my Oriental friends ever come across such cryptographic marks in any old carving or codex of Eastern origin.

Now in my chapter on the Runic Alphabets I have repeatedly pointed out the crowd of secret stave-rows with which our old manuscripts abound, derived from all sorts of sources, Runic, Classical and Oriental and Fanciful. The fabrication of such has gone on almost to our own days — but in the last century or two they have had to encounter a mighty rival in *Shorthand*.

Ever since the Mahomedan inroads into the Mediterranean and Spain, thousands of Orientals have been familiar with Western learning, while the Christian Crusades flung Western lore over all the East.

I have therefore not the least doubt that the Ms. alphabets Capt. Burton mentions have been derived, in the middle age or later, from some source originally Scandinavian.

[Nov. 1877. Capt. Burton has sent other letters to the *Athenæum*, but has not added anything serious or valuable, and is, in my opinion, on a false track altogether.]

## PIECES CALLED RUNIC

NOT TREATED HERE.

As at my p. 160, so here also, I think it convenient to save others trouble and to vindicate myself from the charge of ignorance, by shewing why I have not treated certain pieces, by some looked upon as "runic".

At the bottom of my p. 890 I said that I would "try to get further information" about a "new" O. N. runic risting said to have been discovered by Prof. Lange on a small golden cross-like ornament found at Nordendorf. This "inscription", as communicated by Prof. Lange to Prof. Dietrich, reads quite plainly *ÆKTIL*, but Prof. D. makes it out as *MEFTIT*, which he looks on as a mansname.

To obtain materials absolutely trustworthy I applied to Mr. Gordon, then British Minister at Stuttgart, and owing to his efforts I had the satisfaction of receiving in July 1868

3 impressions of the "runes" in sealing-wax,  
3 — — — — — guttapercha,  
An exact colored drawing of the back,  
— — — — — front,

on which the marks are, and

A careful drawing of the inscription *magnified 22 times*.

For all this, I and Mr. Gordon have to thank the extreme courtesy of the official guardian of the Nordendorf relics, the Chamberlain Baron Fr. Lerchenfeld, President of the Circle of Swabia and Nuremberg. In his letter hereon, Baron L. says (July 3, 1868) that the marks are so faint that "il n'est pas possible d'en faire un modèle en plâtre, qui ne reproduirait pas les lettres, que l'on ne peut presque pas reconnaître sans se servir d'une loupe."

All these materials are now before me, and I have examined them minutely again and again. The result is, that *there are marks* (apparently about 7 originally), but so indistinct that one cannot say whether they have been carved or not. Certain it is that these marks *cannot be read*. Where Prof. Lange found his *YMYTIN* I cannot say. These letters are not on the object, nor anything like them. The piece, which is thin and very rudely made, has been fastened on to something. The marks are below the central knob and are small, the whole length of each arm of the "cross" not being more than an inch and a half. Possibly the marks may have been made by accidental blows from some sharp thing banging or pressing against it. But they *may* have been letters of some kind (if not mere straight lines), but whether Roman or Runic it is impossible to say. No earthly wight can make them out. My learned friend Archibald Herbst gives the same verdict. So this piece *non est*!

At p. 11 of the Proceedings of "Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte", 8vo, for the Meeting held Nov. 11, 1871, it is stated that a Herr Beyrich exhibited a Runic stone found 6 feet deep among the roots of a flat-lying tree at Sönderborg in Als, the Island of

South Jutland, Denmark, lately seized and still held (all treaties and oaths notwithstanding) by the Germans. See this, and the whole class of "Barbaric Gems", treated under BRACTEATES No. 82.

Having procured a cast of the small ornament in the Museum of Munich, spoken of by Prof. Hoffmann, I can now say that it bears no runes, only a few straight lines.

P. 162. — THE CARTHAGE WEIGHT. This curiosity must have remained in Münter's hands till his death, for it was sold at his auction. In Part 3 of the Auction-Catalogue of his Collections ("Museum Münterianum". Pars III, Hauniæ 1839, 8vo. p. 115) we have, among the Weights:

"296 Aliud [pondus] quadratum, in quo literis argenteis ab una parte RAGINARI, ab altera VL Æ. Carthaginæ repertum, haud dubie Vandalicum."

Not one word is said of any runes. It was in Roman letters.

P. 162. — CHAPELLE-SAINT ÉLOI. The distinguished Le Blant, in his most valuable "Inscriptions Chrésiennes de la Gaule", Vol. 1, Paris 1856, 4to, pp. CXXXVII and fol., ably defends the Latin carvings found here. But he offers no distinct opinion on the Runish letters, as being ignorant of runes. Even tho we were to admit the authenticity of the former, in deference to Le Blant and others, it is *certain* (in my eyes) that the latter are gross fabrications. The shapes of the staves, the grammatical forms and the actual contents are all simply impossible anywhere in the 4th or 5th or 6th century, much less in Gaul.

In 1877 appeared in Stuttgart Part 2 of an elegantly printed and elegantly illustrated Romance of German Annexation and Self-worship called "Germania. Zwei Jahrtausende deutschen Lebens. Culturgeschichtlich geschildert von Johannes Scherr", folio

Opposite page 28 is an engraving entitled "RUNENSTEIN AUF RÜGEN". This is the only detail respecting it. We seek in vain in the text for any information in what part of Rügen this pillar stands (the picture shows it by the seaside), or when it was found, or who found it.

In "Illustrierte Zeitung", Leipzig, April 28, 1877, p. 352, this engraving is repeated, the block having probably been lent for that purpose, in connection with a recommendatory review of this "nationales Prachtwerk". The reviewer, also, has not one word about the *habitat* of the stone. He only says that it is one of those Runic Stones "which we still find here and there in certain parts of Germany"<sup>1</sup> — altho he has forgotten to point out any *one* such stone ever yet found in any part of "Germany".

It appeared to me that I knew the piece as here engraved. For a time I could not call to mind how it could be. At last I recognized it at once. It is undoubtedly a copy of the Møjebro stone, Upland, Sweden (see my vol. 1, p. 178—181), only a little disguised by the artist and set in a "charming" picture of heath and rocks, sky and sea. The shape of the block is the same. The 2 lines of O. N. runes are the same. The Horse and Horseman below are the same. Even the peculiar knob on the Horseman's arm is the same.

Thus the incredible event took place, not only that 2 stones were raised in memory of the same hero, the one in Upland in Sweden, the other in Rügen, at that early time a part of the Gothic March, — for this might have been, — but that all the details were so alike that they must have been the work of the same man at the same time.

<sup>1</sup> "die man noch hier und da in gewissen Gegenden Deutschlands findet."



I have therefore tried to solve the mystery, and my friends have helpt me. The result is: that neither Hr. Scherr nor his reviewer give the least hint of where the stone is; — that all the Guide-books and other works on the topography of Rügen are quite silent as to the existence of any such stone; — and that an active search of several days in various parts of the island was fruitless. People only laugh. They had never heard of any such wonder.

For the present therefore I suspect that the whole is a forgery, a sorry and unprincipled attempt to give "Germany" "at any price" a real rune-stone. Should it be found and be genuine, it will belong to the Scandinavian Goths, not to the then far-south dwelling Germans and Saxons.<sup>1</sup>

As to the "German Runestone" discovered in 1869 at Ohlershof, in Lettish Lifland, which excited the warmest interest of the learned Estland Society in Dorpat, and gave rise to a little literature of its own — at least it *existed*, the find-place was pointed out, the block seen and felt and seraped and a cast taken from it. But nevertheless it afterwards turned out that the whole was a heartless hoax. The stone was "rune-lettered" by a poor stone-cutter, under the direction of a "German gentleman", in rude imitation of an inscription he had seen on a Runic Stone sent from Upsala to the French Exhibition. As, however, the runes on this pretended Ohlershof stone were later, not Old-Northern, I pass over the whole beggarly story.

<sup>1</sup> February 1879. Perhaps we have advanced a step in clearing up this mystery. I have just seen Part 1 of "Illustrirte Literaturgeschichte" by Otto von Leixner, 8vo, Leipzig 1879. Near the beginning he engraves on a small scale as a specimen of what he calls "Steindenkmäler mit Inschriften" in Runes, found on the graves of Princes of the German race, a piece which is — *absolutely the same* as that given by Scherr as discovered in Rügen —, only the latter had let his artist work it up elegantly in a fine landscape with sea and land, whereas Leixner gives only the bare block, with the words under it "Upländischer Runenstein". In the text however we look in vain for any account of the book whence this stone was copied (apparently Göransson's Bautil), or for one word informing his readers that Upland is a province of *Sweden*, which country is not yet and never has been and we will hope never will have the great misfortune to be a part of "Germany". It is a remarkable coincidence that these two writers, in annexing a Scandinavian rune-stone as German, should both have taken a Swedish one bearing the olden runes; — perhaps it was for the sake of the piquant figure of the warrior on horseback. Has Leixner seen and used the sketch from Bautil which was worked up by Scherr's artist? I cannot say, and leave this disgusting and degrading subject. Fraud and falsehood are abhorrent to all honest men



S W E D E N.

JOHAN GUSTAF LILJEGREN.

1791—1837.

IN MEMORIAM.



## TANUM, BOHUSLÄN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 100—200.

*Old-Northern Runic Monuments, p. 196, 835, 976. XXVII.*

Viktor Rydberg has given a new reading in "Bidrag till kännedom om Göteborgs och Bohusläns fornminnen och historia", Part 1, Stockholm 1874, p. 89 fol.; again a second and improved one in "Svenska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift", Vol. 2, Part 3, Stockholm 1874, p. 244, fol., illustrated by a reduced copy of my plate. I hold fast to my own version:

ÞRÆWINGÆN HÆI-TINE A WÆS!

THRÆWING'S HIGH-TINE (pillar-stone) AYE WÆS (be)!

(= Grave-block, stand here alway, in memory of Threowing!)

## KINNEVED, WEST GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 200—300.

*Full size. From the stone itself, now in the Museum, Skara. West Gotland. Drawn and Chemütyped by Prof. J. MAGNUS PETERSEN.*



This remarkable runish minne-stone, by far the smallest ever heard of in any country, first came under my notice in June 1869, when it was kindly communicated to me by Dr. Hans Hildebrand of Stockholm, the same vigilant old-lorist to whose zeal and sharp eye we owe the Skå-ång block as an Old-Northern monument. Dr. Hildebrand found this piece lying on a shelf in the Museum of the High School in Skara, and copied the runes on the spot, afterwards sending me a transcript.

Eager as soon as possible to examine so great a curiosity, I went over to Skara in August 1869, and was received with the utmost kindness by Rector Alander [since deceased], as well as by Adjunct Carl Torin, the zealous Keeper of the Museum — himself a runologist. Not only was every facility given me for my general enquiries, but I was generously allowed to carry away the stone itself, for scrutiny by the learned in Cheapinghaven and that it might be carefully drawn and engraved by my artist. As soon as this was accomplished, 2 fine casts were made, one for the Old-Northern Museum in Denmark and one for myself, that we may have true copies should any accident befall the original. After all this, the little treasure was restored to Skara.

When in Skara, it was not possible for me to ascertain how or when this tiny rune-slab was found. No memorandum existed respecting it, altho it was known to have been in the Museum for many years. But my active friend Adjunct Torin promised to do his utmost, and carried this out in the most practical way. He issued a notice in the local papers (afterwards taken up by all the chief Swedish journals) describing the little stone, and asking the unknown benefactor who had sent the antiquity to the Museum to give his name and to communicate all details. Happily, this met the eye of the donor, an esteemed clergyman of the Swedish Church, the Rev. Mr. Lagergren. His clear and straightforward written statement to Mr. Torin was to the following effect:

The small inscribed stone was found in 1843 by a man ploughing a field on the lands of the Parish-priest at Kinneved, in the Härad (Hundred) of Frökind, West Gotland. Several small grave-mounds — now nearly ruined by agricultural improvement — are still left near the spot where the stone was picked up, and it is clear that this piece must have come from one of the olden haws. Its minute size shows it to have lain *inside* the grave. Mr. Lagergren presented it to the Skara Museum in 1851.

My distinguished friend State-Councilor Japetus Steenstrup, who kindly examined this old-lave, pronounced it to be (as far as he could make out) of excessive antiquity, and to consist of Talcose Slate (Steatite, Pot-stone, Soap-stone) a mineral not surely known to have been found in this part of Sweden, and just therefore perhaps used as a kind of amulet. Its prevailing color is a reddish gray, with here and there a darker hue. It cannot have been a fragment of a larger block, for its counter-edge and foot (on both which it can firmly stand) and its other side and narrower rune edge are partly squared and as it were polished. Only the bit at the one corner has been broken off, perhaps by the plough, which might happen so much the easier as the material is so soft. The edge near the runes has been regularly beveled off by the maker, and he cut the runes deeply and boldly within a like deep frame or cartouche, whose left side and lower line are still sharp and clear, while the upper line (as near the edge) is worn and weaker, tho everywhere plain. The frame-line at the right corner is, as we see, broken away, together with the upper third part of the first letter — for, as all the staves are *turned round* in the usual oldest manner, and therefore read from right to left (or from top to bottom according as the stone is held), the runes begin at this righthand corner. But happily we have *still left the turning angle of the cartouche from the lower line up on the right*, and it is therefore *certain* that *the whole resting is perfect*. There never have stood on the stone more than the 7 staves now left. Only, as we have said, the third upper portion of the first rune (which *can* have been no other than s) is gone. It is now  $\{$ , but was originally a little higher, either  $\}$  or  $\{$ . The back of the stone is rough. In spite of an accidental scratch here and there, the whole is well preserved and evidently of great age. Three of the letters, the s, the A, and H are Old-Northern, the others are common to both the older and the later runic futhorcs.

Turned round and read from right to left, the letters are:

SIAÆLUH,

apparently *the name* of the deceased warrior in whose grave the stone was placed. Should it, which is not likely, be an old form of the O. N. noun for *SEELINESS, happiness, bliss*, the stone must have been buried with the forthfaren as an amulet, a token and prayer for *Bliss in the life to come*.

The archaic form of the word on the stone justifies us in attributing to this piece a very high date, but of course that here given to it (or rather proposed for it) is only a comparative guess.

On the *smallness* of some of the olden grave-stones and grave-amulets, especially when intended to stand or lie *inside* the tomb, see my remarks at pp. 364, 394, 395, 709. In some cases there may have been *no time* to find and carve and raise a large block. I may here add that in "The Journal of the Roy. Hist. and Arch. Association of Ireland", 8vo, Jan. 1871, p. 368, Mr. W. F. Wakeman has engraved the *smallest* funeral *Ogham* stone ever found in Ireland. It was discovered by him in July 1870 in the prehistoric and heathen Crannog (lake settlement) at Ballydoolough, is 25 inches long by 4½ broad and 6 deep, and bears only one word, the name of the deceased,

BALHU.<sup>1</sup>

Since writing the above I have received "Aarbøger f. Nord. Oldk. og Hist." 1871, Part 2. At p. 221 Prof. S. Bugge reads this inscription as *SIR*, which he cannot translate, and *ALUH*, which he thinks a variation of *ALU*, and this he understands as a magical word intended to bring luck.

Sept. 1874. Another inscribed O. N. stone, but not funereal, of the same rare material, has now been found. See Førde, Norway.

## SKÅ-ÄNG, SÖDERMANLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 200—300.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 887.*

The correction of the text by Archivary Undset now leads me to suggest a new reading:

HÆRING ÆGI LEUGE AI!

*May HÆRING OWE (own, hold, enjoy) his-LOW (how, death-hill, tumulus, grave) AYE (always in peace)!*

LEUGE is most likely another variation of HLÆIWE, *LOW, grave-mound*, for w, v, &c. often become gutturalized in our old dialects. But it may possibly be a "violent" variation of the word (LÆG, LEYG, LEGA, GELEGO &c. &c.) for LEY, lying-stead, *grave-bed, corpse-couch, tumulus*, altho, should this be so, it is here found for the first time in Runics. As runic letters are so often taken twice, we may also read HÆRINGE ÆGI. We might also divide Æ GILEUGE.

I have said that the O. N. ✱ on this stone is a bind for X and J, G and I. I believe there is an interesting proof of this mark for G in another monument of antiquity — the *Wessobrunn Prayer*,

<sup>1</sup> The smallest grave-stone known to me bearing an Irish inscription in *Roman* (cursive) characters is that engraved in "Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language; chiefly collected and drawn by George Petrie, LL.D. Edited by M. Stokes". 4to. Part 4, Dublin 1873, p. 20, and plate 12, fig. 25, 26. It was found in 1822, four feet down, in a grave in the island of Aran Mór, below a large square flag-stone about 10 feet in diameter. It is of black calc. or limestone, and is now in the Petrie Museum in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

On raising the large flag a deep grave was found, filled with roundish cobbles from the nearest shore. Below these was taken up a round stone disc, nearly flat on the under side, and only 3 inches in diameter and 1½ inch thick. It bears:

OR AR BRAN N'AILITHEN.

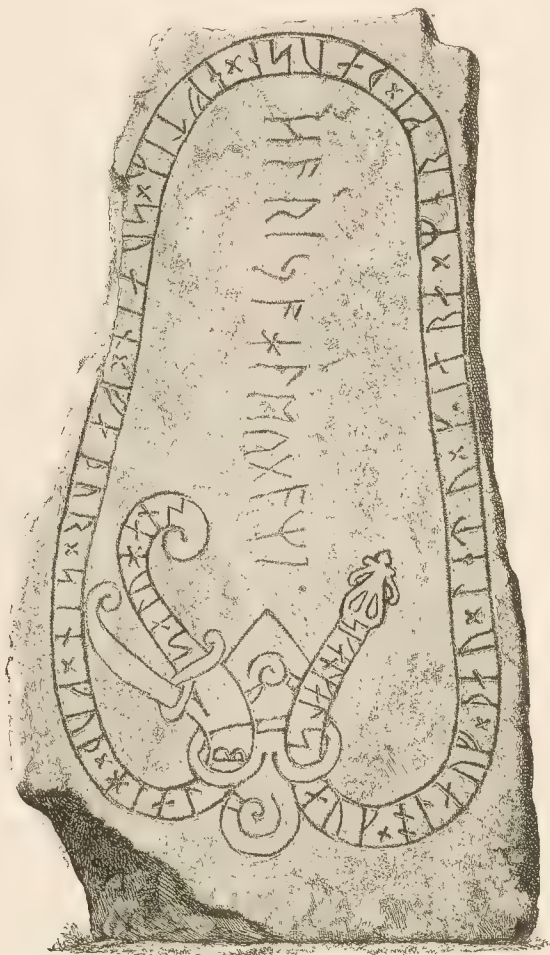
(*Pray for Bran the Pilgrim*).

In the center is a plain Greek Cross. The letters run round the rim.

There is a most valuable paper, in the "Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland", 4to, Edinburgh 1875, Vol. 10, Part 2, pp. 608—639, "Vacation Notes in Cromar and Strathspey". It treats of various small sculptured or inscribed stones, &c. found in graves or elsewhere, as well as other remarkable objects, and is richly illustrated. My readers will find much solid and recondite information here. For this communication we have to thank Dr. Arthur Mitchell and James Drummond, Esq.

a costly bit chiefly in stave-rime verse and originally *English*. We now have it in a N. German dialect, in a skin-book of the 9th century. See its literature in K. Gædeke, *Deutsche Dichtung im Mittelalter*, 8vo. Hanover 1854, p. 5.

The Saxon and German pagans got their writing-schools as well as their Christianity and culture by movements — direct or indirect — chiefly from England and the Anglo-Keltic lands, whose missionaries carried their runes with them, partly for secret writing and partly for use in Scandinavia



for Missionary and other purposes. Their scholars in Germany sometimes copied their alphabets and used them for a letter or word or two on their parchments. This Wessobrunner Bede is evidently copied (in a Saxonized form) from an English original by an Englishman or an Englishman's disciple. The proof is twofold. First, the contraction or character for AND occurs 9 times. It is *nowhere* written out, so we cannot tell what it was. ENDI or ENDE, ENTI or ENTE or what. But we expect ENTI, and *all* the German editors have printed the word as ENTI. Now the sign *really* employed for this (ENTI) is the well-known Old-English mark for AND, END, &c. namely 7. It is properly so distinctively English, and



only English in its origin, that no more words need be said.<sup>1</sup> — Next, there is another similar well-known Old-English sam-stave or bind-rune, the character for *gi*, ✱. We have it 4 times in this little Prayer, in the words *GI-FREGIN*, *GI-UORANTOS*, *FOR-GIPI* and *GI-UURCHANNE*. It is so much the surer *gi*, as we have in one place "7 du mannun so manac coot for✱pi. forgip mir" &c., where the *gi* is once written with the ✱, and then again written out with "gi". F. D. Gräter, who first published the splendid facsimile by Father Ellinger (see Bragur, Vol. 5, Leipzig 1797, 8vo, p. 118) identified it as *gi*. Jacob Grimm made it *chi*. The later Germans print it *ga*. Now the mark is either a single letter or a bind. If single, it can only be *g*, which in these 4 words does not suit. Besides, in the *oldest* Futhorcs the rune for *g* is *X*, not ✱. The compound or fanciful signs for *g* are all later. If a bind, it cannot be either *chi* or *ga*. For there is neither *c* or *ch* or *a* in *g* and *l*. *ga* is so much the more inadmissible, as in the words *GA-NADA* and *GA-LAUPA* the scribe uses the Roman letters "ga", not the Runic ✱.

All the editors print the last word of the first line "firahim". But Father Ellinger's fine copper-plate shows that this is an error, and that the poem begins:

Dat gi-fregin ih mit firahun  
friuuizzo meista.

In Aarb. f. Nord. Oldk. 1870, p. 194, Prof. S. Bugge thinks that *SKANMALS* is = *SKAMMALS*, that is, *SKAM-HALS*, *Short-neck*. This is excellent. I had already shown the local *MN* for *m* or *mm* (see my p. 38, *HULMNFASTR*, *HULMNLAK*, *HULMN*, and add the *KUMNBL* for *KUMBL* on the Skivum stone, Denmark) and I at once agree. *SKANMALS* is therefore no instance of a nom. in -s. In fact *SKAMHALS* and *LANGHALS* are old names, and in Diplom. Svecanum, 2, 530, we have *HUNGERUS SCHAMHALS*. In Scandian runes we have also the mausname *STUFHALS*, while the O. N. name *SKAMKELL* is well known.

In the same "Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskabs Skrifter", Vol. 8, Pt. 2, 8vo. Thronhjelm 1875, pp. 19—36, in which the careful and trustworthy Norwegian old-lorist Ingvald Undset has described his finding the Vatn stone, he also (p. 29) speaks of the Skåäng block, which he visited and minutely examined on the 20th of August 1874. Since then he has (Febr. 1876) kindly given me personal explanations, and a copy of his memoranda with the stone before him. It appears then that this monument — which I have never seen — is very well given in my plate, but that it has one absolute error. The 10th rune is *not* *æ*, but certainly and clearly *u* (*h*), the bend in the middle of the right limb (which gives it the *æ*-look) being caused by the peeling off and falling away of a tiny bit of the surface. I have therefore caused this alteration to be made on the Chemotype, and repeat the engraving here. Besides this, the right side of this *h* should have been a little straighter. As to the *last* letter, Hr. Undset remarkt that the top stroke or side is deep and irregular and uneven in its bottom, while the stave itself is indeed a kind of 1, but has the look of 2 points which had been united by a cut shallow above and deeper below. — Thus the stone has without doubt *LEUGÆ*.

<sup>1</sup> That this sign is distinctively English, a German shall testify: — "Es ist nichts wahrscheinlicher, als dass es angelsächsische Priester waren, die diese Runenalphabete [now found in English Codices still remaining, or copied from older English, in Germany] herüberbrachten. Auch sehen wir im Hildebrands-Lied das angels. w eingeführt und im Wessobruner Gebet die angels. Abbeviatur für und gebraucht." — W. C. Grimm. Ueber deutsche Runen. Göttingen 1821, p. 134. Scandinavia got its oldest Roman-letter writing from England, and accordingly in the very oldest Icelandic codices we have the same Old-Engl. sign for *ok*, *oc*, (*and*). In the oldest Norse, Danish and Swedish manuscripts, which are very much later than the oldest Icelandic, this mark for *and* has disappeared. There are many things which prove that the Bayeux Tapestry was embroidered by English hands. Among others, in one place, instead of the usual *et*, it has the Old-English 7.

## SKÄRKIND, EAST-GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 200—300.

*Chemityped by Prof. J. M. PETERSEN from a drawing and paper-cast kindly forwarded by Director  
CARL FR. NORDENSKJÖLD, of Tjellmo in East-Gotland. Given 1-twelfth of the size.*



In July 1876, during his official antiquarian visit in the district, Director Nordenskjöld happily discovered this ancient inscribed stone, which is about 5 feet 8 high, 2 feet 7 broad above and 3 feet broad below, with a thickness of several inches. It is of undrest reddish granite, with roughnesses here and there, and a little damaged about the last letter but one. Still every rune can be made out. He found it, runes upward but partly hidden, as a bearing-slab for an old sandstone Font in the chancel of the antique church at Skärkind in Skärkind Härad (Hundred), between Linköping and Söderköping. The chancel is all now left of the church, which was taken down some years ago and a new one built on higher ground farther to the south. It is at present used as a burial-chapel, depository for some antiquated church-furniture, &c. At his second visit Director Nordenskjöld was accompanied by Pastor Melin and Dr. Sjöstrand, and the stone was taken up and examined on all sides, but no other rune or mark could be seen. Their intention was, as soon as circumstances permitted, to have this monument securely placed in the chancel wall, where no harm can come to it.

All these details have been kindly communicated by Director Nordenskjöld himself, and I am very grateful to him for this help, as well as for his costly gifts — the careful drawing and the paper squeeze.

The rising, as we see, is of the simplest, while the shape of the first stave, the s, shows that it is of the oldest. I do not think that my date, the 3rd century, is at all too far back. On the contrary, it *may* be yet older.

There can be no doubt about the letters. They are clearly

SCID LEUWÆ.

But it is as certain that this rune-group divides itself, for SCIDÆ can be nothing other than the well-known but rare mansname whose fornest nominative hitherto known was SKIDI, SKIDHE, where the end-N has fallen away: SKIDÆ is therefore the genitive. In the same way LEUWÆ is another variation of a word now familiar to us — for we have had it 4 times before<sup>1</sup>, as HLEIWÆ on the Norse Bū stone, HLELÆA on the Norse Stenstad stone, LEEWE on the Norse Sigdal stone, and LAU on the Norse Tanem stone — as used so often in olden days, especially in England, for LOW, grave-hill, barrow, tumulus, tomb. If this be so, it is here found *for the first time* in Sweden on this block. See the Wordlist, the Word-row p. 939, and the text at p. 848—856.

Consequently I divide and read:

SKIDÆ LEUWÆ.





SKITFS LOW (*grave-mound*).

Of course it has originally stood on a mighty pile of earth and stones, covering the dead man's last resting-place.

## VÅNGA, WEST-GOTLAND, SWEDEN.




? DATE ABOUT A. D. 200—300.





*See p. 241 and p. 835. Re-engraved here by Prof. J. MAGNUS PETERSEN. From drawings and paper casts from the stone itself, by me in July 1873.*



The materials I formerly employed (see p. 241, 835) were official. But I had never seen the venerable original. In the summer of 1868 Prof. S. Bugge visited Vånga and took a paper cast. He remarks hereon (in "Tidskrift for Philol. og Pædagogik", Vol. 8. p. 184) that the second rune from the right is  and the third . He guesses that this last is a bind-rune for  (w) and  (u), and reads the whole as one word, the mansname HAWU-KODUR, which he thinks may mean HAWK-HADUR.

In July 1873 I was able to get at Vånga, in company with the rune-men Adjunkt Karl Torin of Skara and his Artist Hr. Envallsson, and attended by Dean O. Varholm, the excellent Priest of the Parish, whose manse is close by the Church. We ascended the tower, again and again scanned the block, and careful paper casts were taken which are now before me. Ocular inspection showed that the sarsen had many roughnesses and accidental scatches, but that the runes were on the whole plain enough. The real ringings are broad and strong, and comparatively deep. Only one stave is at all doubtful, the second, and we all soon became convinced and agreed even as to that.

In my opinion the result is — reversing the letters — that they are:

1.  ; — 2. . *i. e.* a small mark beneath the underarm being a damage;

3.  , not  ; the supposed slanting bar is so slight and thin as to be clearly a mere flaw or fracture, of which the stone bears so many;

4.  ; — 5.  ; — 6.   ; — 7.  ; — 8.  .

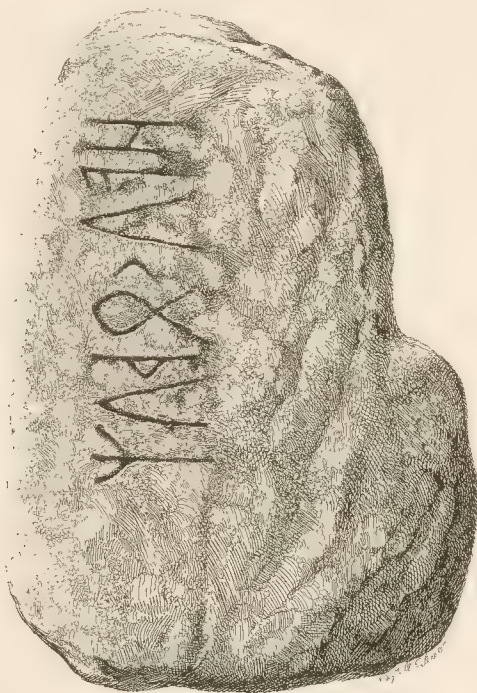
These characters can be manyways taken. The whole *may* have been one word, the mansname HÆUCODUA in the nominative, not, I think, in the dative. But I believe the best and simplest reading

<sup>1</sup> If the LEUWÆ of Skå-ång be the same word, as I believe it is, we have then 6 instances.

is the usual formula where the letters run to any length, a mansname in the nominative and one in the dative. I would therefore propose:

HÆUC OÐUA.

*HÆUC (?) - HÆUNC) raised this-stone to-OÐEU (or whatever form this name may have had at this early time in this particular folkland, in the nominative).*



The word-forms and the runes being reverst are marks of high eld. Coming finds may enable us to group the staves with greater certainty.

Next year it is thought the old Church may be taken down. We shall then see whether this stone has runes on any other side, and whether any other rune-carved block may be found in the tower or elsewhere in the building.



## BERGA, SÖDERMANLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300—400.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 176, 886, XXVII.*



Since the publication of my work I have, as I believe, fully identified the O. N. noun-ending -IA as *feminine*. Add hereto the remarkable fact that this is *the only* olden block bearing two words, cut far apart and *running in different directions*. I therefore now suggest that the one name is carved *later* than the other. The Husband or Wife perhaps died first, thereafter the partner was called away. Thus they most likely lay in the same grave, and were remembered on the same stone.

I therefore now read:

FINO.

*Here-lies-the-lord-FINO.*

SÆLIGJÆSTIA.

*Here-lies-the-lady-SÆLIGJÆSTIA*

The Fjellerad stone, North Jutland, Denmark, has a long inscription in the later runes to a chief named ABI and a lady TUFA, and says of them:

DAU LIKA BADI I DAIM HAUKI.

*THEY LIE BOTH IN THIS HOW (grave-mound).*

As the rune A was given incorrectly in my Vol. 1 (see Vol. 2, p. 886), I have had the block amended and reprint it here. The stone I have never seen.

## MÖJEBRO, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300 -400.

*Old-N. Run. Mon. p. 178, 900, XXVIII.*

What makes the first line so desperately difficult is, the entire absence of any dividing mark. I now look upon it as consisting only of *names*, probably those of the dead chief and of his 2 Sons and Daughter, or 3 of his nearest kin. I therefore propose, with great diffidence:

ÆNÆHE, HÆISLE, GINIA, FRÆWÆREDEA.

Sir-ÆNÆHE, Sir-HÆISLE, the-lady-GINIA, raised-this-stone-to-the-lord-FRÆWÆRED.

As to the 2nd name, we have on the Rök stone (East Gotland, 9th century) *HOISLES FIVE, HARUAP'S SONS* (HOISLAR FIM, HARUAP'S SUNN), thus 5 brothers surnamed HOISLI, or whatever the nounending then and there was.

## ETELHEM, GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400—500.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 182.*

## KONGHELL, BOHUSLÄN, SWEDEN.

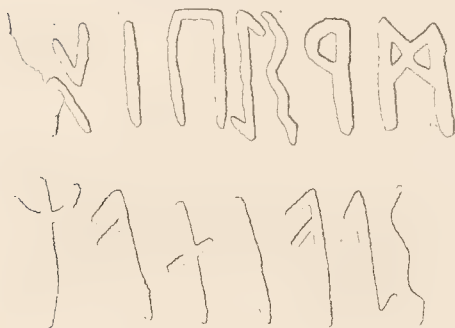
? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500—600.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 208, 835.*

At p. 209, last line, add: The Norse-Dansk BARLIND is the Swedish BARRLIND.

## KROGSTAD, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400—500.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 184, 967, XXVII.*

In a letter from Prof. C. Sæve, dated Upsala April 19, 1869, he states that he had visited the monument and, assisted by Docent N. Linder, taken careful tracings full size, which he kindly forwarded to me. He adds that weathering has peeled off the man's right leg from the knee downwards, that the runes are carved very broad shallow and uneven at the bottom and edges, and that they look as if knaekt in by free blows from a hammer or pick. The above is a Photoxylographic copy of his tracings, engraved by Rosenstand, 1—6th of the bigness.

But according to Dr. H. Hildebrand and Prof. S. Bugge the  $\tau$  should not be quite so square-topt, should lean a little on the left, the right leg being also a trifle longer than the left.

MWSYOUNGI SYOEINÆA.

MWSYOUNGI (*Musowingi, Mysing*) to-SYOÆIN (*Swain*).

At p. 190 I have given the remarkable Hågeby stone. This has been engraved on a much larger scale, and still more carefully and correctly, by R. Dybeck in his *Runa*, folio, Part 4, Stockholm 1871, Pl. 13, both sides. On the one we can now see that the steersman guides the ship with a steer-oar; on the other, that the men are not literally "cut in two", the body-line running along the belt-lines of each.

## BJÖRKETORP, BLEKING, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600—700.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 165.*

I now venture on the following, as I hope improved, translation:

SEAD ET BÆRUTA UT I ÆAWELÆ DÆUDE.

HÆERÆ MÆLE USA GINÆ-RUNÆA ERÆ GEU.

FÆLE HÆLHEDA OÆG.

HÆIDAR\_RUNO\_O RO NU.

UDÆR. ÆBÆ SBÆ.

*SÆATH AT the-BARRATRY (battle) OUT IN ÆAWEL DIED.**HERE MELL (tell) of-US the-GIN-RUNES (our power-staves) his-ARE (fame) YEA (truly).**FÆLE (many) of-HELTS (heroes) he-WOOG (slew).**HADOR- (that-honor's) RUNA (friend) OWES (hath, takes) RO (his rest) NOW.**UTHER and-ÆBÆ the-SPÆ (Wise) (= raised these stones and carved these runes).*

BÆRUTA maybe is a place-name, like ÆAWELÆ.

See Bugge's version and remarks in *Tidskr. f. Phil. og Pæd.* 7, 323 fol., 8, 198 fol., and in *Ant. Tidskr. f. Sverige*, V, p. 144. — Viktor Rydberg has another reading, in my eyes equally impossible, in *Svenska Fornm. f. Tidskrift*, 2, 234 fol. — The † and ‡ I now regard as both N, in the usual way. — See the Stentofte stone, further on.

## GOMMOR, BLEKING, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600—700.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 206, 835, XXVIII.*

I now take the 1st stave to have been an S, the 4th an N, the 8th an L, the 10th an F, and the 1st in the 3rd line an H, and propose:

STENÆ DRÆF (= DORLEF) SETE HÆDUWOLÆTE.

F F F.

*This-STONE THORLEF SET to-HÆTHUWOLF.**F F's-son FAWED (carved).*

Apparently the HÆTHWOLF of the Istaby and Stentofte stones. DORLEF may have been his son or foster-brother.

P. 206, the Sunnå and Malsta stones are in Helsingland, not Närke.



## ISTABY, BLEKING, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600—700.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 173.*

I now take HYERUWULÆFIA to be a womansname. She was probably *the sister* of the two warriors. This will then be the family-stone, the public (official) block being at Stentofte. The Gommor stone seems raised to one of the brothers.

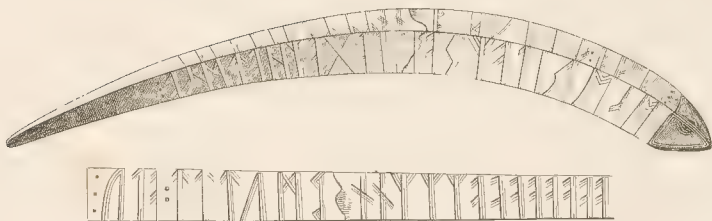
YFÆTA HYRIWULÆFE, HYDUWULÆFA,

HYERUWULÆFIA WÆRYTT RUNYA ÞVIYA.

AFTER (*in memory of*) HYRIWOLF and-HYTHUWOLF  
the-lady-HYERUWOLFIA WROTE (*let write*) RUNES THESE

## LINDHOLM, SKÅNE, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600—700.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 219.*

As Prof. S. Bugge and Archivary J. Undset both decide that this piece (which I have never seen) has at the break F (Æ) not ʀ (N), I have corrected the block and reprint it here.

The *repeated* letters were perhaps not magical, but to fill up, making the one line as long as the other. If so, we get ÆANB, perhaps = ÆANP = ÆAMP, answering to the N. I. JAPR (? JANPR, JAMPR), a kind of Snake mentioned in the Prose Edda. The next word, in the same way, would be MUT (MÓT). — Whether ÆLA (or ÆLLA) was a person (the owner), or a Witch or Wizard (the user), or a Serpent-chief or House-god (the being invoked), we cannot tell.

The discovery (summer of 1877) of the Kragehul Lance-shaft (Denmark) and the Fonnås Brooch (Norway), with their remarkable inscriptions, have now suggested to me another reading:

EC, ERILÆA SÆ ILLÆ, GÆA HÆTEC Æ, ÆANB, MUT ÆLU.

I, ERILÆA (= JARL, EARL) SÆ (the) ILL (foe-crushing, fierce), 'GO'; HIGHT-I (I command, bid-I).

'AYE, O-SNAKE. AGAINST ÆLA'

So an ERILEA was the owner of the Kragehul Lance. On these two pieces, therefore, the owner says I to his weapon, while on the Gilton Sword (England) the weapon says I to its owner. — Further finds may help to amend yet more.

If I am right in this identification of ILLÆ, it is a very interesting word here. It is n. s. m. def. the-ILL (to his foes), fierce, furious, gallant, a common *epithet* of men, both in England and Scandinavia. It is the M. G. UBILS; O. E. YFEL, YL, Mid. Engl. UVEL, YVEL, IVEL, ELE, EL, Later E. both EVIL and ILL; N. Icel. properly, even still, with the long vowel, ILR, ILLR, a lave of its older uncontracted form; Swed. ILL, Dan. ILDE; no Scandian UFIL or IFIL has yet been found — the documents being so modern. Here we have it in its overgang shape I, I, LÆ. The Ohg. is UELER, UPIL, UBIL, &c., the Netherl. EUVEL, EVEL. Thus no (*shortened*) ILL is known out of the Northern lands.

I add *one* example of ILL in this sense, in a poem by the famous Norse-born Icelander Egil Skallagrímsson (close of the 10th century), where he speaks of the noble qualities not yet ripened in his son Bödvar, drowned while young:

Veit ek þat sjálfr,  
at i syni minum  
var ILLS þegn  
efni vaxit.  
ef sá randviðr  
röskvast næði,  
unz hergauts  
hendr of tæki.

Well wot I  
that warrior-stuff,  
a captain's KEENNESS  
in my kinsman slumber'd,  
an to years had won  
that young champion,  
fully he'd reacht  
flush of sword-strength.

Sonar-torrek (The Son's tor-wreck, sad loss), stanza 11. Sagan of Agli Skallagrímssyni. 8vo. Reykjavík 1856, p. 198.

In Aarb. f. nord. Oldk. 1871, p. 185 and 1872, p. 194, Prof. Bugge finally reads one side (the other, he thinks, is magic) as:

EK ERILAR SAH LAGAR HATEKA.  
I, ERIL, HE-WHO LOW I-BIGHT.  
(I, Jarl, called the Low).

He says this phrase — which has no verb and no object — is a formula of ownership.

## STENTOFTE, BLEKING, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600—700.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 169.*

As on this stone \* is the usual æ and ʀ the usual o, F I now take to be here transitional for æ. When ʀ altogether died out, this F (in its many varieties) became o. It here occurs only once, in the word HEGES, and not at all on the Björketorp stone. I now agree with Bugge that the stave after GÆF is more like the variously-modified NG-mark than the s mark, and therefore read GÆFNG. = GÆFING.

My present, ameliorated, text is:

ÆIU HÆBO RUMA,  
 NIU HEGES TUMA,  
 HÆPUWOLÆFA GÆFING,  
 HÆRIWOLÆFA MÆ,  
 HIDEAR-RUNGNO,  
 HERÆ MÆLÆ SÆA ÆRÆ GEUW.  
 MUCNU HELÆHDDUÆ (w)UGO.  
 ÆBÆ RIUTI  
 DERÆ GINO-RONOA.

AYE shall-they-HAVE ROME (*lustre, praise*),  
 in-the-NEW of-their-HOW TOOM (*space, chamber, = on the fresh floor of their grave-mound*),  
 HÆTHUWOLF GÆFING (*of the Gæf-clan, or, Gæf's-son*),  
 and-HÆRIWOLF MÆ (*called the Mæ*),

HADOR- (*those-honor's*) REGEN (*lords, = those honor-crowned chiefs*).

HERE MELL (*speak*) THESE-runes their-ARE (*fame*) YEA (*indeed*).

a-MUCKLE (*multitude*) of-HELTS (*braves*) they-WOOG (*slew*).

ÆBÆ WROTE (*carved*)

THEIR GIN-RUNES (*mighty letters*).

This is the official (public) block. See the family-stone at Istaby. Compare also Gommor. MÆ may be a slurred form of the O. N. word for MEW, Sea-gull. See Word-Row u. HNÆB-MÆS.

In "Bidrag til tydning" No. 3, p. 200 (Tidskr. f. Phil. 8, 3) Prof. Bugge states that he and Prof. S. Grundtvig examined this stone in 1868, and came to the conclusion: — 1. Broad side, first letter, they thought was  $\mathfrak{t}$ , not  $\mathfrak{x}$ . — 2. Line 5, last staves, they redd as  $\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{x}\mathfrak{x}$ , not  $\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{x}\mathfrak{x}$ . — 3. Short line above, they took to be USNUH, not UCNUH. — 4. Next line, above, rune 2, they thought was Y, not f. — 5. Short line above, perhaps  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{x}\mathfrak{x}$ , thus 3 runes not to be made out. — 6. Last side, they made the short line to begin with  $\mathfrak{E}$ , not  $\mathfrak{x}$ .

To all this deviation from the runes as drawn by Worsaae in 1844 and by myself in 1864, I can only — with some surprise — reply, that Prof. Bugge does not *with one word* warn his readers of what I said p. 170 as to the *evident and tangible* (of which my artist Prof. J. M. Petersen is also a witness) SCALING AWAY OF THE STONE. It was for this very reason that I suggested the removal of the block to the Church, and that Rector Dahl sacrificed so much time and trouble to get this happily effected.

I therefore beg to deny and decline the "corrections" thus offered us.

See an entirely fresh reading, in my opinion inadmissible, in V. Rydberg's article, Svenska Fornm. f. tidskrift, 2, 241. His versions of the Björketorp and the Stentofte monuments are illustrated by impressions from my Chemitypes.

I now think that the broken word in line 7 was originally WUGO, not IUGO. I print it here (w)UGO.

The GINÆ-RUNÆA, GINO-RONOA and ÆRÆ of this and the Björketorp stone are illustrated by the lately found Frærslev stone, Denmark, with its ÆR-RNR ÆSI. On the Björketorp stone, Upland, instead of these expressions, or the common later KEN-RUNES, we have ALDO-RU (= RUNA) ÜBIR IAK, *these-his-ELD-RUNES (life-letters, epitaph) ÜBIR HEWED (cut)*.

## UPSALA, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600—700.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 204.*

OLDA is most likely a female name. — In 1876 the half of an Axe or Hammer, of Greenstone, was found in Sealand, Denmark. What is left is about  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches long by  $2\frac{1}{8}$  deep. It bears a genuine runic inscription, in the later staves, the mansname BRODER, the lower part of the 2 last staves broken away by a fracture. This resting may date from the 10th or 11th century. It is an exact parallel to the Upsala stone Axe, only some year-hundreds later. Is in the Danish Museum.

## VARNUM, VERMLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600—700.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 216.*

I keep my old reading; only I now give to A here, as an Old-N. letter, its usual power of A. Thus, guessing at what is lost:

[Stæinæ (hænsi) ræis] TI EHECER I LÆA ET IHAE, B(ŭ)ætæ sinæ (ku)pan]. RUNOA WÆRITE UANEBÆREH.

The Swedish name BOBERG is common, and is found as early as 1288 (Laurencius BOBYÆRCH) in Dipl. Svec. 2, p. 60. We have still several old family names in -BERG and -BERRY in our Northern lands. Nay, there is a yet living Swedish family called WANNBERG (or VANNBERG as now sounded), for which see the Stockholm papers Dec. 20, 1868; and this may be the very name on the stone.

## WEST-THORP, SKONÉ, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700—800.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 222.*

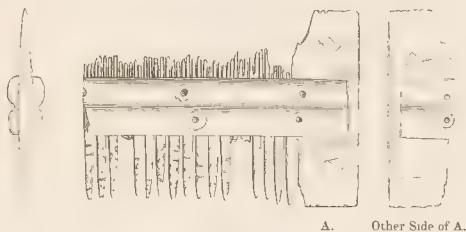
HIT HIUK UNBOEU.

*HIT HEWED (made this comb) for-the-lady-UNBOA.*

A second runic Comb, also of bone, has since been found in Sweden. It turned up at the close of 1875 during diggings in Upsala, and came into the hands of the Student O. Söderbom, who



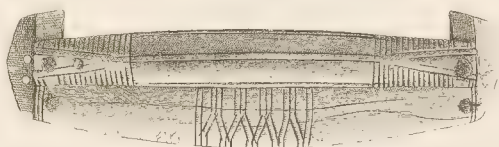
presented it to the Museum in Stockholm, where it now is (No. 5664). Dr. O. Montelius favored me with drawings in April 1877, and these I here engrave, Photoxylograph by Rosenstand, full size.



We see that the owner has cut his name twice on each side of the one end (and possibly on the other missing end also), but in a bind of o and r, quite short, so that we shall never know what the name was. As the runes are later or Scandinavian, this piece may be from the 10th or 11th century. — See other later Combs under Vi Moss, Denmark.

At p. 223, in illustration of the Westthorp piece, I engraved the Danish Comb found at Lincoln in England. I am now able to add a second Danish, or Scandinavian, Runic Comb from the same country, and probably from the 9th or 10th century. Some years back it turned up in diggings at York, and is now in the York Museum. The Keeper of this interesting Collection, the Rev. J. Raine, M. A., kindly favored me with an excellent photograph. At my request, in Nov. 1877, the Danish antiquary Cand. Sophus Müller examined this piece and minutely copied the staves for my use. He describes it as "the frame of a bone Comb, consisting of 4 plates and 2 end-pieces, the teeth having fallen away. Along the back are the marks here given. They are clearly and sharply cut-in with the point of a knife. No other characters are engraved."

Following the sun-bild and Cand. Müller, Prof. M. Petersen has drawn this piece for me on wood:



Besides the last word, *FIKIL*, 11 strokes have been engraved, doubtless intended to be filled-in with side-marks finishing the letters. What was to be written was probably some simple formula, such as

KAMB DAINSI A  
COMB THIS OWNS.

But apparently the writer was interrupted in his work, called away by some message of peace or war, and never came back. Thus he only finisht his own name,

*FIKIL*.

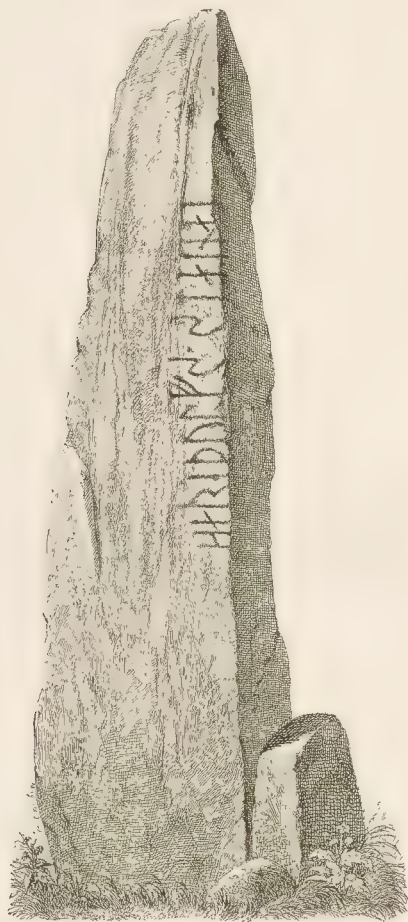
The last rune, *L*, has endless variations on the monuments.

Besides the scarce Northern name *FIKIL*, we have such place-names as *FIGGELSTORP*, *FEGELSTORP*. — This last Comb I first made public in the Danish "*Illustreret Tidende*", fol. Kjøbenhavn, Sept. 22, 1878, p. 499.

## RÆFSAL, BOHUSLÆN, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 800—900.

*From a drawing by the oldtorist and artist G. BRUSEWITZ of Gotenburg, and a cast of the runes given by Dr. CHARLES DICKSON of the same city. Chemityped by Prof. J. MAGNUS PETERSEN of Cheapinghaven.*



Now and then we may recover an "Old-Northern" or an "Overgang" monument from the incorrectness of older copies, or from the power of Y as an Old-Northern letter having been unknown, so that it was simply regarded as a Scandinavian stave. Such is the case with the old lave now before us. This monolith is about 5 feet 7 inches high, and is on the steading Ræfsal (= Refs-hali, "å Refshala", *fox-tail*, from the figure of the land) in Valla Parish, Ile of Tjörn, coast of Bohuslæn.







What I take to have been the third missing part of this very old block has contained the rest of the risting, but whether that was something like AIN, *singular*, or AINAR, *plural*, and whether ought else followed, we shall never know, unless this piece should be found some day as building-material. In any case I take it that the grave-formula began:

ULF'S STONE(S),

exactly as on the Ræfsal block.

11. The overgang Alnmouth stone, England, broken at the beginning:

(This is King e)ADULF'S TH(ruh, = grave-kist);

(bid for the) SOUL.

MYREDAH ME WROUGHT.

HLUDWYG ME FAYED (inscribed).

In *Scandinavian* runes<sup>1</sup> is

12. Hune, N. Jutland, Denmark: — HUF, THURKIL, THURBIURN SET "STIN RUNULFS HINS RADSBAKA"  
= the-STONE of-RUNULF YON (the) REDESPAİK (council-wise), FATHER SIN (their).

Another striking point in this Ræfsal inscription is, that we have *the plural*, STONES, not the singular, STONE. But, as we know, the deccast hero was not only honored with a funeral pillar. inscribed or uninscribed, but also often with several stones, or a stone-crans round the rune-bearer, or one or more stone-rings, or a stone-setting or shipsetting, &c. And of this we have abundant proofs on the monuments themselves. Thus:

Norby, Sweden, (Dyb. fol. No. 89, Lilj. 717), STENO TUO, *stones two*. Nyble, Sweden, (Lilj. 947, my p. 910), STAINI — — — BAI, *stones both*. Bällestad, B. (my p. 646), STINA, *these-stones*. Alsted, Denmark, STNA DESI, *stones these*. Fockstad, Sweden, (Dyb. fol. 146, Lilj. 77), STAINA DISA. Åkerby, Sweden, (Lilj. 162), STAINA DISA. Vilunda, Upl. (Lilj. 430), STEINA DISA. Balundsås, Sweden, (Lilj. 996), STAINA PASI ALA, *stones these all*. Svingarn, Sweden, (Dyb. fol. 100, Lilj. 731, 1452), STAINA DISA ALA. Fyrby, Sweden, (my p. 647, 751), STAKA MARGA, *stakes many*. Åby, Sweden, (my p. 670), MAKI SIOUN, *marks seven*. Stenqvista, Sweden, (Dyb. 8vo. 34), MERKI SIOUN, *marks seven*. Ek, Sweden, (my p. 668), DRIATIÄKU MARKA, *thirty of-marks*.

June 1874. This stone is engraved, not quite accurately, in Dr. O. Montelius' "Bohuslänska Fornsaker från Hednatiden", Part 1, Stockholm 1874, 8vo, p. 38, a valuable work largely and beautifully illustrated.

## RÖK, EAST-GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 800 -900.

It is now<sup>2</sup> (Sept. 1874) about 11 years since I ventured on my first version of this difficult and remarkable risting. It was, for many reasons, very imperfect. I had, comparatively speaking, no foreganger. It now turns out that the transcript of the runes so obligingly forwarded to me was far from correct. And since then runic studies have made great progress. Several distinguisht linguists

<sup>1</sup> There are Christian Runish grave-stones with peculiar formulas, where the name of the deccast is in the genitive.

<sup>2</sup> The substance of this article, written in Sept. 1874, appeared in Swedish in Antiquarisk Tidskrift för Sverige, 8vo, Vol. 4. Part 5, pp. 161—180, which ought to have been publisht in 1874, but unhappily was not ready till March 1878.

have now engaged in this attractive labor, strengthening the hands of those previously employed, and fresh finds have brought fresh lights. We all — I at least — have learned much, and I therefore now, with all due diffidence, return to the task.

I will first repeat and continue the introductory remarks in my article in O. N. R. M. 1, 228 & fol.

The oldest printed drawing of this stone (the first side only) known to me, is the small woodcut in Curio No. 46, anno 1660; the next, of the same side, is the somewhat larger wood-engraving in Bantil, No. 913. Of course neither of these is correct, but they are better than might have been expected. This is the side imperfectly redd, but not translated, by Liljegren, No. 2028.

So things remained till June 1843, when the Rev. C. Hedmark, the Priest of Rök Parish, during the removal of the Church Corn-magazine, got a sight of the other side of the stone as it stood in the wall. He took the opportunity to make a largish drawing of both sides, for it now came out that both bore runes. This drawing was never publisht, but transcripts circulated among Runologists. Unfortunately he was foolish enough to build the stone up again in the wall of the churchporch. He even unwittingly turned the newly found side inwards, so that no one could control his copy of that fresh inscription. Facts have since shown that he was *tolerably* correct as far as he went, tho he drew all the runes stiff and straight, quite contrary to their real form.

In August 1861 Intendant P. A. Sæve had an opportunity of visiting this monument, and made a new drawing of the side visible, the one already printed, which of course gave some invaluable corrections. A transcript of this was in the most friendly way sent me by his brother, Professor Carl Sæve.

But in the mean time, having recognized Old-Northern runes in the manuscript copy of the other side, and being now more and more convinced of the absolute necessity of procuring a fresh and trustworthy drawing of the whole stone, I sent a petition to the Royal Swedish Academy of History and Antiquities, Stockholm, begging the powerful assistance of that learned body. I also drew attention to the opportunity which would thus be afforded of removing the block to a more suitable place, where it could be seen on every side. Riks-Antiquary B. E. Hildebrand, the Secretary, gave the weight of his influence to my prayer, and the Academy entrusted Intendant P. A. Sæve with the task. It was an arduous one. That gentleman had already workt very hard, required rest, and the season was advanced. It was now the end of Sept. 1862. But he sacrificed everything to science, set out for Rök, and spent many days with his gang of men in getting the stone out of the wall, in removing it to an open space not far off, in raising it there, and in taking measurements and copies. The difficulties were very great, as the block is so enormous, as fresh runes were now discovered on the top and edges, and as infinite care had to be taken lest a single one of these precious letters should be endangered or defaced. But at last all was triumphantly effected.

As it now towers at the western end of Rök Churchyard, in the Härad of Lysing, near Täkern in the southwest of the province, this monolith is one of the most remarkable in the world. It is of granite, greatest height about 13 feet, greatest breadth about 4 feet 8 inches, thickness 18 inches above and 16 below, and 8 to 9 inches in the middle. It is a book of stone — for none other block comes near it in the number of its staves — containing more than 770 Runic letters. Notwithstanding its great age, it has suffered little scathe, perhaps from its being so early removed from its heathen grave-mound to the shelter of a Christian building. — I may as well add here, that Prof. C. Sæve made a copy of this block on linen, full size.

The next contribution of importance towards understanding this piece appeared in 1866 ("Svenska Folket under Hednatiden", Stockholm, 8vo) from the pen of Dr. Hans Ol. H. Hildebrand, but he only handled a few of the lines. This has now been followed (summer of 1874) by an exhaustive treatise, whose closing pages and drawings however have yet to appear. (They have since been publisht). The author is my learned friend Prof. Sophus Bugge of Christiania. (See "Tolkning af runeindskriften på Rökstenen i Östergötland", in "Antiquarisk Tidskrift för Sverige", Vol. 5, Part 1, pp. 1—96, 8vo. Stockholm 1873, and Part 2, 1878).

As might be expected, Prof. Bugge's is a most excellent and instructive essay, and has largely increast our knowledge of the risting. Everything is treated carefully and soberly, and his linguistical talents are here of essential service. He has also ingeniously and successfully deciphered most of the

secret Scandinavian-runic lines. Thus all good rune-men and lore-men will unite in tendering him their heartfelt thanks.

But at the same time I think that he has failed in many of his renderings. I think some things forced and heavy, and others unlikely or impossible, and summon courage — standing on his shoulders as he stood on mine — to make a fresh effort. If I only partially succeed, I shall be content. Even my errors will be a warning and a help. We all acknowledge that the inscription is very hard to make out, — partly because there is scarcely any division of the words, — then because letters repeated twice are scarcely ever written twice, the stave is doubled in the reading as so often, and we may therefore be tempted to double it almost everywhere, — and partly because of the archaisms of phrase and form in so very old a cutting. Add to this, that its general character is very different from almost all the other stones known to us, which therefore give us little or no help. We miss the welcome and illustrative parallel formulas. And then we know so little, in comparison, of that old heathen time. Among other things words which to us are so hard may perhaps be names of places or clans or half-mythical kennings and picture-words. Yet more. The runes are not the *oldest*, which distinguish between G and K, D and T, B and P, &c. by own characters, nor the *youngest*, which do the same thing by *dotting* the K and so making it G, the T and so making it D, &c. But they are the oldest Scandinavian, which has neither the one nor the other, only 16 letters. Consequently we are very often at a loss. Both forms may give good meanings, but may sometimes lead to very different results. See for instance the word *TIKIR*, which in the one place I think was = *TIKIR dogs*, in the other *TIKIR tens*.

As I begin by throwing my former translation into the fire, I here handle my fresh materials entirely *de novo*, and in as few words as I can.

First, the text itself, the runic characters. I frankly accept these as I find them on the plates executed by the Roy. Swedish Academy of Hist. & Antiquities for Prof. Bugge. These I use and print here, the same Academy having generously presented me with a set of the 4 blocks. Prof. B. has had every advantage. He has himself long and minutely examined the monument — which I have never seen; he has also had the ocular opinions and help of Dr. H. Hildebrand and Director C. F. Nordensköld, as well as of Herr K. A. Hagson, and he has also used the excellent photographs taken by Herr C. F. Lindberg, which I also follow.

*Two-and-a-half* lines give us the (chiefly) Old-Northern characters. A glance will show us that they make no sense as they stand. But I believe they are full of meaning, for I still firmly hold my former opinion, that they are "initials or contractions or some kind of secret writing." Dr. Hildebrand and Prof. Bugge think they are mere nonsense-marks, idly carved for a show or to fill in. This seems to me very violent. They more likely give *some prayer or religious or other formula* well known in its day, and here written in crypt-runes or shortenings to save space. Our middle-age *Christian* remains *abound in similar things* in Latin, and some of these we cannot understand in spite of all our acquaintance with middle-age Christianity. so strangely cut and contracted are they! These *old* runes would be the same venerable peculiarity here, as our *Black-letter* is in our modern art.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I will give quite a modern instance of this, also in Sweden. On the 29th of May 1876 died in Linköping a highly respected man, the Burgomaster (Mayor) Fredrik Behm. He was "Ördförande Mästare" (Presiding Master) of the Scottish Freemasons' Lodge "Gyllene Gripen" (the Golden Griffin) in that city. A year after, on the anniversary of his decease, his brother-masons raised a stone to his memory. Besides other inscriptions it bore:

FREDRIK BEHM.  
BOROMÄSTARE R. W. O.  
ORDF. M. I SK. L. G. G.

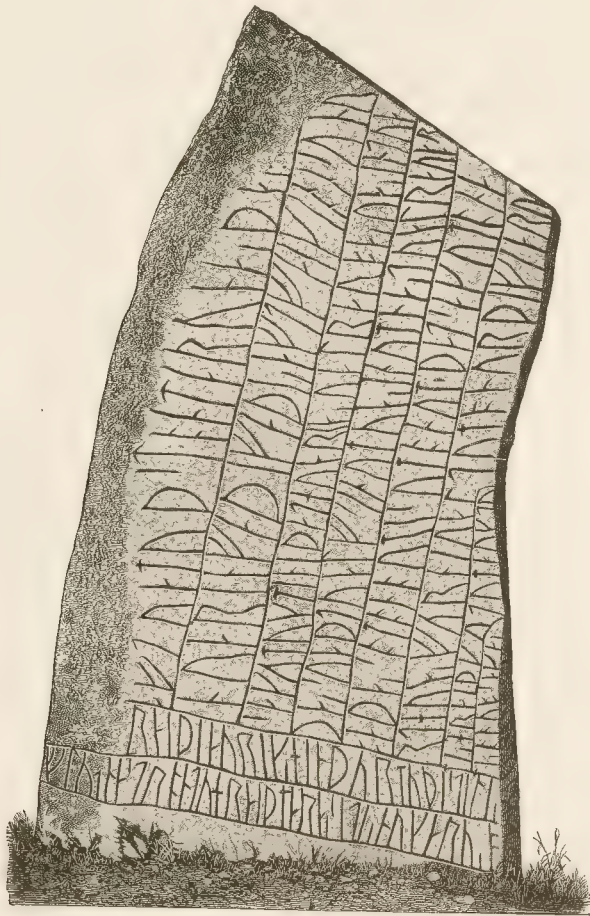
Suppose that in the year 2877 a "runologist" should say — because he could not explain them — that the mysterious letters R. W. O. ORDF. M. I SK. L. G. G. were gibberish or mere fillings-in! But we, the *now* living, in 1877, know that they mean

RIDDARE AF-WASA ORDEN.  
ÖRDFÖRANDE MÄSTARE I SKOTSEA LOGEN DEN-GYLLENE GRIPEN

(= Knight of the Vasa Order, Presiding Master in the Scottish Lodge the Golden Griffin).

Several things are in Twig-runes, and other secret letters. Of these in their place.

The great body of the whole is, however; in the usual shorter or Scandinavian alphabet. But a few of these are in shapes more or less uncommon. Thus A, B, H, M, S, end-R are here *þ*, *ð*, *†*, *ſ*, *l*, *h*, instead of the usual *4*, *8*, *\**, *Y*, *h*, *Λ*. But this end-R (*l*) is here used almost promiscuously with *R* for B. The rune *þ* is here *o*, as usual in the later futhork. Prof. Bugge has unhappily given it by *a*, which is very misleading. He should either have kept *Λ*, the value he has so commonly assigned it, or



FRONT (FIRST SIDE) OF THE BLOCK.

taken *o*, the value it really has. I suppose he means by his bastard letter a kind of nasal *Λ* or *Æ*. I deny his theory. At all events he has no right to bolster it up by inventing a new letter.

Taught by experience, I have now abandoned my heresy, and join C. Sæve, Dr. Hildebrand and Bugge in taking *†* to be *h*, not *e*.

In this fresh attempt, I have altered the order in which I think the different cuttings are to be arranged. To make everything quite clear, I will go regularly thro them.



## a. Foreside or front, 8 standing lines:

AFTUAMUPTONTARUNAEPAR : •  
 INUARINFAMFADIAFTFAIKIONSUNU  
 SAKUMUKMINIDATHUARIAUUALRAUBAUUAINTUA  
 PAASUADTUALFSINUMUAAINUMNAKTUALRAUB<sup>R</sup>  
 BADAASOMONOU MISUMONUM • DATSAKUMONA  
 RTHUAFURNIALTUMONURDIFIARU  
 MIHRAIDKUTUMAUKTU  
 MIRONUBSAKA



SECOND SIDE OF THE BLOCK.

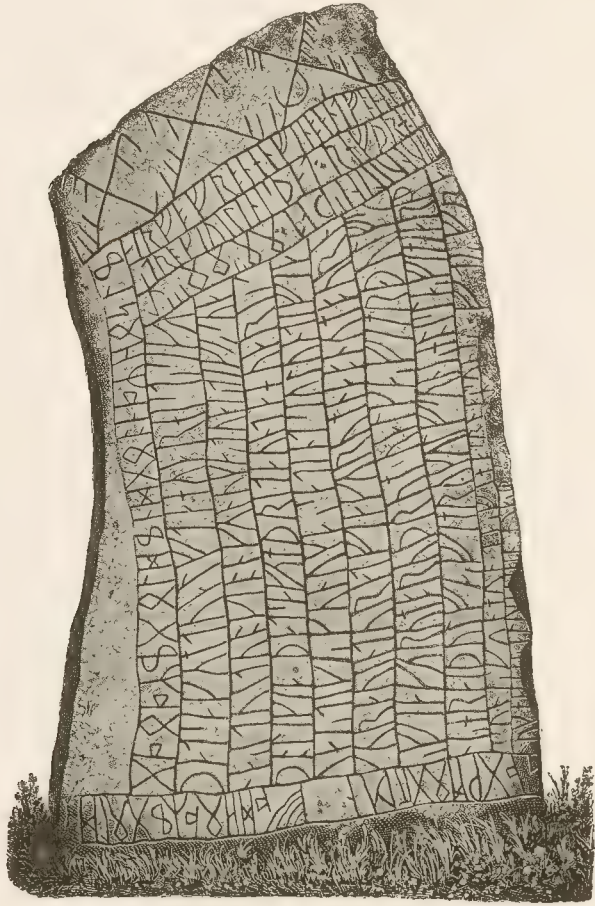
## b. Foreside, 2 flat lines below:

RAIDIAURIKASHINDURMUMSTILIR  
 FLUTNASTRONTUHRADIMARAASITIANUKARUO

## c. Second plate. Edge or narrow side:

KUTASINUMSKIALTIUBFATLADRSKATIMARIKA

d. Fourth plate; second narrow side. Double line below and single line above. *In Cipher.* Both first read by Prof. Bugge. See his p. 82, and p. 236, &c. in my *Old-Northern Runic Monuments*. Prof. B. explains to us that the same-shaped crypt-runes point out the order *in* the group, and the next the order *of* the group, the Froy class being here number 3. Thus we have the 5th stave in the 3rd class (a), the 2nd in the 3rd (v) and the 3rd in the 3rd (v), that is *RVV*. Then he rightly reads the next, which are easier, the common Twig-runes, Froy's class being still



THIRD SIDE OF THE BLOCK.

the 3rd. The 3rd of the 2nd class (or *HNIAS*<sup>1</sup>), *I*, — the 2nd of the 2nd, *N*, — the 3rd of the 2nd, *L*, — the 2nd of the 1st, *M*, — the 5th of the 3rd, *R*, — the 1st of the 3rd, *F*, — the 3rd of the 1st, *L*, — the 2nd of the 3rd, *V*, — the 4th of the 3rd, *O*, — the 3rd of the 2nd, *I*, thus

RUDINIMRFLUOI

<sup>1</sup> Hagal's class being sometimes *HNIAS* (not *HNIAS*), so as to give it as many runes as Froy's. Ty's group has then only *emlr*

e. Plate 3. Top cross-line. *In Cipher.* First redd by Prof. Bugge. His key is the well-known one (but which I had overlookt) — the taking the letter *next after* the one given, thus B for A, C for B, D for C, &c. So here, Froy's group being still the last, for A we take S, for I we take A, for B we take K, and so on, so that AIRFBREBNHNFNBANTFONHNU give us

SAKUMUKMINIUAIMSIBURINID

our well-known formula above and hereafter, and thus a triumphant proof of Bugge's success.



FOURTH SIDE OF THE BLOCK.

f. Plate 3. Second top cross-line, down to the stop. Usual runes:

ATROKIULINISDAT

g. Plate 3. The rest of second top line. *In Cipher.* The runes as they stand (REHFRH:IS) are meaningless. Bugge applies his key (Class 1, BMLR, Cl. 2, HNIAS, Cl. 3, FUDORK, and, taking the letter *next after* the one markt, gets KNUOKNAT, which he thinks will give a fair meaning. I believe not. I take the Classes in their common order (FUDORK, HNIAS, TBMLR), and (which was in olden times a very

usual method of secret writing), take the letter *next before* the one given (A for B, B for C, C for D, &c.). This produces

OKRUOKNA

h. Plate 3. Third top-line, down to the stop (where the Old-Northern staves begin). Not in cipher:

IAIUNULINISDAT

i. Plate 3. The rest of the line, then the frame-line below, then the frame-line to the left, all in chiefly Old-Northern runes. These I suppose to be in *Cipher or Contractions*, and to contain some Prayer or Grave-words or Lament connected with the deceased hero UAMUR, of whom we have just heard that he had a young son and heir. There seems to be a decided parallel-formula hidden in

DDHOFANGGOLDG

D O DANGGOLDNG

j. Plate 3. All the 9 standing lines in Scandinavian runes:

DATSAKUMTUALFTAUAHIST/ASIKU

NARITUTUOKIONKUNUKAKTUAITIKIHSUA

DOLIKIA · DATSAKUMDRITAUNTAUARIAT

UAIITIKIKUNUKAASATINTSICLUNTIFA

KURAUINTURATFIKURUMNABNUMBURN

IRFIAKURUMBRUDRUM · UALKARFIMRADULFSU

NIRHRAIDULFARFIMRUKULFSUNIRHOISLARFIMHARU<sup>p</sup>

SSUNIRKUNMUNTARFIMAIRNAASUNIR · FTIRFRA

NUKMO(NAU)ALU(RK)IAINHUAH(A) . . . . .

This last line is scathed and broken. The end-letters are altogether gone. By the help of the excellent light-bild I have redd it as above, and I think I am pretty nearly correct. (Prof. Bugge, who has a different order of the staves, reads: NUKMA..MI(?)R(?)ALU..K.AINHUAED.....FTIRFRA).

k. Plate 3. Top of the stone. *Tree-runes*. Redd from right to left. The great sagacity of Bugge has given him the key to these marks. He has found that in each figure the limb above to the right-top tells us the number *in* the rune-bunch, while that to the right-bottom gives the number *of* the rune-bunch. On the left, contrariwise, the top-limb shows the number, the bottom one the family. Bugge again takes his order (BMLA, HNIAT, FUDORK), and gets (the 5th in the 3rd, R; the 2nd in the 3rd, U; &c.) RUNIMO. I follow him otherwise, but take, as before, *the more usual* rune-classes (TEMLA, HNIAS, FUDORK), thus getting

RUNIBO

l. Plate 3. Top of the stone. The two plain letters on the first figure to the right, D, R, or

DR

m. Plate 2. Top of the stone. The 5 plain staves above and between the others, correctly redd by Bugge

BIARI

n. Plate 2. Top of the stone. *Tree-runes*. Redd from right to left. Bugge reads them in the same way as the last. The result is NENSI, which of course cannot be right. So he gives it up in despair. I again take the more usual rune-groups (as in No. k), and again resort to the familiar method of taking the letter *next before* the one given, as in No. g. All at once is clear; we get the verb wanted:

HUHUAN

Thus, adding my small help to that of Prof. Bugge, I think we may say that the whole of this many-leaved Rune-book is now deciphered — all except a very few letters broken away in No. j, and of even these we may guess the sense. *The meaning* of all these ristings is a very different matter. Here we shall probably long disagree. But we can each add something. Ten or twenty years hence we shall know more.

As I have said, Prof. Bugge's ingenious comment on this inscription is of great value and cannot be too widely known. I therefore, as shortly as possible, here compress his reading of the runes and his translation:



AFT UAMUD STANTA RUNAR DAR.

IN UARIN FADI, FADIR, AFT FAIKIAN SUNU.

SAKUM\_MUKMINI DAT, HUARIAR UALRAUBAR UARIN TUA DAR SUAD TUALF SINUM UARIN\_NUMNAR TUAL-  
RAUB<sup>r</sup> [taken by Bugge to be = TUAR UALRAUBAR] BADAAR SAMAN A UMISUM\_MANUM.

DAT SAKUM ANART, HUAR FUR NIU ALTUM AN URDI FIARUMIR HRAIDRUTUM, AUK TU MIR AN UB SAKAR.

RAIP\_MAJURIKR,

HIN DURMUDI

STILIR FLUTNA,

STRANTU HRAIDMARAR.

SITIR NU KARUR

A KUTA SINUM.

SKIALTI UB FATLADH.

SKATI MARKA.

DAT SAKUM TUALFTA. HUAR HISTR SI KUNAR ITU\_UT UAKI AN, KUNUKAR TUAIR TIKIR SUAD A LIKIA.

DAT SAKUM DRITAUNTA, HUARIAR TUAIR TIKIR KUNUKAR SATINT SIULUNT I FIAKURA UINUR AT FIAKURUM  
NABNUM, BURNIR FIAKURUM BRUDRUM: UALKAR FIM, RADULFS\_SUNIR; HRAIDULFAR FIM, RUKULFS\_SUNIR; HAJSLAR  
FIM, HARU(a)ES SUNIR; KUNMUNTAR FIM, AIRNAR SUNIR.

NUKMA..MI(?)R(?)ALU..K.AINHUA/TP.....FTIAFRA

SAKUM\_MUKMINI, UAIM SI BURIN\_NIDR TRAKI; UULIN IS DAT.

KNUA KNATI AI UN; UULIN IS DAT.

RUDI NIMR FLUA I.

RUNIMADR BLARI.....

There is one great merit in Bugge's version. He has not once taken refuge in any 'miscutting'.  
He respects the monument as it stands, in so far as he finds no clear case of 'stone-cutter's carelessness'.  
His version is as follows:

AFTER UAMUD STAND RUNES THESE.

BUT UARIN CARVED (let write them), his-FATHER, AFTER his-FEY (deceast) SON.

We-SAY SON-MINNE THAT, WHICH BATTLE SPOILS MIGHT-BE (= were) TWO THOSL. WHICH TWELVE TIMES  
MIGHT-BE (= were) TAKEN, TWO BATTLE-SPOILS BOTH TOGETHER (= at once) FROM DIFFERENT MEN.

THAT SAY-we OTHER (the-second, next), WHERE FOR (attackt by) NINE BANDS HE MIGHT-BECOME  
(= was) FAR-OFF from-the-HRAITH-GOTHS, AND DIED THEN THRO the-STRIFES (= in the fight).

RULED FOLK-MIGHTY

THE DARING

PRINCE of-SEAMEN

the-STRAND of-the-HRAITH-SEA:

SITTETH NOW EQUIPT

ON STEED HIS,

with-his-SHIELD ON-him BELTED,

a-CHIEF of-the-ILLUSTRIOUS.

THAT SAY-we TWELFTHLY, WHERE the-HORSE might-SEE (- saw) of-GUNNR (= where the Wargoddess'  
horse, = the Wolf, saw) FOOD far-and-WIDE the-PLAIN ON, KINGS TWO TENS AS THEREON they-LIE.

THAT SAY-we THIRTEENTHLY, WHICH TWO TENS (= twenty) KINGS might-SIT (= sat) SEALAND IN for-  
FOUR WINTERS, WITH FOUR NAMES, BORN of-FOUR BROTHERS: VALKS FIVE, RATHULF's SONS; HRAITHULFS FIVE,  
RUKULF's SONS; HAJSLS FIVE, HARU(a)TH's SONS; GUNMUNDS FIVE, AIRN's SONS.

We-SAY SON-MINNE, to-WHOM might-BE (- was) BORN a-BOY to-the-CHIEFTAIN (= to what chieftain  
he was born as son); VILIN IS THAT (= he). (= Vamup's grandfather was Vilin).

PRESS-ON COULD-he (= he-ruled) AY the-WAVES. VILIN IS THAT (= he). The-WIKING (pirate, foe)  
TAKES to-FLEE — — —.

To come now to my own attempt. I think I have made at least two improvements. I have  
taken the several carvings in a different order, thereby apparently bringing together what belongs  
together, and I have deciphred and redd *all* that hitherto had defied our efforts. As I said, I take the

runes as given by eyewitnesses and the sun-pictures, and make no attempt to change any one of them as 'miscut'. I am also as faithful as possible to the text, straining nothing. But I am fully aware, and have repeated it several times, that these very old inscriptions *where the words are not separated by points* are a nose of wax, the more as we may presuppose dialectic peculiarities and local archaisms or novelties so very far back, and as the runic method of *doubling the letter at will* — is dangerously tempting. Still, we must try to throw light on these costly pieces, and there is no harm in doing our best.

A glance at Bugge's rendering will show that it has influenced my own. I follow C. Sæve, Dr. Hildebrand and Bugge in reading IN UARIN, instead of NUARIN. My constructions of *b* and *c* are altogether Bugge's, where he differs from my first version, save that I alter his *Å* KUTA to ROK-KUTA. In *j* I adopt Hildebrand's and Bugge's TUAIR TIKIR as *twenty* but only in one (the last) place, and in the King-roll I follow Bugge where I go from my first essay. I have spoken above of his and my share in the Crypt-runes.

A. *To whom the stone was raised.*

AFT UAMUD STONTA RUNAR DAR.

*After (in memory of) Uamuth stand runes these.*

AFT, one of the many variations in the shape of this common preposition. — UAMUD, a mansname in the accusative, not met with before; probably meant, as Bugge rightly proposes, WOE-MOOD, the WOE-MINDED, the WOE-BRINGER to his foes, the Fierce Warrior, and he reminds us of the BORGILS VOMÜLI (? the Foul-mouth'd or Wry-mouth'd) of the Landnámabók. I know of no German or Saxon name WA, but there is an Old-Engl, UUA, and also an ÆSC-WA. — STONTA, stand, 3 pl. pr. — RUNAR, runes, n. pl. f. — DAR, these, n. pl. f.

B. *By whom the stone was raised.*

IN UARIN FADI, FADIR,

AFT FAIKION SUNG.

*But Warin faved (made, raised-this), the-father,  
after his-fey (deceast) son.*

*In stave-rime verse.* IN, Early English IN, EN, but. The *i* is taken from the side-line. — UARIN, mansname, n. s. — FADI, 3 s. p. (FAKED, FADGED, FAWED), raised, let-raise, made; answers to the O. Norse FÆTHIDO on the Einang stone, and to the O. Engl. FAUGEDO on the Ruthwell Cross, FEG(de) on the Alnmouth Cross, from the O. N. E. inf. FAGIA, O. South Engl. FAGIAN, FÆGIAN. Is used not only before *Runes* but all sorts of things. We have it before STIN on the Jättendal block, Helsingland, (Liljegren, No. 1071): KUNBURKA FADI STIN DINA. — FADIR, n. s. Father. — AFT, after, as before. — FAIKION, his-fey, ac. s. m. This word properly means *death-doomed*, chosen by Woden to fall and be one of his kemp's in Walhall. Thus, one who *cannot* avoid his fate. — Used *poetically* for *dead*. — SUNU, ac. s., old form. son.

C. *What the Father says about his Son.*

SAKUM, UK MINI DAT:

HUAR I AR-UAL

RAUBAR UARIN

TUA, DAR'S UA AD

TUAF SINUM

UARINUM NAKT.

UAL-RAUBR

BAP, AR SOMO.

NOUMIS, U-MONOM.

## DAT SAKUM ONART:

HUAR FUR NIU ALTUM  
 ON NURDI-FIARU MIR;  
 HRAID-KUTUM AUK TUM  
 MIR ON UBS AKAR,  
 RAIÞ-ÞIAURIKR,  
 HIN ÞURMUMI  
 STILIR FLUTNA.  
 STRONTU HRAID-MARAR.  
 SITIR NU KARUR  
 ROK KUTA SINUM,  
 SKIALTI UB-FATLADR,  
 SKATI MARIKA.  
 RU DI NIMR FLUOI!

## SAKUM, UK MINN:

UAIMSI BURIN NIDR TROKI:  
 UILIN IS DAT.  
 OKR UOKNAI AI UN;  
 UILIN IS DAT.

*We saw, and remember-thou that:*

*Where in yore-fight  
 booty's Warin (hero, = WAMUÞ)  
 two — where he battled on  
 with-twelve his  
 Warins bravely —  
 war-spoils  
 gained, Thane of Glory,  
 from-Noumi's sea-men.*

*That saw-we next:*

*Where he-swept with-nine war-bands  
 on the north-coast with-me;  
 to-the-Hraith-Goths added-he fresh-rule,  
 that-mighty-one on UB's Acre (= the Ocean).  
 Swayed illustrious,  
 he the-daring  
 prince of-deck-braves,  
 the-strand of-Hraith-mere.  
 Sitteth-he now ready-equipt  
 by-war-steed his,  
 with-shield tight-belted,  
 that-lord of-the-Marings.  
 His-rest, so, taketh-he in-his-Galley!*

*We saw, and remember thou:*

*In whom born-is an-heir to-that-warrior:  
 Wilin is that (= it is).  
 For-us-both may-he-redden away the-billow!  
 Wilin is that (= his name is Wilin).*

Certainly a remarkable Grave-lay. If I have not entirely misunderstood it, it is a striking specimen of the Old-Northern Lament. First the solemn formula, *We Saw, Remember it!* Then an 8-lined stanza of stave-rime verse. A second time the *We Saw*, followed by a stanza and a half. A third time the prose formula, and then 4 lines of verse.

*Passus 1.* I translate the SAKUM-formula by SAW-we, not SAY-we as Bugge has it, because I believe that it is this very meaning which gives force and oneness to the father's pictures of his son's exploits, and to the following pictures of what *he himself* had done and suffered. He was an *eye-witness* of both.

One of my objections to Bugge's version is, that in all the long funeral panegyric the actor's (the son's) name is not mentioned once! WAMUD means, as Bugge himself thinks, *the Battle-fierce warrior* — whose object was always largely *Prey*, Spoil, Booty. Now I take RAUBAR UARIN to be a kenning — a poetical translation — in the common olden style, of UAMUD. Thus we not only have *his name*, but in a form largely potentialized. And if I am right, it is important to observe that UARIN is here a *Clan-name*, as well as a *King's name*. Both as a mans- and a folk-name, WARIN, WERIN, WARN, WERN has been famous for 2000 years over all the Scando-Gothic lands. See Bugge's remarks hereon, p. 10, 11.

SAKUM, 1 pl. p. We SAW; not only a *lordly* plural for a singular, but also a *real* plural. *I and my chief warriors and nearest kin.* Has still the K (-G, SAGUM), which otherwise has fallen away from the very oldest Norse-Icelandic remains, while it was always largely kept in England and Sweden. — UK, EKE, and, one of the many forms of this word (most frequently AUK, OK) in old runics. If I am not in error, this is the only place where this word occurs here. But it is sometimes found with *different* spellings in the same inscription. — MINI, 2 s. imperative. MINNE-thou, remember, forget not. — DAT, ac. s. n. THAT. — HUAR, adv. WHERE, the spot, the campaign in which. — I, prep. IN, in, on, in among. This preposition has lost its N all thro this risting, while ON has kept its N. So little can we draw up "iron laws" for all these endless caprices of local dialect. — AR-UAL, ac. s. n., early fight, YORE-WALE, long past battle-slaughter or field of death, this first stanza (in my opinion) referring to WAMUTH's first considerable exploit, in his *earlier* years. Hence I here take AR as YORE. I have not seen this compound elsewhere. — RAUBAR, g. s. f. REIF'S, plunder's, war-spoil's. — UARIN, n. s. WARIN, honor-title from the clan as well as from his father's name. Thus RAUBAR-UARIN is a kenning in the old style for *Foe-damager*, means *Hero*, and is a synonym of WAMUTH. — TUA, ac. pl. f. TWO. This TUA as ac. pl. f. (not TUAR) is the standing form in O. Engl., O. Fris., O. Sax., Ohg, and very frequently in the oldest Swedish manuscripts. But these last are only in *Middle-Swedish*. We must remember that whatever parchments *may* have existed in any of the many Scandinavian dialects from *old times*, answering to such in our *Old-English* shire-talks, or in *early times*, answering to such in our *Early-English* shire-talks — ARE LOST. All our fornest Scandian vellums are in MIDDLE-SCANDIAN moals. Hence the excessive worth of yet *more* antique *Runic Remains*. Accordingly we see that this Swedish stone, from the 9th century, shows the same form in TUA as the 400 or 500 winters *later* Swedish skin-writs. — DARS = DAR IS (= DAR'S), THERE-AS, where. — UA, 3 s. p., he-WOOG, fought, battled. — AD, AT, on, onwards. AT is often written AD, especially where it has the line-accent. — TUALF, dat. pl. with-TWELVE. — SINUM, d. pl. m. O. Engl. SIN, his. By taking SINUM as *his*, as in my first version, instead of as *times* as in Bugge's rendering, we get rid of the strange or impossible feat of taking 2 battle-spoils from different persons 12 times = 24 battle-spoils. If this means in one battle it is absurd. If it means thro a long campaign or series of battles, it is too little to be separately mentioned. — UARINUM, d. pl. m. WARIN-men, tribesmen, trusty warriors, kemps. — NART, adv. bravely, fiercely. — UAL-RAUBR, ac. pl. f. WALE-REIFS, battle-spoils, victories. — BAD, 3 s. p. BADE, askt by fighting, gained, took by the asking of the sword. — AR, n. s. he-the-AR, messenger, servant, thane. — SOMO, g. s. f. of-SOME, honor, glory. This word has several shapes in the forn talks, and is both m. and fem. O for U is frequent. — NOUMIS, g. s. In so splendid and minute a description of WAMUTH's first great war-victory, we naturally expect that *the place*, the scene, should be mentioned. I think I find this name here. Perhaps it may mean what is usually spelt NAUMIS, g. s. or NAUMS, the district of NAUMSFJÖRDER in NAUMDELAFYLEKI in Tronyems Stift with its great ilands and large sea-faring population. Or it may be somewhere else. But we certainly expect to find the locality mentioned. As we know, these Sea-king's fared everywhere for fame and booty. In my first translation I divided SOMO ON OUMIS, taking the o twice and having OUMIS instead of NOUMIS, for, as I have said, we have unhappily no dividing stops and we often shall *never* know what was the word intended. I remarkt at the time that this OUMIS might be a place-name, perhaps UMI, the district now called UME-Å in Norrland, Sweden. And I still think that this is as good a guess as the other. All I insist upon is, that the name of the place



must lurk somewhere. — SU-MONOM, d. pl. SEA-MEN. The O. N. word for SEA has various forms. One of the *commonest* in runics is *SU*.

*Passus 2.* DAT, THAT, as before. — SAKUM, we-SAW, as before. — ONART, ac. neut. As second, next. Manifold are the shapes of this old pronoun, the English OTHER, usual N. I. ANNARR. I have noted the following in runics. N. s. m. ANAR, ANDAR, ONAR, ONON. D. s. n. ADRU. Ac. s. m. ÆNÆN, ANAN. N. pl. m. INTRIR. N. pl. n. ANIN. Here, ac. s. n. ONART. — HUAR, WHERE, as before. — FUR, 3 s. p. he-FOOR, fared, went, swept. — NIU, d. pl. with-NINE. — ALTUM, d. pl. troops, bands of 80 men, ship-crews, armed bodies. Thus WAMUTH commanded (if taken literally) 720 men in this expedition. — ON, ON, or against. — NURDI-FIARU, d. s. f., the NORTH-FORE, the Northern sea-board, the coast Northwards. In olden compounds the final R is both absent and present (as if here NURDFIARU or NURDEFIARU). I take I to be here therefore either a connecting vowel or a softening of the R. All this on the supposition that we have here a place-name. But we expect this in the present description of the Hero's second great campaign, as in the lines celebrating his first. And certainly such a lettergroup as NURDI-FIARU looks very like a local district. To us a mere NORTH-SHORE is naturally too general to mark out any to us known distinct spot, in the Baltic North of the East-Gotland shores, or on the other side along the West-Gotland limit in the Skagerack. But many such geographical names are equally indefinite, and give no meaning unless *known*. What, for instance, can be more unfit than the name NORIEGR (NORTH-WAY) itself? And yet, when we *know* that it is *NORWAY*, it is sharp enough. We *do not know* the exact coast-lands *here* referred to. — MIR, d. s. with-ME. — HRAID-KUTUM, d. pl. m. to the HRAITH-GOTHS, but who they were we cannot say. Still I think my former meaning correct, and that in this passage the word included the allied name and confederacy of East and West Gotland. Of course it *may* refer only to the men of East Gotland, in which folkland the stone stands, tho the stone *must* stand *somewhere*, cannot be in two places at once. (I beg pardon for my translation of these two lines; but I think Bugge's too bald and petty.) — AUK, 3 s. p. he eked, he increast, he added. In case I am right, this form of the past tense is antique and peculiar. As RAUBAR is broad for ROBAR and MAURIKR for MO[B]RIKR, so here AUK is broad for OK, still more compest from the old reduplicate AI-AUK than the orthodox N. I. IÓK. Should I have taken this word rightly, as a verb (and not as *EKE*, and, as Bugge has done), we have here the long-sought O. Swedish p. t. of this verb AUKA(N). See Rydqvist's Svenska Språkets Lagar, 1, 170. — TUM, ac. s. m. DOOM, power, might, rule, dominion, glory — that right and splendor which is given *by the award of the sword, or of Woden (Odin) the Lord of Battle*. This meaning of DOM, which is so strikingly common in the oldest English epic verse, *must* also in the earliest times have been well known in the Scandian motherland, altho it died out, as it did in England itself. We have a proof in the lingering of this sense in the N. I. HEIDINN DOMR, a pagan land, heathendom, gen. HEIDINN DÓMS, of paganism, dat. HEIDINN DÓMI. See Egilsson, s. v., phrases which inevitably point to a much wider and fuller meaning of DÓMR than the common law-sentence. At all events I find that older meaning here; *eked might, added glory, to the Hraith-Goths, widened the sway of the Hraith-Goths*, a perfectly correct and antique construction. Should it be rejected, I know not what to propose. Bugge's strikes me as altogether below the mark. — MIR, n. s. m. MERE, bright, famous, illustrious. — ON, ON, as before. — UBS, g. s. m. of UB. — AKAR, ac. s. m. ACRE, field, plain. I hold fast to this translation, now as in my first attempt. Bugge himself (p. 83) speaks of the crowd of Half-gods, Sea-kings, Pirates and bold Adventurers whose names came to be used as decorations in poetical language for = Battle, Hero, &c. It became a fashionable compliment so to employ a name, and numbers of these names were required by the scalds partly for variation and partly to suit the fluctuating needs of the *staverime*. Of many of these names we know absolutely nothing. Every now and then a new one — never mentioned before. turns up. I believe that this UB (UBBI, UBBIR, UBBR, or whatever the nom. may have been — UBBI means the terrible, wild, fierce, and the savage chief UBBA played a "terrible" part in England — was such a warchief name. UB'S ACRE would then be in the usual kenning-style for *the sea-king's battlepath, the ocean*. Certainly there is nothing impossible in all this, and Bugge himself has several things much more venturesome. — RAID, 3 s. p., RÉD, ruled, governed. We are now on safer ground, for in the next 8 lines I chiefly follow the learned Bugge. — MAURIKR, n. s. m. THEOD-RICH, folk-mighty, the Ð slurred before the R, as in so many other instances. — HIN, n. s. m. def. YON, the, demonstrative article. — ÞURMUDI, n. s. m., THOR-MOODY, daring-minded, most gallant, fearless. — STILLR, n. s. m., STILLER, moderator, steerer, prince. — FLUTNA, g. pl. m., of the

FLOTAN, fleet-men, sea-men. The O. Engl. FLOTA, g. FLOTAN, means both a FLOAT, raft, ship, and a FLOATER, sailor, sea-dog. The Old Scandinavian FLOTT, g. FLOTA, is found only in the sense of FLOAT, boat. The g. pl. (O. E. FLOTAN = FLOTANA, O. Scand. *here* FLUTNA = FLUTANA = FLOTANA = FLOTNA) forms a new N. I. noun, used only in the plural, n. [FLUTNAR] FLOTNAR, g. [*here* FLUTNA] FLOTNA. of the FLOATERS, sailors, men. — STRONTU, d. s. f., STRAND, shore, coast. N. I. dat. STRÖNDU (and STRÖND), while in the Gotland-law we have the d. AT STRANDU. In O. E. STRAND is masc. Thus RAID STRONTU, ruled, swayed the strand. — HRAID-MARAR, g. s. m., of-the-HRAITH-MAR, the mar or mer or mere or sea of the Hraith-Goths. Probably the East-Gotland coast on the Baltic. — SITIR, 3 s. pr., SITTETH. In olden times abundantly used, as *here*, not exactly for *sits* (tho this idea is not therefore excluded) but for *bides*, abides, stays, dwells, reposes. — NU, NOW. — KARUR, n. s. m., GARE, YARE, ready, equipt, with his weapons and jewels and utensils and pottery on and near him. KARUR is here probably = KARWR. — ROK-KUTA, d. s. m., by-his-war-steed. Altho the end-R on this stone is used almost promiscuously with R in words, whether the R was originally an s or not, yet we do not expect it to be employed at the beginning of a word, and this is the only instance, if it be such an instance. I believe it, however, to be so used here, and for a very simple reason. The inscription is immense, and letters are taken twice tho only carved once with excessive freedom, almost everywhere. But the R in KARUR is a mere end-R, a mere nominative-ending, not a part of the root. Therefore the stone-cutter must either write RR (two letters for one), or R taken twice, thereby sparing a stave. Bugge's proposed reading ITU-UT below, U taken twice, first as U, then as W, is as bad, if bad it be. Then again in my text we have ON, with the N, 3 times, and should expect it the 4th time also. I am quite aware that we have such variations as ON, O, IN, I, and many mo, on the same piece, and was the first to point them out as a frequent fact in opposition to "iron theories". Still where we can avoid this by what we otherwise think is a better reading, we do so. Now I trow that ROK-KUTA SINUM, by his battle-steed, is here — in this highly poetical and *steed* stanza (as it is technically called) — far better and more forcible than Bugge's O KUTA SINUM, on his steed. It is true we have here ROK, with O, but lower down RUKULFS with U. We all know, however, that in far-away monuments U continually interchanges with o, till at last o almost displaces U altogether. This objection has, I think, no weight. Bugge himself has HUARIAR, HUAR, HUAR, HUARIAR, with H, but UAINI without H, and A 3 times without N, but AN once with N, and UAIN twice without T, but SATINT with T. He is therefore as guilty as I. Such differences are common enough, if they otherwise may be taken as reasonable from the context. After all, should my reading be disapproved, we have only to take Bugge's O KUTA SINUM. As in this later stave-row we have only one rune for G and K, this ROK-KUTA is = ROG-GUTA, in the usual N. I. ROG-GOTA, from ROG. battle. strife, neut., and GOTI, g. GOTA, m., the name of the famous Charger ridden by GUNNAR GUKING, who married BRYNHILD BUDLE'S-DAUGHTER by the help of the renowned hero SIGURD FAFNERS-BANE. Hence it came to be taken as a kenning or poetical synonym for any noble war-horse in general. Thus its use here shows that this magnificent Saga-cyclus was known in Sweden as early at least as the 9th century, or more than one hundred years before the two runic blocks on which Sigurd's legend is figured in Södermanland, and which date from the close of the 10th yearhundred or the beginning of the 11th.<sup>1</sup> — SINUM, d. s. m., (SIN), his. — SKIALTI, d. s. m., with, by, his SHIELD, here SKIALDI, usual O. Scand. form SKILDI. — UB-FATLADR, n. s. m., OF-FETTLED, tied, fastened with a FETTL, bandric or band or thong or bandoleer, the N. I. FETILL, O. Swed. FÆTL, Swed. FATIL, O. E. FETEL. The OF, UF, UB, of our old dialects is often used emphatically to strengthen the meaning, but with no clear distinctive sense of its own. So here. The SKIALDAR-FETILL, SHIELD-FETTL, was therefore a shoulder-belt or strap which went from the right side of the neck down under the left shoulder, and held the shield when it was not actively required. Hence we also have BURLARA FETILL and SWORD-FETILL. Figures of the shield so borne are not frequent, as most such pictures are battle-scenes &c. But we may find them on the Bayeux Tapestry; in Eccleston's English Antiquities, London 1847, 8vo, p. 183, on the Sepulchral Brass of a Crusader about 1290; and in Cutts' Sepulchral Crosses, Lond. 1849, p. 21, a grave-stone from the 14th century in St. Magnus Cathedral, Orkney. Observe also the construction, SKIALTI, in the dative.

<sup>1</sup> See Sigurds-Bistningarna å Ramsundsberget och Göke-stenen. Af Carl Sæve. (In Kongl. Vitterh. Hist. och Ant. Akad. Handlingar. Vol. 6, Stockholm 1869, 8vo, pp. 321–364, with plates). See also my "On a Runic Door from Iceland", in Archaeologia Scotica, Vol. 5, Part 1, Edinburgh 1874, 4to, pp. 249–260, with Chenittype.

UB-FATLADF in the nom., in apposition to STILLR FLUTNA. We have a parallel in Sigurðarqvida 3, (or Brynhildarqvida), st. 16: FIOTRI FATLADF, *with-a-fetter bound*. — SKATI, n. s. m., a Lord, Helt, Leader. — MARIKA<sup>1</sup>, g. pl. of-the-MARINGS (or MERE-INGS); thus the Clan-name of his house. — RU, ac. s. f. his-ROO, rest, repose. — DI (properly abl. s. n. of DE), THY, therefore, so. — NIMR, he-NIMS, takes. — FLUOI, d. s. n. This I suppose to be the same word in substance as the N. I. FLEY, O. E. FLOEGE, Norse FLOY (see Aasen, Ordbog over det Norske Folkesprog, fem.), English FLY, FLEE, a swift boat, ship, vessel. It is here in -I, dative neuter form, whereby we have the -I in its place. These last 5 lines are very valuable as describing the interior of a Northern grave-chamber in the 9th century. For the how is the last home of a mighty Sea-king, and his own father has buried him with the olden rites. His War-Galley has been dragged high ashore, and therein his death-bed has been made. His gallant Steed, which has borne him thro so many dangers, is slaughtered and laid near his master, who bends in a crouching posture accoutred with lance and sword and dagger, rich gauds decking him, food-vessels for the long journey beside him, and his ornamented Shield slung on his left shoulder. There he takes his rest, for repose in the tomb is Man's universal prayer. This formula of REST and ROO, I have pointed out on many grave-stones, both with the older and later runes, and here it meets us again! Several times has a mighty Barrow been opened in Scandinavia and England, which has held the planks of what was once a Warrior-ship, together with the last laves of a corpse with its attendant arms and trinkets, and some crumbling bones of a Horse.

*Pæssus 3.* SAKUM, we-SAW, as before. — UK, and, as before. — MINI, remember, as before. — I, IN. — UAIMSI, d. s. m. with the definite enclitic -SI, WHOM, what person. We know how SI (whether the pronoun = THAT or the verb SEE!) clings to the pronouns, and especially to THE, forming a new demonstrative, THIS. I have not before seen this particle affix to any form of the pronoun HWA(R) = (HWA, HWO), WHO, but here, in my opinion, we have a clear example, and I look upon the I UAIMSI (= HUAIMSI) of this stone to be exactly on a line with the I DAIMSI HUKI (*in this grave-how*) of the Karlevi stone, Öland. UAIMSI for HUAIMSI, as UIT-UOKI for HUIT-UOKI, farther on. — BURIN, p. p. n. s. m., is-BORN. — NIDR, n. s. m. a-NITH, son, child. — TROKI, d. s. m. to-the-DRENG, to that captain, to that Thane. Here the N is nasalized and falls away (TROKI = TRONKI) which happens very rarely in this carving, only in one other place after o (UOKI = UONKI) and twice (in KUNUKAR) after u. The word itself, DRENG(R) in Scandinavia, DRENG in England, is found with endless variations of spelling on runic monuments, and is a title of honor, like all such sometimes used merely as *man* in general. It usually swings between *noble man* or *officer* and *soldier*. We have TROK (= TRONK = TRINK) on 2 stones in West-Gotland, TRÖK on 3 stones, 2 in W. Gotland and 1 in N. Jutland, and TRUK on one stone in Skåne, all in the accusative singular. — ULIN, n. s. a mansname. — IS, 3 s. pr. IS, with the s not yet softened into R. — PAT, nom. absolute indeclined, THAT, the one I refer to, the person in question. — OKR, dat. dual, (the O. Engl. UNC, M. Goth. UGK), to-us-two. Otherwise centuries back extinct in Sweden. — UOKNAI, 3 s. pr. conj., may-he-redden, may-he-blood-stain. This word is the N. I. VÖKNA, to become wet, become moist. I have not found it in any other Scando-Gothic speech. It is here used actively, tho neuter in form, as verbs often are in our oldest dialects, and it is also here found in a *poetical* sense (BLODI understood), = *to wet with blood*, to redden, dye with gore. If my reading be correct, this is the only verb in the 3rd s. pres. conjunctive in this whole carving, and, as we see, it ends in -AI (not -E or -Æ, as in O. E. and Ohg.; nor -A, as in O. Sax.; nor -I, seldom -E very seldom -AI, as in N. I.). There is another example on a large and fine old, but yet Christian, runish block at Ny Larsker, in the island of Bornholm, examined and copied by me in 1865. It ends, in stave-rime verse:

STEN DESI

STAI EFTIR.

*Led-STONE THIS*

*STAY (stand) AFTER-him!*

It thus has the same antique form as the M. Gothic of Wulfla, f. i. BAIRAI, LIGAI. Had we any Gothic monuments 500 years older than Wulfla, we might perhaps see whether an additional T (Þ) had fallen

<sup>1</sup> I had translated this gen. pl. MARIKA (= MARINKA, MARINGA) of-nobles, bright-ones, illustrious men. But I now take it as a Clan-name, of-the-MARINGS or MERINGS, to which family WARIN and his son WAMUTH doubtless belonged. In this I follow the Swedish Docent L. F. Leffler, who has just (March 1873) published "Rökstenen och Frithiofs Saga" (pp. 165—169 of "Nordisk Tidskrift för Vetenskap, Konst och Industri", Svo, Stockholm 1873, No. 2).



away, as in Sanskrit BHĀR-Ē-T, Zend BAR-ŌI-Ī, and Latin FER-A-T. — UULIN IS DAT, as before. — AI, adv. Always, ever. — UN, ac. s. (? f.) the wave, billow, O. Engl. ūð, N. I. uðr, UNNR, O. Sax. UTHA, Ohg. UNDEA, Lat. UNDA, all fem. — It will be observed that I differ widely from Bugge in my rendering of these 4 lines. Not only do I take them to be in verse instead of prose, but I also think the whole aim is different. Bugge thinks they were added to mention the name of WAMUTH's grandfather; I believe they were intended to announce the birth and name of his Son. My reasons are: that such a separate and long-winded addition, mentioning the Father, is not found on such minne-stones (for the genealogical stones, naming a long line of ancestors is something quite different); otherwise the stone-raiser mentions his own father's name at the beginning, in the simplest way:

FASTULFR, SUN UIULFS, LIT HAKUA STAIN AT .... Granheden, Södermanland, Lilj. 977.

OSUR, STUFS SUN, RAISDI STIN DANSI AUFT BRUUR, SUN SIN. Stenalt, N. Jutland. Worn, Mon. p. 289.

KUNAR, SUN FARULFS, LIT KIARA .... Hargs-å, Upl. Dyb. fol. 2, 129; Lilj. 439.

DORLAIBR, DORULBS SUNR, RAIST KRS DONA AIFTR ULB, SUN SIN. Ballaugh, Ile of Man. Cumming,

Pl. 1, fig. 2.

IUALFIR, SUNR DURLFS EINS RAUPA, RISTI .... Kirk Michael, Man. Cumming, Pl. 4, fig. 13.

So other stones, besides some with AEFI in the meaning of Son. And then, as WARIN was a King or Jarl, his Father's name would be widely known, and need not be brought in so awkwardly at the end, especially as the whole passage in Bugge (with his KNUA KNATI AI UN) is very tame. I therefore consider that the whole point has been lost. All would know the name of WARIN and his Father, as all knew that WAMUTH was WARIN's son. But no brother or sister of WAMUTH is mentioned. They do not share with the father in this death-stone to their brother, as is otherwise so common. It would seem therefore as if WAMUTH was the *only* son, — and he was dead! The king is childless, the land will soon be crownless, no direct heir, prospects only of bloody feuds among the nearest kin. But WARIN knows what the common folk did not know, that just before his son's fall, perhaps even after his decease, WAMUTH's queen had brought him a Son! That Boy is now the Grandfather's (WARIN's) boast, and, if all go well, will one day carry on the work of fame and foray which WARIN and WAMUTH have begun. The Sun of the Hraith-Goths shall not set! Hence the jubilant character of the whole announcement, and hence the repeated *Hurrah-shout*, UULIN IS DAT!, otherwise so tasteless, is now one of the finest bits I know on any grave-stone in any land or language whatsoever. *Wamuth is gone, and I am old and feeble; but Wamuth's blooming Boy shall one day carry our Banner over the Hraith-mere as before, and dye its billows with the blood of our foemen!*

#### D. What the Father says about himself.

DAT SAKUM TUALFTA:

HUAR HISTR SIKUNAR

IT, UIT-UOKI ON:

KUNUKAR TUALR,

TIKIR [= TIKIR] SUA DO LIKIA.

DAT SAKUM DRIATAUNTA:

HUARIR TUALR TIKIR [= TIGIR] KUNUKAR

SATINT SIULUNT I

FIKURA UINTUR,

AT FIAKURUM NABNUM.

BURNIR FIAKURUM BRUDRUM:

UALKAR FIM, RADULFS SUNIR;

HRAIDULFAR FIM, RUKULFS SUNIR;

HOISLAR FIM, HARU(a)DS SUNIR;

KUNMUNTAR FIM, AIRNAR SUNIR.

FTIR [= IFTR] FRA NUK MO(NA U)ALUI(RK)I:

AINHUAR I P(a?im uik) (fi)al.



*That saw-we, I-the-twelfth:*

*Where the-horse of-Sigun (= the Wolf)  
ate, Uu-wong on,  
kings two;  
tikes so they lie (— like dead dogs lie they).*

*That saw-we, I-the-thirteenth:*

*Which two tens (— 20) kings  
were-sitting Sealand in  
four winters,  
at (with) four names,  
born of-four brothers:  
Ualks five, Rathulf's sons;  
Hraithulfs five, Rukulf's sons;  
Hoisles five, Haru(a)th's sons;  
Kunmunt's five, Airn's sons.*

*Thereafter learned-I manifold of-those-men's war-deeds;  
each-one-of-them in that [struggle fell!]*

We now come (as I suppose) to two of King WARIN's own exploits, battle-fields on which he had played his part (perhaps in company with his then young son) in years gone by. They are both introduced by a simple *We saw*, and both are in verse. But the last, from its peculiar character (dates, numbers, and a long name-list) is not so much verse as a measured prose, often with stave-rime in each line, and other such adaptations.

*Passus 1.* DAT SAKUM, that we-saw, as before. I and my chief men. — TUALFTA, n. s. I-the-TWELFTH, I twelve-some, I and eleven with me. — HUAR, WHERE, as before. — HISTR, n. s. m. the-Horse. Thus the old word HANGIST, HENGIST, HINGIST had already sunk by slurring (HIGIST, HIIST, HIST) to the younger form, now HÄST in Sweden, HEST in Norway and Denmark. — SIKUNAR, g. s. f. of-SIGUN. In old Scandinavian verse, which, like the Old-English, so largely consists of kennings, we have more than a dozen such to signify a *Wolf*, taken only from words which mean a Horse and the name of some Giantess or Goblin, a Jotun-woman or Witch. Three of these use the word HEST. Thus we have HESTR FÄLU, HESTR FLAGDS, HESTR GÍFRS. Here we have a fourth, HESTR SIGUNAR, *SIGUN'S HORSE*. for SIGUN (or SIGYN or SIGNÝ) was the half-demonic wife of LOKI, the Scandinavian type of perfidious craft and devilry, and she therefore at once belongs to the whole sisterhood of midnight poisons, the savage mountain-pass, and the Ghoul-dance by midnight. She was of the malignant Jötun (Ettin, Giant, Titan) blood, tho the old Icelanders also called her an Asynja. But several of these figures, tho hight Wælkýries, are described as often appearing in fearful shapes, riding on wolves, &c. to the battlefield. Ancient tradition made Loke, Sigyn's husband, — as was Satan himself — a fallen or false Ans (As, Angel). His wife would not be unlike him. HISTR SIKUNAR is therefore THE WOLF. — IT, 3 s. p. ATE. — UIT-UOKI, d. s. m. WIT-WONG. I have no doubt this is = HUIT-UONKI, *HVIT-WONG*, the same slurring of the H as in UAIMSI for HUAIMSI. But, tho not written, the H has been heard enough for riming purposes, and we therefore have:

Huar Histr sikunar  
it, [H]uit-uoki on.

We have many similar examples in all our oldest verse, letters only half sounded in certain times or dialects. The reason why I take UIT-UOKI as a compound is, because here I think we have the place-name. As I have before said, in all these "derring-deeds", both speaker and listener expect to hear *the name* of the battle-field. WONG is meadow, plain, field, low land, a word so common and famous in the Northern provinces that the M. Goths called Paradise WAGGS, and it is a part of the O. E. word for Paradise (NEORCSNA-WANG). This word undergoes the usual variations of local sound, the w by degrees falls away, and it is now commonest in Scandinavia as ANG, ENG, ING, very often as the last part of a locality. Stead-names with this ending in Norway have been treated of by Adjunct Martin Arnesen ("Om Gaardsnavne, dannede med vangr, angr, vengi, engi, eng, (ing)") at pp. 54—62 of his excellent "Etymologisk Undersøgelse om Norske Stedsnavne". Frederikshald 1865. 8vo. Now all such words in

Sweden in the 9th century would probably still have kept their w. A modern place in INGE or ONGE or UNGE may therefore be the olden WANG, WONG. Accordingly I will only point out that not far from E. Gotland we have *two* HWIT-WONGS, at either of which this battle may have been fought. The one is HVITUNGE, HVETINGE, HVITUNGE (now HVITUNGE) in Öfver-Selö Parish, Södermanland; the other is HVITUNGE, HVITUNGE (now HVITUNGE) in Upland. (See "Svenska Riks-Archivets Pergamentsbref", Vol. 3, Stockholm 1872, 8vo, p. 57). — ON, prep. ON, as before. The position of this prep., *after* the word which it governs, is itself one proof that these 4 lines are in verse. — KUNUKAR, n. pl. m. KINGS. — TUAIR, n. pl. m. TWO. All the details of the contest are omitted. With true epic shortness, we only see the corpses of the two "kings" lying as carrion for the hungry wolf. Whether they had fallen in single combat, or whether other bodies of common soldiers cumbered the ground near them, we are not informed. Probably the latter was the case, for they were *both* "hounds", therefore *both* were enemies, if in single combat they would have held *different* sides. They would seem therefore to have been chiefs in whose land the Hraith-Goths had made an inroad. — TIKIR, n. pl. m. TIKES, curs, miserable dogs. In common book-Swedish *tík* is feminine and means a bitch. The context shows that in the 9th century it was also found in Sweden as a masculine noun, a cur in general. And accordingly Rietz, in his valuable "Svenskt Dialekt-lexikon", tells us that actually *tík* is feminine chiefly in the Svea provinces, but that in the Gota provinces, of which East-Gotland is one, it is chiefly *masculine*, and means a base dog in general. In Danish also *tig* is masculine, with the same signification; and all over England *TIKE*<sup>1</sup> has always been masculine. But in the present Norse talks, as Aasen informs us, *tík* is fem., and means both a bitch and a vixen (she-fox). Thus I think there can be no doubt that the word is *dogs*. Nothing was more common in the old North than to use the word HOUND as an epithet of contempt against a foe, dead or living, and this is an exact parallel. We also hereby get rid of the strange *twenty* fallen kings in *one* battle. In the next Passus there are twenty kings, but they fell thro a whole long campaign, spread over several years, *not* in one combat. The difference in sound also is immense. The later alphabet has only one letter for K and G. But the reader would at once distinguish the sound. The one is TIKIR, with the long i and the k. The other is TIGIR, with the short i and the g. And again, TIKIR takes its place as an independent word, with its stave-rime *ti*, answering to the *t* in TUAIR in the foregoing line. I thus consider that this translation is certainly correct. — SUA, so, now. thus, as so often. — DO, n. pl. m. THEY. The nom. pl. m. of DE is found in runes in about 30 different shapes, with and *without* the final -R. Among the latter we have also DU, on the Ledinge stone, Upland, (Dybeck, Runa, fol. 4, No. 14; C. Sæve, Upplands Fornminnesförenings Tidskrift, 2, 1872, p. 54). DURKIR UK SUIN DU LITU RISA STIN DINA IFTIR . . . . . There is no great difference in the shade of the vowel between DU and DO. In N. Engl. DO is common. However *heterodox* in the eyes of system-makers, it was as *orthodox* to write DO as DU. I cannot see otherwise than that DO is plainly THEY. — LIKIA, 3 pl. pr. LIE, LIG, lie stretcht where they fell.

Passus 2. DAT SAKUM, that we SAW, as before. — BRITAUNTA, n. s. I-the-THIRTEENTH, I thirteen-some, I and twelve with me. — HUARIA, n. pl. m., which. — TUAIR, n. pl. m. TWO. — TIKIR, n. pl. m.

<sup>1</sup> Of this word Nares says in his Glossary (New edition, with additions by Halliwell and Wright, Vol. 2, 8vo. London 1859, p. 883): — "TIKE or TYKE. A northern word for a common sort of dog. *Great tike!* is still a frequent term of reproach in Lancashire and Yorkshire." — But it is brookt more or less all over England, and very generally as an epithet against men or boys of blame or insult, sometimes of bloody degradation. It is used by Shakespear and others. For instance:

*Simple.* May I be bold to say so, sir?

*Falstaff.* Ay, sir TIKE; who more bold?

*Merry Wives of Windsor, 4, 5.*

*Bardolph.* How now, mine host Pistol?

*Pistol.* Base TIKE, call'st thou me host?

*King Henry 5, 2, 1.*

But we have it also in older Danish in the same meaning of *hatred* and *contempt*, as was pointed out by the learned C. Molbech in his edition of the Danish Rime-Chronicle. For at line 2175, 6 we read:

Saa lengo ieg kom tji en ee.

ther bode saa arghe tike.

So long-as-till I came till (to) an ey (ile), there (= where) bood (dwelt) so (such) arg tikes.

Here ARG TIKES means *savage dogs, blooded-minded giants or trolls, cruel devils*, as the following lines show.

"Tyke, Teyk, an unruly fellow; a dog. There is a tradition of a Curwen of Workington Hall having shot a Howard of Corby in a duel on Carlisle sands during an assize meeting, for offensively using the word *tyke* to him." W. Dickinson. The Dialect of Cumberland. London 1878. (English Dialect Society).

(In Engl. the old word *TIG* for *ten* is now disused). Tens. Thus *TUAIK TIGIR* = *twenty*, O. E. *TWENTIG*. — *KUNUKAR*, n. pl. m. *KINGS*. — *SATINT*, 3 pl. p. conj. were sitting, were encampt, were drawn up in military array, were bidding as soldiers, for the verb *SIT* has often this meaning in our old talks. O. E. *SÆTON*, N. I. (in which the *N* has fallen away) *SÆTL*. Here the *-N* is still left with its *sharp* sound, here *written* (however *pronounced*) *-NT*. This *-IN* held its ground thro the whole middle-Swed. period, and accordingly this *SATIN* is there quite regular. In M. Goth. it has a still older shape, *-EINA*. See my Old-Northern Runic Monuments, pp. 737, 738, 740, 741, 885, 886, where I have also proved that this *-N* is also found in the 3 s. pr. conj., to which it had doubtless found its way from the 3 pers. pl. At his p. 57 Bugge also now admits the antiquity of this *-N* in Older Swedish. *SITJA*, in the meaning to sit in, bide in, usually governed an ac., but this is a Swedish stone. — *SIULUNT*, probably ac. f., *SJÆLAND*, the English *SEALAND*, the island which is now the seat of government in Denmark. See Bugge's learned remarks on the etymology of this word at his p. 57 & fol. — *I*, prep. *IN*, taken *after* the noun which it governs, a proof that we have here "measured prose", a kind of half-verse, as near as circumstances would allow, often with two stave-letters in *each* line, as here *TUAIK TIKIR*, *SATINT SIULUNT*. — *FIAKURA*, ac. pl. m. *FOUR*. Bugge (p. 62) supposes that this curious old Swedish *FIAGURA* and the following dat. *FIAGURUM* have been a dialectic transfer of the *G* to the ac. masc. and dat. pl. from the *G*-forms in the nom. ac. neut. (O. Sw. *FIUGHUR*); the gen. (O. Sw. *FIUGHURRA*), and compounds (O. Sw. *FIUGHURTAN*, now *FIORTON*, *fourteen*, &c.)<sup>1</sup> — *UINTUR*, ac. pl. m. *WINTERS*, years. — *AT*, prep. *AT*, with, having. — *FIAKURUM*, dat. n. *FOUR*. — *NABNUM*, dat. neut. *NAMES*. This is a striking statement. Accidental instances have been before known of several children of one father having the same name, but we have here 4 men who had each 5 sons bearing one name. There must have been a certain amount of *clanship* in this, and in everyday life the 5 sons of each father must of course have been known by some *eke-name* (nickname, as now barbarized), some *added* name, which would practically become his *real* name. What we call *family* names did not exist at this time in any Northern land. — *BURNIR*, p. p. n. pl. m. *BORN*. The *I* is taken from the side-line. — *FIAKURUM*, d. pl. m. of *FOUR*. — *BRUDRUM*, d. pl. m. *BROTHERS*. — *UALKAR*, n. pl. m. *WALKS*, men named *WALK*. — *FIM*, n. pl. *FIVE*. — *RAPULFS*, g. s. m. of *RATHULF*. The *AD* is a bind-rune. This name has become *RALPH* in England. — *SUNIR*, n. pl. m. *SONS*. — *HRAIDULFAR*, n. pl. m. men called *HRAIDULF*. — *FIM*, n. pl. *FIVE*. — *RUKULFS*, g. s. m. of *RUKULF*. As the *HRAIDULFS* are doubtless connected with the *HRAID* clan, so Prof. Bugge (p. 66) believes that the *RUKULFS* (= *ROGULFS*) are connected with the *RUG* clan, the *Rugi*, N. I. *Rygir*, *Rogaland* in Norway, whose first remembered king is called *RUGÁLFER*; see also *RUGUM* (d. pl.) and *HOLMRYGUM* in the O. E. *Widsö*. — *SUNIR*, n. pl. *SONS*. — *HOISLAR*, n. pl. m. men named *HOISL* (= *HO-KISL* = *HO-GISL*). A chieftain *HÆISLÆ* is named on the Möjebro stone, Upland. — *FIM*, n. pl. *FIVE*. — *HARUFS*, g. s. m., *D* written above the line at the end to save room, doubtless, as Bugge thinks, for *AD*, thus *HARUADS* = *HAR-WADS*, of *HAR-WAD*. — *SUNIR*, n. pl. m. *SONS*. — *KUNMUNTAR*, n. pl. m. men called *GUNMUND*. — *FIM*, n. pl. *FIVE*. — *AIRNAR*, g. s. m. of *AIRN* (*ARN*, *IRN*, *ERN*, *Eagle*). — *SUNIR*, n. pl. the-*SONS*. — *FTIR*, adv. *AFTER*, thereafter, afterwards, written short for *IFTIR* or *AFTIR*. — *FRA*, 1 s. p. I-learned, I-heard, (by asking). Rydqvist (I, 151) has not found the infinitive of this verb in any old document, but supposes *FREGA*. The *p. t.* is common in Mid. Swed. as *FRA*. In M. Goth. (*FRAHNAN*) the *p. t.* is *FRAH*. In O. E. (*FRICGAN*) I have not found the *p. t.*, but, from the *p. p.* *GEFRUGEN*, it was doubtless *FRAG* or *FRAH*. In Norse-Icel. (*FREGA*) it was *FRÁG* or *FRÁ*. Here the *G* is already elided. We *might* read *FRANNUK*, but this would give us a sideverb of the same meaning (O. E. *FRINAN*, *FRAN*) not, I believe, as yet met with in Scandinavia. We cannot but remark the contrast between all the other 1st-persons in this carving and the 1st-person here. They are all in *-UM*, all in the plural, clearly not as a mark of dignity in the speaker, but because this *we* included his nearest kin and chiefs, as indeed we can see in the *last* *SAKUM TUALFTA* and *SAKUM DRITAUNTA*; while in *this* line we have the 1st person *singular*, because, as I take it, the action here is entirely personal. The verb *FRA* properly signifies *I learned by making active personal enquiries*, and therefore does not here include all the other 12 persons who were serving with or under him. In fact some of them may have died or left him before he heard the end of the whole conflict (at least 4 years' time). Certainly there must be *some* reason for the sudden change from the plural to the singular. — *NUK*, ac. pl. n. *ENOW*,

<sup>1</sup> But it may be an older form in general. Compare Sanskr. *catur*, Lat. *quater*, M. G. *fidwor*, Lith. *keruri*, O. Fris. *fluwer*, O. Sax. *fluwor*, O. Eng. *feower*, &c.



many, manifold, sufficient, satisfying, plentiful. Our O. E. has the GE (ge-NOG, ge-NOH) still left, and in old N. I. it was also written and pronounced (eNog), but this e first becomes i and then falls away. The German keeps the full GE (GENUG). The g had therefore dropt out thus early in this part of Sweden, and it has long been lost in all the Scandian dialects, which have now NOG and NOK. This adjective is used of old both in apposition with its noun, as *here*, and with its noun in the genitive. — MONA, g. pl. m. of MEN, of the men, of these kings and their braves. — UALUIRKI, ac. pl. n. the-WALEWORKS, slaughter-deeds, battle-exploits. This old Scandian noun differs little or nothing from the usual neut. VERK, but is especially and largely used to form compounds (ILL-VIRKI, DREK-VIRKI, &c. &c.). I have not before seen this particular compound in any Scandian dialect. — AINHUAR, n. s. m. (ONE-WHOEVER), each-one, every-one. — I, prep. IN. — DA(?im), d. s. n. THE, THAT. There is little doubt that this is the word intended, but we cannot get farther than the DA, so we cannot see whether it has been in the masc.-neuter or the fem. However, there is only room on the stone for a very short noun and a following short verb, and the stave-letter (to answer to UALUIRKI) was probably U. So I think we do not go far astray in proposing UIKI (= VIKI, VIGI, neut. dat. of VIK, VIG, O. E. wig), battle, war, warfare, for the missing word, especially as there is — so far as I can see — a clear enough i (Bugge says either ʀ (L) or l or ʀ) exactly in the spot for the last i in UIKI. The very short verb may then have been FIAL, which frequently occurs on old runic stones. At all events the meaning is given by these supposed words, for the writer can only say, as the outcome of all the bloodshed (UALUIRKI), by using the very particular word AINHUAR — that every body — perisht, and the dative will be the neuter DAIM. Thus, as I think, I have redd the whole of the half-ruined line, partly in fact, by taking FTIR FRA *first* and not *last* and deciphering most of the following staves, and partly in substance, by guessing at the general import of the few letters now quite gone.

E. *What the Father said to the stone-cutter.*

RUNI BODR

BIARI HUHUAN.

*These-runes he-biddeth*

*Biur to-heu.*

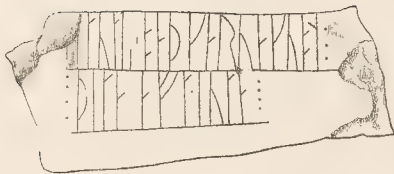
Last of all we have the usual formula informing us who carved all these runes on the stone. And, as is not unfrequently the case, this notice is *in verse*. — RUNI, ac. pl. f. these-RUNES. As we have vast numbers of instances of this word in the ac. pl. in the varying shape RUNAR, RUNOR, RUNIB, so we have also at least *half-a-hundred* examples (without mentioning those in the O. Northern staves) in the older varying shape RUNA, RUNO, RUNI. Here we have the last form, RUNI. There can be no doubt of the word or its meaning. — BODR, 3 s. pr. BIDS, orders, commands, asks. This is the *first* time I have seen this word in this particular phrase in the *present tense* 3 pers. It is found now and then (at least the side-form BAD from BIDIA, I have never before seen any form from the verb BIUDA, but the meaning is the same), but always in the *past tense*. I have hitherto not remarkt more than one instance of any such formula *in the present*, the lines on the Bräcke stad stone, Upl. Lilj. 242, Dyb. fol. 231:

KIULIN RISTIR

RUNO DAS.

BAD, the past tense of BIDIA, is used several times on runic stones in the same sense as the present tense BODR here. I will give one example, costly as being on a heathen block at least as old as the Rök stone, and as offering curious peculiarities in the shape of the A, B, L, end-r and τ. All these, the L excepted, are the same on the Rök monolith and the Forsa Ring, only on the latter we have no B. I refer to a gravestone which once stood on Björkö, the famous island in Upland, Sweden, where St. Ansgar preached. Tho only the upper piece the whole inscription is preserved, but the first 2 letters are damaged at the top. After the usual calamities, this bit came to the Swedish Museum in 1826. It was first badly engraved by N. H. Sjöborg in his *Samlingar*, Vol. 3, p. 12, fig. 108, Stockholm 1830. It is Liljegren's No. 334. I here give it, Heliotyped by Pacht, from R. Dybeck's *Sveriges Runurkunder*, fol. II, No. 55:





Little wants in the first 2 broken staves. I take them to have been I and L. This will give us:

(IL)TUTIR BAP KARUA

KUBL DITA APT IUTA.

(IL)TUTIR (= ? HILDUDIR) BADE GARE (*make. raise*)

CUMBEL (*grave-mark*) THIS AFTER IUTI.

The *u* in ILDU-DIR, whether taken as the connecting vowel or as the dative-mark, I look upon as local Swedish, older than the N.I. compound name-forms in HILDI- and HILD-. In O. Sax. the dat. s. of HILTI, HILTIA, is (found once only) HILTIU. In O. E. HILDEDEOR, Battle-strong, is a warrior's epithet. There are many Scando-Gothic names beginning with HILD, but this one I have not seen before.

Now I believe that this particular verb BIUDA has been chosen in order to get a good stave-rime word to BIARI, and I further think that it has been purposely put into the 3 *present singular* (not in the 3 past sing., BAUD) in order to get the falling syllable *u* (= *ir*) and thus make the verse-line more musical, the reason for the present tense on the Bräckestad stone also. The *i* was not written, to save space in the difficult crypt-runes, but *the sound was fully there* all the same. The actual form employed presupposes rather an ancient BUDA, BODA, than the usual BIUDA, and hence we have the BODR, which is neither the usual N.I. BYDR, nor the O. Swed. BIUDER (West-Gotl.) and BIAUDR (Gotlandl.) — BIARI is the dat. sing. of the mansname BIAR belonging to the BIR-class so seldom found in runics, while the derived forms BIARN (and many others) from BIRIN or BIRN are so common. We have the same double groups in the names ARI and ARIN (our Engl. ARN, ERN, Eagle). — HUHUAN, inf. to HEW, carve, cut the runes, a word employed (in *very many* local variations of form) on the monuments, usually HAKUUA, HUKUA, HAKUA, AKUA. Should my readings be right, this is *the only infinitive* in the whole text, and this infinitive is clearly in AN, adding one more to the *half dozen* examples I have already collected of this older infinitive lingering on in Scandinavia, as it did in S. English *centuries* after the *N* had fallen away in N. English. Should this example be denied as being in secret runes, I have no more to say. But in that case *all* the readings of *all* the secret runes by Prof. Bugge and myself must also be denied, for they are all redd with the strictest scientific honesty and severity on exactly the same runic principles. If one word goes, not one word can stand.

Let us now, for more clearness, again unfold the whole risting, allowing ourselves greater freedom where the *lines* are *lays* (stave-rime verse):

A. The name of the Fallen Helt.

AFTER WAMUTH STAND RUNES THESE.

B. The raiser of the stone.

BUT WARIN FAW'D (rais'd this), his-FATHER,

AFTER his-OWN-FEY (dead) SON.

## C. The Father sings his dear Son's exploits.

## I.

WE SAW, FORGET IT NEVER!

WHERE, IN FIRST FIELD  
 FRESH SPOILS SEEKING, —  
 WITH' HIS WARINS TWELVE  
 WARRING BRAVELY —  
 TWOFOLD VICTORY,  
 HARD-EARN'D TRIUMPHS,  
 THE STRIPLING GAIN'D  
 O'ER NOUMI'S SEAMEN.

## II.

WE SAW THEREAFTER:

WHERE, NINE SHIPS NEARING  
 FAR NORTH-SHORES WITH ME,  
 THE MATCHLESS WAVE-RIDER  
 GAVE MIGHT TO THE HRAITH-GOTHS.  
 FIRM AND FEARLESS,  
 FOLK-LORD, SHIP-LORD,  
 the-STRANDS BY HRAITH-MERE  
 STRUCK HE WITH AWE.  
 BIDES NOW, BELTED,  
 BATTLE-STEED HOLDING,  
 SHIELD ON HIS SHOULDER,  
 THAT SHOOT OF THE MARINGS.  
 REST HE SO THERE IN HIS GALLEY!

## III.

WE SAW, FORGET IT NEVER!

IN WHOM UP SPRINGETH AN OTHER WAMUTH;  
 WILIN IS HE!  
 LIKE US BOTH, THE BILLOW SHALL HE REDDEN.  
 WILIN IS HE!

## D. The old king speaks of himself:

## I.

THAT SAW WE, TWELVE OF US:

WHERE SIGUN'S HELL-FOAL ( = the Wolf)  
 SCOUR'D THE WIT-WONG,  
 KINGS TWAIN CRUNCHING —  
 CURS AS THEY WERE!

## II.

SAW WE, THIRTEEN OF US:

WHERE SAT KINGS TWENTY,  
 IN CAMP ON SEALAND  
 FOUR LONG WINTERS,  
 FOUR NAMES BEARING,  
 SONS OF FOUR BROTHERS;  
 WALKS FIVE, RATHULF'S SONS:  
 HRAITHULFS FIVE, ROGULF'S SONS;

HOISLS FIVE, HARWATH'S SONS;  
 GUNMUNDS FIVE, AIRN'S SONS.  
 THEIR WAR-DEEDS MANY AFTERWARD HEARD I.  
 TILL WEAPON-DRUNK sunk they ALL at last!

E. Whom the King chose as Rune-cutter.

THESE RUNES BIDDETH HE  
 BIAR TO CHISEL.

And now only a few words in conclusion. Altho the mystery of the Old-Northern runic lines is as yet unknown to us, and altho the above translation may not be correct in every minute detail, still the general purport of the whole is plain enough. It is a precious funeral lay of hoary eld, when Sweden was still heathen, about the 9th century. Its history is not "historical" in a vulgar sense, merely for want of *other* documents; but *it is* "historical" all the same, and is also a photographic picture of the time and its customs. All is feud and foray, "blood and iron". And the warlike grave-rites still continue, tho in this age and folkland Lich-burning is old-fashion'd. The War-galley is dragged on shore, the dead helt is seated on its deck, his slaughtered battle-steed at his side, and the barrow is thrown over him with many a wild lament. But no touch of fire comes over him. He rests from his toils, and will have happy days in Walhall.

The Scald — may-be King WARIN himself — who "fawed the fytte" (composed the verses) — was a right good "lay-smith"; some of the lines remind us of passages in the Edda itself.

May this monolith long stand at Rök, to tell us of the fearless Hraith-Goths and of Olden Swethland in the later Iron Age!

We have here an instance, and *an only* instance, of a striking fact — that a grave-stone in the later runes has also a *separate formula* in Old-Northern staves. I believe that richer materials would have given other examples of the same kind. One such, as I think, has narrowly escaped us.

I have to thank Prof. C. Sæve (1875) for the drawing, full size, of a fragmentary funeral block perhaps from the 10th century, found in 1874 by Dr. P. A. Sæve at Aikiböi (Ekeby) in Gotland. The bit left is of lime-stone, 14 inches long by 9½ broad and 4 thick. The runes are elegantly and carefully cut, with 2 points between every word. In his letter to me Prof. Sæve suspected that it was in verse. There is no doubt that it was so. The little that is left I read and translate as follows:

(ra)þi sa maþr  
 su)MS RADA KAN  
 FURN U(rþ)  
 FU(lki til minis)!

The -- MS must have been SUM's or SIM's, a relative form which again occurs on the Fjuckby stone, Upland:

SA HIT AKI  
 SIM'S UTI FURS.

SA (*he*) HIGHT (*was called*) AKI  
 SUM-AS (*who-as, who*) OUT (*abroad*) forthFOOR (*perisht*).

The RADI, RADA, *rede*, *decipher*, *unravel*, *understand*, are common enough.

FURN (FORN, old, antique, especially relating to *heathen* rites and traditions) is found here for the first time in runics. It is in the ac. pl. neut., requiring a similar noun.

This noun can only be URÐ (WORDS), for the U is plain, there is room for only 2 additional letters, and no such expression suiting here as ac. pl. neut. exists but URÐ.

We have several stones which similarly mention the MIN (minne, memorial, memory) which shall speak to the people or of the dead. I therefore translate:

REDE (*understand*) SA (*that*) MAN  
 SUM-AS (*who*) REDE CAN  
 these-FORN (*olden*) WORDS,  
 the-FOLK TO MINNE (*aye speaking to the people*)!

But the FURN URD here apparently mean — not the words themselves, which could not be different from all other antique terms — but *the staves* in which they were written. That is, the stone had doubtless borne

1st. The usual death-epigraph.

2nd. A prayer or formula, probably heathen, in the *Old-Northern Runes*, as on the Rök stone.

3rd. The above verse-challenge of skill in the reader.

Jan. 1876. Prof. Sæve announces that another small bit of this Aikiböi stone has been found, containing half a dozen staves, but it does not fit in with the above fragment.

June 1879. — Antiquar. Tidskr. f. Sverige, Vol. 5, Part 3, Stockholm 1878, has just reached me. At p. 211—213 Prof. S. Bugge returns to the Rök stone, and makes several alterations in his older reading.

## SÖLVESBORG, BLEKING, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 800—900.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 192.*

In "Bidrag" No. 3, p. 201 (Tidskr. f. Phil. 8, 3) Prof. Bugge says that he and Prof. S. Grundtvig examined this stone in 1868, and thought — that it had lost some letters at the top, that the 1st rune on the left was originally \*, the 7th ð, the 8th certainly †, the last probably †, thus

..... ASMUT SUNU SIN

and that on the right after RUTI was P (w), then probably once \*, and then ð or l.

Thus, besides the unintelligible RUTI WÆD or WAI, we have the accusative SUNU SIN guest at by Dr. Wimmer (Bidrag, 2, p. 350), who "finds" in the plain WTI a wonderful RAIT! In his "Runeskriftens Oprindelse", p. 186, Dr. Wimmer "dare not decide" what runes followed this supposed "WAI" or "WÆ".

Against all this combination and fancy I protest. Both I and my artist (Prof. J. M. Petersen) repeat that the block has *no sign whatever* of having been higher than it is, and that the *real letters* are so *very deeply cut* and the stone so hard and *well preserved*, that the small undulations Bugge speaks of (all shown in my engraving, to which I refer) CANNOT POSSIBLY be letter-marks.

The staves so ingeniously develope by Prof. Bugge neither I nor Prof. Petersen could see, tho we spent several days at Sölvesborg. And as little were they visible 20 years before to Worsaae and his artist — for both our copies agree. Still less could they be seen 100 years still further back; for Bring, in his Lister-Härad, 4to, 1748, p. 50 (see my p. 192) gives the left line (only overlooking the first damaged letter) *exactly* as it was given by Worsaae in 1844 and by myself in 1864:

(æ)SMUTS RIUSII

It was on account of the faults by Bring or his authority in the *right* line that I remark: "the less said about this copy the better", tho we can well understand how most of his mistakes have arisen. At that time I had no idea that the plain *left* line would be manipulated for theoretical reasons into

"..... ASMUT SUNU SIN"!

I therefore repeat that the stone really bears, in verse:

ÆSMUTS RIUSII.

RUTI WTI (— WRAITI).

ÆSMUTS (= ASMUND'S) BUSE (*stone-heap, stone-mound*).

RUTI WROTE-these-runes.



Nov. 1876. Prof. S. Bugge tells me that he thinks the letters *eu* may and ought to be read as *ur*. My engraving shows that this is possible, for these staves are often as here very much alike. But whether we take the *apparent* *urti* or the *possible* *urti*, it is a mansname. This name *urti* also occurs in later runics. — June 1879. Have just received *Månads-bladet*, Stockholm, Sept. Oct. 1877. At p. 534 Prof. S. Bugge alters his former reading of this stone. — In my Vol. 1 I dated this piece in the 5th century. I now think it not earlier than the 9th or the 8th.

## HOGA, BOHUSLÆN, SWEDEN.

<sup>2</sup> DATE ABOUT A. D. 900—1000.

*Enlarged from the woodcut given by G. BRUSEWITZ (Elsfussel, p. 270), the runes from a cast given by Dr. CHARLES DICKSON of Gotenburg. Chemityped by Prof. J. MAGNUS PETERSEN.*

I refer to the article on Ræfsal for details as to the costly gift of a cast of the runes on this Hoga block, whereby I have been enabled to produce a faithful copy of the inscription. As in the above case so in this, my learned friend Prof. Bugge has kindly examined and controlled my drawing, so that the runic text is the result of both our labors, and is therefore, I hope and presume, more or less faultless. But that runologist has not yet attempted to translate the words, as far as I know.

This grave-pillar stands on the farm-lands at Hoga, Stala Parish, ile of Orust, Bohuslän. in the middle of the extreme south of the island, which is due north of Tjörn and quite close to it, so as almost to make *one folkland*. The distance from Hoga to Ræfsal is not great, only about 6 English miles as the bird flies. When examined by Mr. Brusewitz, this Hoga stone lay with its inscribed face half sunken in a moss, and was carefully raised by that gentleman. It is of granite and about 12 feet high, including that part which is fixt in the ground. The folk round about call it "King Ramunder's Block". A little above this fine monolith, higher up, are several grave-houws of a moderate size; and still farther off, up along the rising mark, are the Hoga stone-circles, now much desolated, but still showing two intersecting rings of stone, the one with 9 pillars and a centre-block the other with 7.

The first to give a drawing was Worm, in his *Monumenta Danica*, 1643, p. 480. It is sufficiently wild. — Next came Ödman in his *Bahus-Läns Beskrifning*, 1746, p. 234. — He was followed by Holmberg (*Bohusläns Historia och Beskrifning*, Vol. 3, Uddevalla 1845, p. 184. — Last Brusewitz (*Elfsyssell* 1864, p. 270). — It was, as I have said under "Räfsäl", Mr. Brusewitz who first suspected that this might be an overgang stone, a hint so happily followed up by Dr. Charles Dickson.

In now proceeding to my own copy, (made from the Plaster Cast, which I have given to the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven, and approved by Prof. Bugge), I would observe that the little mark on the last letter is evidently merely a flaw on the stone, and therefore of no moment. I read then and translate:

$\{ \{ t_1, t_2 \}, \{ t_3, t_4 \} \}$  .  $t_1 \neq t_2$  ,  $t_3 \neq t_4$  :  $P \models t_1 = t_2$  :  $R \models t_3 = t_4$

HEURI EA TEEN DŌNLE ROAUL

HLÆURI HEWED (inscribed) TINE (grave-pillar) THIS to-ROAUL (= ROAULF, HROTHWULF).

It will be observed that the question whether this be an overgang piece or no turns upon the value of the  $\Psi$ . It appears to me undeniable that this stave cannot here by any possibility be  $\mathfrak{M}$ , as in

the later futhorc; and in this case the risting is not Scandinavian but overgang. The latest opposite school takes this O. N.  $\Upsilon$  to be -R, final R, or a kind of final R. Here this twice-occurring mark *can*



have no such power. But taking it to be A, as on all other O. N. pieces, the whole gives, as far as I can see, a meaning only to be rejected *because it is usual, simple and natural.*

But there are certain *unusual* ("barbarous") forms which demand our attention, besides a not common shape of the rune *ᚷ* by which it looks like *p* (*w*).

*HLÆURI* is a name which I have not seen before, at least not thus spelt. But the same may be said of *scores* of other old names whose "orthodoxy" no one has yet ventured to dispute. As the stone has suffered so much, there may originally have been an Old North. *h*, thus *HLÆURI*.

*ÆA* (for *ÆAK*, the *k* slurred) has also not yet turned up elsewhere. But this again is no argument. This verb, 3 pers. sing. past, *cut, carved*, I have already found in at least 40 different shapes, some of them (such as *AK*, *EH*, *HIA*, *HIAU*, *HIO*, *HU*, *I*, *IA*, *IO*, *IU*) not very unlike that now before us.

*TÆEN*. I look upon the hole near the centre of the *i* not to be an accidental scathe, and therefore do not write *TÆIN*. But we can do so if we please. It will make no difference to the meaning. I have already (p. 971) taken this word to mean *tine*, pillar, grave-token, and have given the parallel instances of *TIN DINA* (Scandian runes), *pillar this*, on the Stafstund stone, and *HLÆI-TINÆ* (Old-Northern runes), *high-tine*, funeral beacon, grave-pillar, on the Tanum stone. If not so, it can only be a lisping sound and spelling for *STEEN*, *stone*. The meaning will be the same. But I can now add many other examples, given below in the "Archaic and other Sc. R. Monuments".

*DUNLE* is also a new spelling. The *ᚷ* is so carelessly cut (as so often) that it looks like a *w*; but no *w* now existed. This common pronoun, ac. s. masc. *this*, occurs on the monuments in at least 60 different shapes, some of which (*DENE*, *DENNA*, *DENNÆ*, *DANA*, *DANE*, *DANI*, *DANNA*, *DANO*, *DANU*, *DENA*, *DENE*, *DENY*, *DENO*, *DIAN*, *DIYNO*, *DINA*, *DINI*, *DINNA*, *DINO*, *DINU*, *DYNI*, *DONA*, *DONO*) are so near that there is not a pin to choose.

That *ROAUL* (our modern English *RALPH*, *ROLF*, *RAF*, *ROLL*, &c.) is = *ROAULF* (*ᚱ*) = *HRODRWULF* (*ᚱ*), I look upon as selfevident. Not only is *f* a letter which is largely elided in all our monuments and folktalks, but especially in the word (*w*)*ULF* it very often sinks into the halfvowel *u* or falls away altogether, and of this last we have *hundreds* of runic and parchment examples. And in many Norse dialects (the old Bohuslæn was a Norwegian folkland) sometimes the *l* in this word and sometimes the *f* is *regularly* slurred and silent<sup>1</sup>. As to the absence of the dative-mark, here probably *i*, it is so common for the dative-vowel to fall away that it is not worth dwelling on it further. — See the Word-Row, p. 942, s. v. *RHUGULF*, and add to the list of forms n. s. *HRODUULF*, ac. s. *RUTULF*, *RUULF*.

June 1874. Engraved, not without faults, in Dr. O. Montelius' *Bohuslänska Fornäsaker*, Part 1, Stockholm 1874, p. 39. No translation of the runes is given, but he remarks, p. 40: "It is called in the neighborhood 'King Ramunder's Block', and the last word of the risting is *Romunt* or *Ramunt*; but it is hard to say whether the name given to it is old, or has arisen from some version of the inscription during the last century or two."

<sup>1</sup> Such slurrings and contractions are as old as the hills in every house and dialect. They abound on old Latin grave-stones, both heathen and Christian. Le Blant says: "Dans l'inscription de Marseille, le nom du chrétien est écrit *Menas* en même temps qu'*Eumenas*. Cette tendance à la contraction se remarque dans les noms propres comme dans les mots. Sainte Sébastienne est appelée *Βαστιανή* dans les actes de son martyre; on écrivait *Cletus*, *Constantinus*, *Coddeus*, *Restutus*, *Politus*, *Rhope*, *Britta*, comme *Anacletus*, *Constantinus*, *Quodvult Deus*, *Augustinus*, *Restitutus*, *Hippolytus*, *Rhodope*, *Brigitta*. De même *Deposito*, sur les marbres, remplace souvent *Depositio*. C'est le résultat d'une tendance vulgaire dont parlent les vieux grammairiens, et qui a subsisté." — (Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule antér. au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. 4to. Vol. 2. Paris 1865, p. 310.)

## ÖSBY, EAST-GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1000—1100.

*From drawing and materials kindly furnished by Director C. F. NORDENSKJÖLD, of Småland.  
The drawing Heliotyped by V. PACHT*



This is No. 1124 in Liljegren's Run-urkunder, whose copy is unintelligible. As far as I know, it has never before been engraved. But fortunately it was examined and drawn by Director Carl Fr. Nordenskjöld in 1876 and 1877, so that there is no doubt of the correctness of the runes here given. He even paid a special visit once more to assure me that the last word was *sigl*. He states that the block is of granite, more than 6 feet high above ground, by nearly  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet broad below and more than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  at the top, with a thickness of nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet. It was long nearly covered with earth in the field at Ösby in Gårdby Parish, but at the beginning of this century was raised by the Chamberlain Gust. von Rök, and moved to the walk at Åkerby, together with the 2 stone roundels of red granite which were found with the runic monolith. It is now well taken care of in the church-yard, and in good preservation; the letters are sharp and clear.

The ball-stones at its foot are nearly 1 foot in diameter, and each one has a flattish side made by human hand. There is a similar globe-stone at the top of a gravemound near Grebo church in the same province, and 2 others *have* existed on two other barrows nearby, but have been removed to the wall of the church-yard. Scores of other such pieces, some with simple markings or circles, others more highly decorated, are found in other parts of Sweden and Scandinavia generally. See p. 78 of my vol. 1, and above (Vol. 3, p. 7, 8).

The runes are clear enough:

HALSTUN RISTI STUN DANSI YULR (OF ÖULR) FADR SIN SIGL.

HALSTUN RAISED STONE THIS OVER FATHER SIN (*his*) *SIGL* (= *SIGGE*).



Thus the whole risting becomes simple when we remember that the last word has the Old-Northern rune for g, and that we thus get an additional overgang monument. We have *so many* examples of older or younger or intermixt or unfixt and floating forms in the cases of the nouns and adjectives, &c., that we need not take offence at the ac. SIGI, where we might have expected the more "regular" SIGA. It is not more wonderful than the dialectic HALSTUN and STUN on this same stone.

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## INGELSTAD, EAST-GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1200—1300.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 837.*

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## MÖRBYLÅNGA, ÖLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1200—1300.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 243.*

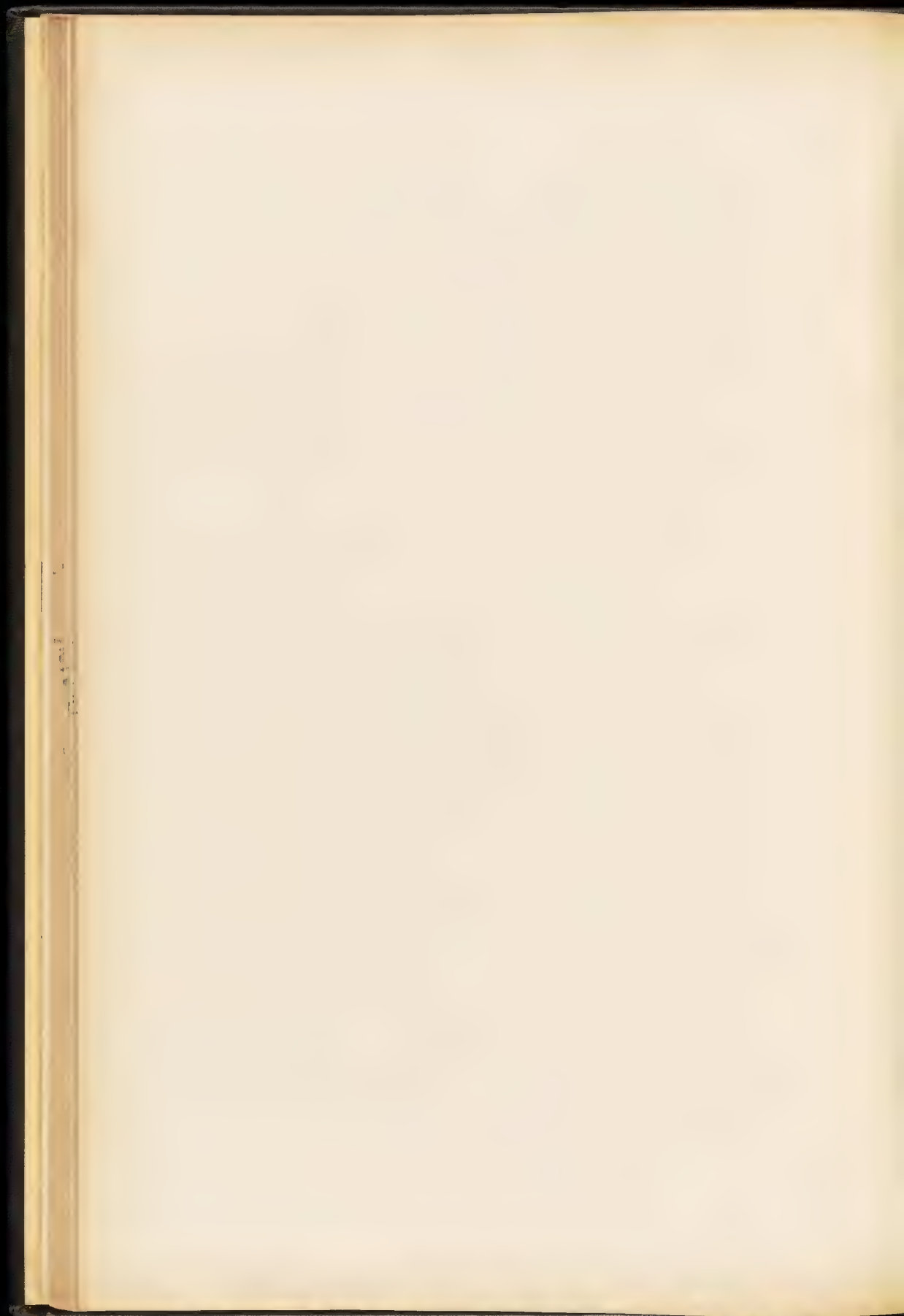
UNU may *perhaps* be the family-name in the genitive, frozen into a compound nominative.

## TJÄNGVIDE, GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 224.*

Bears no O. N. runes, and therefore goes out. See under ARCHAIC MONUMENTS.

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NORWAY.

PETER ANDREAS MUNCH.

1810 1863.

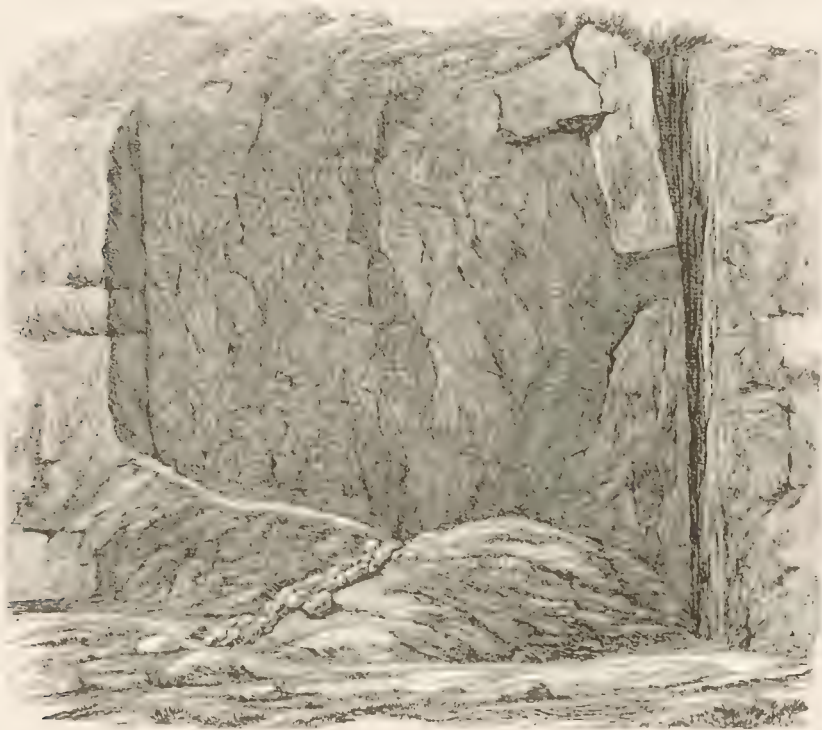
IN MEMORIAM.



## VALSEFJORD, FOSEN, NORTH TRONYEM.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1—100.

*Landscape-view and Profile from drawings kindly forwarded by Archiway INGVALD UNDSET, Christiania;  
Chemityped by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN. — Runes Heliotyped by Hr. PACHT from a careful drawing, full  
size, taken from the rock itself by Lector KARL RYGH of Tronyem.*



In the Christiania "Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandlinger", 1872, 8vo, pp. 310—332, is a learned treatise by Prof. S. Bugge (entitled "To nyfundne norske Rune-Indskrifter fra den ældre Jernalder") on this Rock-inscription and on the large Einang stone. The paper is founded on materials forwarded

by Adjunkt Karl Rygh and Archivary Undset, Bugge's lithograph giving us the runes (1—5th of the size) from a tracing by Adjunkt Rygh, and also the inscription in normal shape from repeated examinations by Herr Undset. For the sake of comparison I have repeated these here, Heliotyped by Herr Pacht. But as I had my doubts as to a couple of the staves, I applied to Adjunkt Rygh for a still more minute tracing from the rock, and this he was so kind as to execute for me, and I now communicate all 3 copies. But the revised drawing of the Rock itself, with its inscription markt in white, as it appears from a distance — where alone the total general view can be had — is in fact a 4th facsimile, and must be lookt upon as *decisively the best of them all*. Substantially all 4 agree, and each one throws light on the other. [Archivary Ingvald Undset publisht a drawing of the runic rock and a short text in "Ny Illustreret Tidende", Christiania, 31 Jan. 1875, with a correction of the runes in the following number.]

The only other Old-Northern Sea-bluff carving known to me, is that at Væblungsnes in Norway. As stated in my text thereon, that remarkable death-rune is about on a line with Hernösand in Sweden. This one is very much farther north, about on a level — on the Atlantic seaboard — with Umeå in Sweden, on the Gulf of Bothnia. It is nearly due west of Levanger in Norway, high up northwest of Trønym, in the rectory of Bjugne, County of Fosen, North Trønym. Thus it is the most northerly O. N. inscription yet found in Scandinavia.

Prof. Bugge says, l. c. p. 4 (312): "North in the Rectory of Bjugne, in Fosen Fogderi, the Valsfjord runs up into the land. It ends in two small bays, by an eid (isthmus or portage) 500 feet across where narrowest, and where boats are often drawn over, Vals-eid, separated from Koet firth, which runs in from the north on the eastern side of the half-ile Jössund. On this Vals-eid are 15 grave-mounds and 1 stone-circle, all, as far as Herr Undset could discover and judging from the articles found therein, from the Elder Iron Age. Among these finds were two Bronze Rings in one barrow, and a Ring of Electrum in another." [Since this was printed by Prof. Bugge, an account of the opening of several of these large hows has been publisht by Herr Undset in "Foreningen til Norske Fortids-mindesmærkers Bevaring, Aarsberetning for 1872", 8vo, Kristiania, 1873, pp. 11—24.]

"The resting is in Oksvoll-bay, the most southerly of these creeks. It was first discovered by its present owner, Daniel Oksvoll, and he alone knew of it when he showed it to Adjunkt Rygh at Whitsuntide in 1872. The carving is on a perpendicular cliff-wall 16 to 20 feet high. The lowermost rune is now about 20 feet above the highest water-flow, and nearly 200 feet from the seashore. [Prof. Rygh states that the *nearest* part of the sea is only 40 feet off.] The letters are written in a straight line upwards, and must be redd from below and from right to left. But along this line runs a water-channel, and it is probably this which has so worn the stone that there is scarcely any depth in the staves. They are now chiefly recognized by their whitish-gray hue, while the water has embrowned the surface on which they stand. A little above the middle of the carving the bluff swells somewhat out, and there the marks are most smoothed down. The characters look as if they had been rubbed or filed in. Even if the rune-smith stood on a ledge which juts out below the inscription, he could only have reacht the *upper ten* letters by the help of a ladder, — that is, if the form of the height has remained unchanged."

We see at once from the above description that the *rubbing-in* of the characters is here a peculiarity, as on the Væblungsnes rock, and probably from the same reason — *one* hand being perhaps required to hold by a ladder or a man's shoulder, the *other* only could be used for the letters. This may also explain the smallness and feebleness of the *last* or *highest* stave; the rune-man could not well reach so far up, could not lay sufficient strength in his dints or rubs on the cliff.

It is also clear that, as at Væblungsnes, there is a considerable change in the relation of land and water since this epitaph was inscribed. The rock stands now *some yards* higher than it once did. Very many centuries must have elapsed to explain this fact, for such upheavals of the land (or sinkings of the water) have proceeded with remarkable slowness.

We now come to the runes. The bend in the rune-line is, as explained, from the bulging of the rock. The dots express a doubt as to whether that portion is so distinctly carved. The break in the left leg of stave 4 (H) is from a hole in the stone. The characters are about 4 inches long, and are reverst, with no divisional marks. We will now handle each letter for itself, turning them round.

The first 3 strokes are, as Bugge remarks, a sign of commencement, as on the Forsa Ring, my p. 684.

ADJUNKT KARL RYGH'S 2<sup>nd</sup> AND REVISED TRACING. 1<sup>st</sup> th.

ADJUNKT K. RYGH'S 1<sup>st</sup> TRACING, HELIOTYPE FROM BUGGI'S LITHOGRAPH. <sup>1</sup> th. <sub>b</sub>

10  
 9  
 8  
 7  
 6  
 5  
 4  
 3  
 2  
 1

UNISSET'S NORMALIZED COPY; HELIOTYPE AFTER BUGGE.

Stave 1-3. HFX, HÆG.

- 4. A plain H, U. The dot-like marks a good deal above the letter are mere breaks in the surface.
- 5-8. S†FF, STEL.
- 9. A damaged and worn M, D.
- 10. I, I. After repeated examinations Undset was convinced that the letter was I, not Æ. Bugge has also taken it as I. But even if Æ the difference is only formal, the meaning the same.
- 11, 12. YP, A, TH.
- 13. M, E. Worn and broken.
- 14. P, W. The marks below in Rygh's 1st transcript are only scathe on the stone.
- 15-18. FYXR, ÆAGO.
- 19. M, D, much damaged.
- 20-22. FXP, ÆGÆ.
- 23. Z, S. Worn and injured, and apparently even at first slightly cut, from its being so very high up. Prof. Bugge reads all the runes in the same way as myself. Thus the whole line will be:

HEGUSTELDIADEWEÆAGODEGES.

Let us now group these letters into words, only remarking as we pass the clear frequency here, as often elsewhere, of a local dialectic æ-sound. We see, in convenient and attractive clusters, two nouns in A, usually in these oldest monuments a dative singular, and a third word in -s, presumably a nom. singular. We will now examine all 3, referring for further details to the Worder at the end of this volume.

HEGUSTELDIA, a word widely spread among the Scando-Gothic peoples, especially in England, and with many allied meanings. Hitherto it has only been found in Scandinavia as an old (now extinct) poetical expression in Iceland as *a title* (chief, prince, captain), but here and there still used provincially in Sweden and Norway for *a widower*. Iceland of course got most of its words from its chiefly Norwegian colonists, and the meaning *Lord, Captain* will be here very appropriate. Thus, *To the Captain*.

DEWEÆ, mansname in the dative. We do not know what the nominative would be in the mouth of the writer; maybe, as a strong noun, something like DEWÆS; possibly, as a weak noun, something like DEWAN or DEWÆ. These weak forms would seem at this early period to have been far commoner in Scandinavia than afterwards. Let us call it DEWÆ.

GODEGES. In a slurring pronunciation GOD-DEGES may often have been spoken as GODEGES. And we must also remember the frequent runic custom of not cutting the same letter twice together, as carving on hard stone was so difficult. In either case the D has been equal to the DD. Accordingly Bugge himself has doubled it, and we thus get GODDEGES, which is quite simply the very old mansname, even still so common in England, GOODDAY, but here in the nominative, with the antique s-mark.

Now all this is in every way correct, in accordance with the oldest Scando-Gothic grammar, is a common formula (a name in the nom. and a name in the dat.), and gives us an excellent and full and usual and practical grave-carving:

HEGUSTELDIA DEWÆA GODEGES.

*To-the-HAGUSTALD (Lord, Captain) THEWÆ GODEGES (= GOODDAY) wrote-these-runes.*

DOMINO THEWÆO GODEGES-sculpsit.

(= GOODDAY carved this in memory of the Lord THEWÆ).

The word HEGUSTELDIA is very old, both in form and in fact. If imported from England or Saxland, it must have been at that very early age when the dat. sing. was often in -A, the nom. sing. often in -S. But there is no proof or likelihood of any such importation. It doubtless belonged to the old common word-stock, is one of those many Scando-Gothic vocables which early died out in Scandinavia and afterwards in England itself, as others died out in Saxland or Germany but have held on in Scandinavia or England. Partly from these reasons of language, I give to this monument so early an approximate date. — The mansname DEWÆ (in the dat. as here) is also found on the Thorsbjerg Sword-chape, Denmark, which see.



In his essay Prof. Bugge reads and translates:

"HAGUSTALDIN DEWAR GODAGAS.

HAGUSTALD GODDAGS TRÆL."

(HAGUSTALD SLAVE of-GODDAG.)

I will only remark: — HAGUSTALD has never yet been found as a mansname except in Germany, and there it is very scarce. — Such Scandian nominatives in -R are, in my opinion, impossible at so very early a date as the first few centuries after Christ. — We know, from ancient Folk-laws and Sagas and Traditions, *not a little* about Slavery in the Northern lands in the oldest times. We *know* that the Thrall was in a condition of cruel, merciless, bloody, helpless, hopeless, brutal, desperate, contemptible bondage — and the more the farther back we go. In my opinion we might as well expect a Funeral Carving to a THIEF as to a SLAVE. And this on a cliff daily past by the proud Galley-chiefs and Seakings who swept the waters and filled the lands with their fame!

We have in our Northern folk-lands from high up in Scandinavia down to Southern England nearly 2000 Runic grave-memorials, and they stretch from heathenry to the middle-age and the Reformation, when the Christian faith had humanized and lightened and mildened Slavery to the utmost, till at last it abolished it altogether. But we have *not one* Death-rune to a *Slave*. How then is this possible in the 1st or 2nd or 3rd or 4th or 5th age after Christ?

It has been privately suggested that Bugge's reading may have been the mere scribble of a Slave, or the grave-minne of a Slave to a fellowthrall. But surely this is a strange resource. The painful and wearisome rune-carving was as far as possible from a joking easy scribble, — even supposing the possibility of a Slave being a master of Rune-lore. And, if any Thrall *had dared* to do anything so insulting, LYNCH-LAW would instantly have hanged him on the nearest tree and obliterated the offensive writing. Nay, Prof. Rolleston thus sums up his long and powerful argument against *even the bones* of a *slave*, sacrificed at the grave-feast, being allowed to lie near his dead lord *inside* the barrow: "According to the legend given by Bartholinus in his *Antiquitates Danicæ*, 1689, pp. 291—292, the spirit of the Icelandic Asmundus was unable to rest until the body of a slave, who had killed himself from unwillingness to survive his master, was removed from his tomb; and we may be quite sure that the haughty and harsh sentiment attributed to that hero. *Animoso vacuus locus melius placet quam mali comites*, must have been too strong in every age and country which tolerated human sacrifices to allow of any equality between master and slave being set up even in the grave. In two words, I can understand how the bones of slaughtered slaves or captives might lie 'scattered at the grave's mouth', I cannot understand how they would be likely to find entrance into the tombs of the kings." (Greenwell and Rolleston, *British Barrows*, 8vo. Oxford 1877, p. 693). Whether Prof. R. be right in his view or no, it is certain that the case against which he argues must have been very rare.

Again it has been said, that the Slavery of the Early Iron Age was milder than afterwards, for that the times were more peaceful. As I take it, this is contrary to all that we know. In those yore-days was endless *inward* feud and foray in the North. The petty folk-kings and ness-kings waded gradually thro blood and treachery to a comparative unity, which at last was reached in about the 10th, 11th century. At the same time they shared in *outward* feud and foray round the neighboring coasts, and drew in great "Folk-wanderings" to British and many other shores, while many also took military "freelance" service in Byzantium and in the Greek and Roman Empires generally. The formal "blood and iron" Wiking-period I need not dwell on. But during all this long sweep of barbarous club-law I can see no room either for sentimental "peace" or for Runic carvings to or by "a dog of a slave."

Adjunkt Karl Rygh has given his copy of the runes and a short description of his find in the above-mentioned Norse "Aarsberetning" for 1873. p. 32, 33. — See VÆBLUNGSNÆS.

There are several rock-runes in Sweden, but none from the O. N. runic period is hitherto known. In England we have only one such grave-minne, the Barnspike carving, which see in Vol. 2. p. 648. It is in the later staves.

## BÖ, STAVANGER AMT, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 200—300.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 846.*

## STENSTAD, THELEMARK, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 200—300.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 254, 839.*

I now read and translate:

IGINGON HÆLEA.

IGINGA'S LOW (*barrow, grave-mound*).

Bugge and Wimmer have both suggested that IGINGON is a womans-name in the genitive, and this is very possible. But see the Word-list.

So I now regard the above HÆLEA as another instance of a vowel euphonicly inserted to help the pronunciation of two consonants, thus HÆLEA — HLEA. Such examples are numerous on these O. N. runic monuments. Among others we have:

YFETA — YFTA.	BÆRÆH — BÆRH.
BERIG = BERG.	BURUG = BURG.
BGERHTING = BØRHTING.	HÆRIWOLÆFA = HÆRIWOLFA.
GØHLEIBEN — GØHLAIBEN.	HÆDUWOLÆFA = HÆDUWOLFA.
HYRIWULÆFE = HYRIWULFÆ.	HYDUWOLÆFA = HYDUWOLFA.
HÆDUWOLÆFE = HÆDUWOLFÆ.	HYERUWULÆFIA = HYERUWULFIA.
HELIFE = HELPÆ.	WÆRITE = WRITE.
WÆRYIT WRYIT.	

There are a crowd of others in later runics and in old parchments, &c. We thus get the exact parallels: *Bö*, HNEBMES HLEIWE. *Stenstad*, IGINGON HÆLEA. *Skärkind*, SCIDÆ LEUWÆ. *Tanem*, MÆNIS LAU.

All these, in my opinion, are one and the same formula, *the name of the deceased* in the genitive, followed by the word *LOW*, *tumulus*, *how*, *cairn* in the nominative. On the Sigdal block the word occurs for the 5th time, but in the ac. s. neut., UTE DETÆA HELDÆOLÆWE. As to the variety of spelling, we have even in the *parchment* (and therefore to some extent "orthodox" and regulated) examples collected by me p. 847 and fol. the spellings:

HLEWE,	HLEWE,	HLEWE,
LEAH,	HLEWE,	HLEWE,
HLEW,	HLEW,	LAU,
LEW,	HLEU,	HLEU, LEWE,

## EINANG, VALDERS, CHRISTIANS-AMT, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 200 -300.

*From Drawings, Paper-cast, &c. kindly supplied by Cand. jur. A. LORANGE, of Fredrikshald, Norway, now Keeper of the Museum. Bergen. Chemityped by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN*



<sup>1</sup> The Norse archæologist Lorange, a mighty digger and successful collector, has long been anxious to add something to my hoard of Old-Northern Runics. At last fortune has favored his zeal, and I have to thank him for the materials here employed, and for the information so kindly given by him both by letter and in person. All this I here communicate to my readers.

Happily these Norwegian Old-runish finds have been numerous beyond expectation, and we may hope for others. The high farming and Macadamized road-making of England and Denmark and Sweden are as yet exceptional in the more rugged and less cultivated Norse landscapes. The more reason for Norwegian loremen to use the time, and "make hay while the sun shines"!

A tradesman, Hr. Brandt, first remarkt this stone in 1871, and pointed it out to the Norse Engineer-lieutenant Heyerdahl, who visited it in the course of his measurements, thereafter informing Candidate Lorange of the fact. The same year the latter got the local physician, Dr. Printz of Valdres, to procure him a temporary paper cast, while he also secured the ownership of the stone and mound to the University of Christiania. In the last days of June 1872, as soon as weather and other

The substance of this paper, but in a very short form, appeared in the Danish "Illustreret Tidende", 18 April 1875.

circumstances permitted, Mr. Lorange and Prof. S. Bugge started for Hedemarken, and thence traveled together to the stone. First were obtained the drawings I here make public, the full-sized copy of the runes (here Heliotyped *one-half* the size by Hr. Pacht) being their united work, the Runologist of course taking the Lion's share of this particular labor, so as to ensure absolute exactness. Both agreed, before any rune-mark was drawn. Then all the surroundings were narrowly examined. Thereafter (here the Digger, Hr. Lorange, being the most active) the how itself was opened and every spadeful searched, with the hope that the gravegear might throw some light on the age of the burial and the funeral words. It turned out however that this RASSE or RAISE (Old-Engl. HRUSE), our North-E. word for Cairn, grave-how built up of small stones, had been opened long before, and its contents carried off or destroyed. Two feet north of the block was a narrowish but deep hole in the mound, and nothing was now found but a few bits of charcoal and a morsel of iron.

The stone and rasse are about 30 feet from a fence between the lands of Nesja and Einang, on a patch of woodland on the hill-ridge at the eastern side of the valley, about 300 feet above the highway, in West Slidre, Valdres, some 25 Norse miles N. W. of Christiania. It is of lime-stone slate, about 5 feet 8 inches above ground, upwards of 3 feet broad and from 7 to 9 inches thick. The surface is not rough like granite, but has suffered a good deal, small films having scaled off here and there on the rune-side, while on the back is a hollow portion, a slice of the stone having there fallen away. It is therefore fortunate that it was found before it was too late. Thin hard dark moss is on the firmest spots, which, with the weathering of the slate, has rendered the staves in parts somewhat difficult. But otherwise they are plainer than was expected. They begin  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches from the top of the block, on the smooth side, opposite the S. E., are 19 in number, about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, in a nearly straight line about  $25\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, and are seemingly not cut in, but rubbed in with a dull instrument, the bottom of the runings being round and smooth.

The how itself, which is not far from West Slidre Church, is one of a group hitherto unknown except in the immediate neighborhood, on Ol-hill in the middle of the eastern incline of Slidre dale, where the fell is less steep than above and below. These cairns are large and flat, very low, none exceeding 3 feet in height, built of handstones with a little earth among the upper layers, vary in size, and are in clusters of from 3 to 4, with from 600 to 800 paces between each group. Round each is a ring of foot-stones; the slant of the hill gives these a wall-like look on the under side, as here the footstones are larger than elsewhere, partly the better to resist the incumbent weight and partly to make the surface as horizontal as possible. Many of them are or have been crowned by standing stones, and Mr. Lorange raised several which had fallen, but only *this one* has a *runish resting*, and *none other such is known in Norway yet standing on its olden grave-mound*.

This Einang Low is nearly circular, and about 50 feet in diameter, like all its comrades doubtless from the Early Iron Age. From its top is a wide view to the ridges on the other side of Slidre dale and to the far-off snow-tops. This outlook, this roominess and contact with the busy world, so as not easily to be forgotten, so as still to rejoice in the concourse of men or ships on land or ocean, was characteristic of the Old-Northern sepulchral customs. Hence, as we know, the barrows or grave-words of the men of the Iron Race were if possible on the strand of the lake or the sea, on the hill brow or lofty ridge, by the cross-road or highway, or near the place where the meinie gathered at Thing or Folkmoot.

Pursuing his researches, Hr. Lorange also opened two other rasses, about 150 paces S. W. of the Einang monolith, and as far west of the farm-buildings. In the one was found only some charcoal and bits of the burnt corpse; in the other were a good many incinerated human bones and some pieces of a baked clay grave-urn, with ornaments and markings which in Norway betray the Early Iron Age. Afterwards he dug into many other lows nearby, but in vain. Each had the fatal hole, had been entered before by treasure-seekers. Only one was untouched. It was one of the group which held the 3 whence came the Early Iron remains the year before, including the Roman Stamp Sword. As it was state-property, Prof. Bugge officially put spade into it after Mr. Lorange had left, and came upon two Spear-heads of iron, same type as those from the Nydam Moss in Denmark, date about 250-300 after Christ. Before departing, however, Candidate Lorange opened several barrows in the valley. Only in one of these was anything to speak of, some shards of an earthen grave-pot from the Early Iron period.



All these tumuli had the same character and were more or less from the same time. Earth was found only among the upper cobbles, grass-sward covered the whole. The cobbles, especially in the rune-cairn, were arranged with considerable regularity. The barrows were all flat and wide and low. Hr. Lorange has only observed such on the Ida plain near Fredrikshald. But these latter are of earth, not stones. Yet their contents would seem to have been much the same. At Ida are also many cone-shaped Early Iron graves, and the same is the case at Valders. In all Norse Early Iron burials the bodies have been burned, and the bones deposited in pots or urns or else in small heaps, and we find half-round bone combs like those from the Danish Mosses. Weapons are seldom met with.

Thus *inside* the Rune-rasse was nothing which could hint the date. Happily help came from an unexpected quarter. Mr. Lorange had begged Dr. Printz to purchase antiquities for him. In the spring of 1871 the owner of Einang thought to earn something extra in this way, began digging on his own account, and, unknown to Dr. Printz, opened 3 tumps some yards north and a little east of the Rune-how, which they resembled in size and build. They had also the chain of foot-stones at their base, a sure sign in Norway of the *Early* Iron Age, just as in that country clay grave-pots are never found in mounds from the *Later* Iron Age. Among the articles exhumed by the farmer was an Iron Sword with a Roman Stamp. But here Cand. Lorange shall speak for himself:

"In this group are three cairns in a line over the bank. The Blade lay in the *lowermost and least*, in the middle of a layer of charcoal and burnt bones on the floor. By the Sword was a 4-edged well-shaped Lance point, and above this a Spear-head with barbs, and a 12-sided long socket much twisted and bent in a half circle, which held a Shield-boss containing some brooches, a doubled-up Knife-blade, an Awl, &c. — In the *middle* how was a Lance-point and a Shield-boss, resembling those in the former tomb and also lying on charcoal and burnt bones. In the *uppermost and largest* were only pieces of a Shield-boss, but under the same circumstances as above. A fourth barrow, in the same level as the topmost, was examined by Prof. S. Bugge. It contained a Lance-point and a barbed Spearhead, both of them very much like those in the lowermost how. Now it is note-worthy that not this Sword alone but also all the other things have their counterparts in the Nydam find.

"Lance-points, as Nydam Pl. X, fig. 20, XI, f. 39.

"Spear-heads, - — - X, f. 29, XI, f. 31.

"Shield-bosses, - — p. 21.

"The Knife and Fibula are also the same as in that Danish Moss, tho they come from the high fell-dale of Valders.

"From such remarkable similarity and agreement, this grave-gear will it is hoped make up for the emptiness of the Rune-how, and may serve somewhat to fix the date of the Runish inscription — if the Sword alone had not done this — for of course this is the most striking and characteristic of all these articles. It is double-edged, damascened, and has two broad hollows running down each surface. The stamps are on one side, just below the tang, first a wheellike Star, and then an oblong square with raised Latin letters, probably a name, RANVIG., a couple more staves being illegible. Like the other things, it has been burnt on the funeral pyre and then bent double, and is now covered with a smooth heat-blister which has nearly made it proof against rust.

"Such damascened and stamped Battle-brands have as yet been found only in a couple of the Danish Mosses. In Norway they have been hitherto unknown, except perhaps the one from By in Ringerike. None have turned up in Sweden, nor as far as I am aware in Danish graves, tho they now and then occur in Danish field-finds<sup>1</sup>. Opinions differ as to their origin, for in spite of the Latin letters no name has yet been met-with bearing a Roman clang, as is the case with the names on the Roman Saucepans. Nor can we conclude anything from their form, as unfortunately little is known about Roman Swords. Some have thought that their damascening betrays an Oriental source, but probably this will first be determined by future discoveries.

"But as we know that many of the tribes called by the Romans "Barbarians" surpass the Romans themselves as weapon-smiths, and that for instance both Iberian and Norian blades were much sought after in Rome, these pieces, in accordance with their name-stamp, are now usually pronounced "not-Roman" and bear the wide denomination "Barbarian".

<sup>1</sup> "Se Nydam Mosefund, p. 22."

"In Nydam Moss were 90 damascened Brands out of 100; in the later Vi Moss were 14 out of 67. But the Factory-marks upon them were scarce, and Stamps with Latin letters still rarer (in Nydam 8 to 10)<sup>1</sup>. It is therefore possible that several other foreign Swords may exist among the many such pieces found in Norway from the Elder Iron Age.

"In any case the Einang Sword has especial interest from its so evidently belonging to the peculiar class found in Nydam. When laid in the grave it was nearly new, at least it shows no signs of wear, and it cannot have been long on its way from its unknown workshop up to Norway. Impossible and improbable it is not, that some Norse warrior who served out South brought home with him this superb blade, — which would be a new proof that the Norsemen came early in contact with southern civilized lands. Certainly the Valders finds in general are remarkable evidences of the similarity in style and taste — from the influence of Roman models — apparent as early as the 3rd century all the Northlands over, from South Jutland to the mountain-valleys of Norway."<sup>2</sup>

Another precious Roman piece in Director Lorange's Collection is a Bronze Urn, found in 1865 in a grave at Farmen, Vang, Hedemarkens-Amt, N. E. of Christiania, containing only bones and ashes. It would seem to have been a Temple-vessel, to have been stolen from some fane, come to Norway as war-booty or an article of commerce, been bought or used there for household purposes (the sides and bottom were covered with hard soot), and lastly to have been chosen to hold the charred bones of the dead householder. It is inscribed, in Roman letters of about the 2nd century:

APRVS ET LIBERTINVS CVRATOR(ES POS)VERVNT.

APRUS AND LIBERTINUS, TEMPLE-GUARDIANS, OFFERED-*this*.

A short notice of this Einang Stone will be found at p. 43 of a valuable paper by Lorange — "Om Spor af romersk Kultur i Norges ældre Jernalder", an overprint pamphlet of 54 pages 8vo forming a part of "Christiania Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandling for 1873", with a colored plate of the Roman Vase and the Roman Sword. But the block has also been largely described, and its runes translated with a learned comment, by the Norwegian rune-smith Prof. Sophus Bugge. This article is printed at pp. 13 (320) — 25 (332) of his interesting essay: "To nyfundne norske Rune-Indskrifter fra den ældre Jernalder", overprint pamphlet, a portion of "Christiania Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandling for 1872", 8vo, with a plate of the Valsfjord Inscription and a view of the Einang stone and its runes, the latter  $\frac{2}{7}$  of the full size.

Having thus discuss the find, the stone and the mound, and the other illustrative circumstances, we will now enquire what the venerable grave-words say. The better to do this, I here give the stone itself, Chemityped by Prof. Magnus Petersen, and also the rune-line on a scale of  $\frac{1}{2}$ , Heliotyped by Pacht from the facsimile-drawing.

Being turned round and destitute of divisional marks, as usual in the oldest times, and here and there injured, the staves of course present some difficulty, but less than might be lookt for, as they are generally clear enough and — so to speak — divide themselves. They were *redd* by myself and Prof. Bugge in the same way independently when first copied. It is in the *translation* that we differ.

Let us fix the marks. Beginning at the top or from right to left, going downwards and reversing the runes, we find they are:

- No. 1. Damaged below, clearly **M**, **D**. The damage-shade goes still lower down in Bugge's engraving. He says the stone shows it was certainly **D**.
- 2. A plain **F**, **E**.
- 3. Has suffered, but is certainly **X**, **G**. So says Bugge also.
- 4. Again an **F**, **E**.
- 5. Can fortunately be well made out, **Y**, **A**.
- 6. Luckily, the chief part of the bow is sharply left; thus the letter has been **p**, **TH**.

<sup>1</sup> "All the antiquities found in Denmark with Roman Shop-marks are enumerated by Prof. Engelhardt in Aarbøger 1871, p. 432."

<sup>2</sup> I have translated the above from Mr. Lorange's treatise "Om Spor af romersk Kultur", pp. 43 (325) — 45 (327).

No. 7, 8, 9. No real difficulty, FYR, ÆAR.

- 10, 11, 12. Also quite readable, NYR, UNO.

- 13—19. Only the last rune seriously injured, VFIMM, FEIHIDO.

Prof. Bugge, Hr. Lorange and myself all agree that these staves are *really and certainly* so, whatever they may mean. — Now we recognize the group FEIHIDO at once, as an *old* and costly form of the verb in the 3rd person past which occurs several times in *Scandinavian*-runic inscriptions as FADI, *made, carved*. See FEIHIDO in the *Worder*, FAUGED in the *Wordroll*, Vol. 2, and in this last the examples given of FADI, FAADO and FADI RUNAR.

And there is no doubt of another cluster, RUNO, the same accusative plural as we find on so many other stones in its usual sense of *runes, letters*. — So far Bugge and I agree; but here we part



company. I continue with another little handful, the plain and simple word ADEA, the regular oldest dative of ADE, a mansname frequent in our forn talks — Only 4 staves left. And these make DEGE, a regular and common weak-noun mansname in the nominative, several times occurring in later runes, well known to us all, and still living among us in Scandinavia as DAG, in England as DAY.

Thus it is, that I said these letters divide themselves. Let us then gather up the words:

DEGE ADEA RUNO FEIHIDO.

DÆG (= DAY) to-ATHÆ these-RUNES FAWED (*carved*).

Can anything be more usual or more "grammatical"? It is the common formula of a mansname in the nominative (the *carver or raiser*) and a mansname in the dative (the *dead friend or kinsman*). Sometimes a verb in 3rd person past (*raised, inscribed, &c.*) follows, sometimes also the otherwise "understood" accusative (*this stone, these runes, &c.*). Here both verb and accusative are added.



Thus the nominative but in a weak form, as so frequently in *old* days, with the ending -æ (or -a or o &c.). Then the dative in a (or some allied vowel) as is characteristic of our *foremost* Scando-Gothic. So the verb, 3rd pers. sing. past, in -o (or an allied vowel), just as we see it on several of our *oldest* pieces. Compare in my old Word-roll FAUGED, REISTO, SÆTTE, TÆWIDO, TRUKNADU, UTO, WORÆHTO, VRÆHTO, besides others in the later runes (such as the FÆIR FAADO of the Flemløse stone, my p. 678), and occasionally in our most antique parchments.<sup>1</sup>

Have there been runes on the other side of the block? As far as we know, *certainly not*. The back is *the rough* side, and there is no single trace of a stave. Bits have scaled off, especially in the middle, but there would surely have been *some* spores of letters *somewhere* had such existed, and no letter or half-rune was found on any fragment on the ground. Some of the peasants thought there had been runes — a common mistake, as these people often fancy they see runes in any crack or in nothing at all or in common Latin letters. Many a wild-geese chase have I had — to find only a ridiculous *unmarkt* or Latin-lettered stone. Even Prof. Bugge himself (as little as Hr. Lorange) does not believe that the back ever was inscribed. "In this instance, I am not inclined to believe it."<sup>2</sup> The idea may have arisen from the fact, that Prof. Bugge found on one of the fallen back-bits an imperfect *Roman E*. The owner of Einang said that this had been carved not very long ago, and signified EINANG, and that on the other side had been risted N, which stood for NESJA, the block having thus been made into a boundary-stone between those two farms. We may therefore be pretty sure that runes stood only on the smooth side, as usual; but *all* these runes are extant and can be redd.

Hampered by his two ideas, that the O. N. Y is the mark for final r, -r, and that the -o in past tense verbs is the sign of the 1st person, my learned friend Prof. Bugge reads this risting, p. 15 (322):

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Bugge takes this past-tense ending -o to have been *the 1st person*, and therefore to mean i (made, wrote, &c.). I have said that we have no really *old* runic example of this i, N. N., MADE. People then said: ALFRED MADE, not i, ALFRED, MADE. At p. 20 (327) he brings an ingenious and in his opinion decisive instance of this i. He reads *one line* of the old Kärnbo stone, Södermanland, thus: "...[STAI]N PINA [A]PT MIK SIALBE IN APT KAIRULF BRÖTUR MIN CARB IAK HRAD(R?)". No translation. But we can follow his idea. To this I answer, that years ago I had redd this very same line in much the same way, but it never entered my head that it was a proof of the i, N. N., MADE. The stone has 4 lines. Line 1 is broken away. Lines 2 and 3, much damaged; we cannot (at least I cannot) read them. Perhaps Prof. Bugge can, for he has seen the stone. I have never seen it. At all events he only reads the 4th line. In this we have a *unique* example *not* of i but of AFTER MYSELF, instead of the well-known and common formula (N. N. RAISED THIS STONE &c. AFTER HIM (HER) SELF, OR AFTER HIMSELF QUICK (yet living). See my p. 87, 88. The reason for this solitary instance might be apparent, could we read the other 3 lines. However, the point here is clearly *not* the i, but the MYSELF; this once written, of course any continuation *must* say i. The i is here merely an enclitic to the foregoing ME.

We have parallels on other late stones or fonts &c. which say or imply ME. If words follow in the mouth of this ME — tho this ME be a piece of stone or metal, not a man — then of course we may have i. — But I will here give all runic instances known to me of this formula i. They can be compared with the i, I AM, and ME on Classical Antiquities.

1. Tingvold, Norway, my p. LXIV: EK BIÞ . . . . EN EK ET GUNNAR, OK GÆRPI EK HUS FÆTTA. DALETE. Late Christian. The Architect of the church, GUNNAR, who BUILT THIS HOUSE, begs the prayers of the faithful for his soul. Ends in *Latia*.

2. Tose, Norway.

ASLACAR GÆRPE MIR.  
RINAR EK RIST  
AUK RAÞNA STAÐE.  
GUR

A scribble stone, late, ending in a well-known phrase or quotation.

3. Skögeåbäck Drinking-horn, Scand. In Danish of the 15th century.

4. Stockholm Silver Spoon. TANKIN O MIE, SUG IAH O IHÆR. (*Think of me as I of you*). Swedish; 15th century.

5. Saleby Church-bell, Sweden. FA IAH UAR GOR . . . . (*when I was made &c.*) Dated 1228. Swedish and Latin.

6. Gåsinge, Södermanland. My p. 691. Raised by 3 persons and has a Christian prayer. The i KNOW THAT SUIN WAS OUT-WEST WITH KUT must therefore be uttered by *THE STONE*, in the old epical way.

7. Guldrupe, Gotland. Modern scribble on church-wall.

8. Kärnbo, Södermanland. (Above). From the style of the runes, 4 lines, which run round the oblong stone, cannot be older than the 11th or 12th or 13th century. The i here depends on the foregoing ME.

9. Hösme Font, Småland. (*I beg thee that thou pray zealously for the man that made ME. Jakob might he*). Date about 13th century.

10. Burseryd, Småland. (*Arinbjörn made ME. And here shall I for a long time stand*). Font, of the middle age.

The i (i) of the Giltan Sword is a very different matter. Here it is *the sword* which speaks. (See under Lindholm, p. 33.)

Thus none of these pieces is really *antique*; some come down nearly to the Reformation; not one has simply i, N. N., wrote, &c. The oldest, No. 8, depends on the MIK, and is some 600 or 700 years *later* than the so-called "Old-Northern" examples. And this "Old-Northern i" has spoiled every inscription into which Prof. Bugge has forced it. See my p. 326, LI, LXII.

<sup>2</sup> "Jeg er i dette Tilfælde ei tilbøielig til at tro derpaa." *To nyfundne norske Rune-Indskrifter*, p. 22 (329).



"DAGAR FAR RUNO FAHIDO.

JEG, DAG, SKREV DISSE RUNER."

1. DAG, THESE RUNES FAWED (*wrote*).

1. By this method of translation we have not one word as to *why* or to *whom* this evidently funeral monolith was raised.

2. At this excessively old date we should undoubtedly expect as the nominative end-mark -s, not -r, which is very much later.

3. The expression FAR RUNO at this early time is something quite inadmissible. We all know that the *si*, later *s*, in *DISI* (*DI-SI*), *DIS*, &c. our *THIS*, *THESE*, *THOSE*, is an emphatic enclitic added on, whether or no it was originally the 2nd sing. imperative of the verb to *SEE*. In some cases of this, thus emphasized, pronoun the *s* melted into *r*, in the way so common to this sound everywhere but especially in Scandinavia; but this took place *gradually* and at a *later* period. We have *hundreds* of examples of this accus. plur. feminine = *THESE RUNES*, after a verb, on stones coming down from early times so late as the close of the middle age, in Norway as elsewhere, but we have *no single instance* of this *FAR* or *FAER*, with -*r*; *always* -*s*, (*DESAR*,<sup>1</sup> *DESER*, *DESI*, *DASA*, *DASAR*, *PASI*, (*DENR*), *DESA*, *DESAR*, *DESER*, *DESI*, *DIS*, *DISA*, *DISAR*, *DISI*, *DISR*, *DOSAR*, &c.). Is it credible then that this comparatively modern -*r* in this accus. plur. fem. should be found on an Old-Northern monument from the 3rd century after Christ?

Before leaving Prof. Bugge's valuable essay on this stone, I must strongly object to his conclusion at p. 23 (330): "From the inscriptions hitherto translated, no one has been able to point out a single essential (in fact, scarcely a non-essential) difference of dialect. The *tung* which speaks to us from the rocky bluff at Valsfjord is exactly the same as that which is gathered from the *Ferrule* of the Thorsbjerg Moss."<sup>2</sup> This formal reiteration of the modern theory about the one, holy, uniform, "correct", Old Northern language in very early days, as spoken from Finland and the White Sea down over Sealand and Jutland to the Eider (where it suddenly stops!), and of which 13th century colonial and mixt Icelandic is looked upon as the orthodox norm and index and exponent — is surprising indeed. All I have to say is, that if the extraordinary *differences*, "essential" or "non-essential", in sound-laws and grammar-forms and word-stock, found from time to time of old in our *oldest* remaining materials, runes and skinbooks and folktalks, among the manifold clans then with *no* collective name but *now* called Swedes and Norwegians and Danes, signify *nothing*. — then the similar or still slighter differences between the oldest Scandian remains and the oldest Anglian and Saxon and Frisian remains are of *as little* account. But if so, where are the mighty "organic differences" between the oldest Scandian and these other dialects so loudly insisted on by this modern "German school", — so that even Old-English (chiefly derived from this very Scandinavia, and its oldest colonial offshoot) is now as glibly as infallibly pronounced to be a "German" and not a "Scandian" folkspeech? Surely there must be a screw loose somewhere. See hereon my p. XXXVII and fol. 27 and fol., &c.

<sup>1</sup> There is *one* example of *FAR*, *nom.* pl. fem., on a stone to which I have given the approximate date of the 9th century. It is the Rök block. See p. 50, above: AFT DAMUÞ STONTA RUNAR FAR. But (whether this *FAR* be the n. pl. f. of *sa* (*fe*) and thus the M. Goth. *fos*, or of *sa-si* (*pe-si*) the M. Goth. *fozuv*), the *nom.* is *not* the accusative, and there is the enormous chasm of 600 years between Rök and Einang — the period between the English of King Alfred and the English of Shakespear! On other, mostly *far* later, stones we have some 3 dozen instances of *FAER* or *FAIR* or *FEIR* or *FER* or *FIR* as *nom.* pl. *masc.*, and a single one of *FAR* as *ac.* pl. *masc.* — Compare the striking variations, not only in spelling and sound but in grammatical forms and the words employed, between the oldest Icelandic Homily-book (about A. D. 1200) and the oldest Norse Homily-book (about A. D. 1230–40), where they have *exactly* the same texts or sermons. Yet there is only *one* generation between them! — See my notice of Prof. Wisén's edition of the Icelandic Homily-book, in Dansk Kirketidende, Kjøbenhavn, Sept. 8, 1872.

<sup>2</sup> "Af de hidtil tolkede Indskrifter har man ikke kunnet paavise en eneste væsentlig (ja neppe nogen uvæsentlig) dialektisk Sprogforskjel. Det Tungemaal, der klinger til os fra Fjeldhammeren ved Valsfjorden, er fuldkommen det samme som det, der tydes ud af Tegnene paa Dopskoen fra Thorsbjerg Mose."

## EINANG, VALDERS, CHRISTIANS-AMT, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 200—300.

*From Drawings, Paper-casts, Light-bild, &c. kindly forwarded by Director A. LORANGE. Chemütyped by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN.*



From this same spot, West Slidre, Valdres, about 25 Norse miles N. W. of Christiania, came another grave-minne undoubtedly runish, and from all the circumstances of much the same age as the standing stone. It was found in 1871. When Dr. Printz was at Einang, trying to get a paper impression for Hr. Lorange, as stated in the last article, a peasant showed him in a stone-heap a nearly round block which he had come upon deep in the ground while clearing a field, about 70 yards from the inscribed Einang stone. It is from 12 to 18 inches all round, being partly globular or rather pear-shaped, tolerably even and of lightish gneissose granite, and is now in Lorange's Museum.

There can be little doubt that this piece, like so many other such small sarsens, is a grave-memorial, and that it had been placed *inside* the barrow. This being gradually cleared away, the articles within and lower down afterwards turn up by accident of riddance or ploughing. Great numbers of our "field-finds" come in this way.

The value of this small block consists in its bearing a *Bind-rune*, not very deeply and rather carelessly scored in, and well preserved. Such monograms are sometimes not easy to make out. My distinguishd fellow-workman, Prof. Bugge, has not redd it. Still I think there is little difficulty. — The first stave is a roughly carved Old-Northern H, H. On to this has been added the arm of an Old-Northern Y, A. Above, partly making use of the right side top of the H, has been fashioned an Old-Northern &, o. A small bar midway on the right is apparently a stop. Thus we get, in the nominative, the mansname

HAO.

Should we say that the stone only bears HA, this would be either a mansname, equivalent to HAO, or a contraction of a mansname beginning with HA. But there is little doubt that the whole is HAO, with the nominative-ending -o, which we should expect. On so *small* and so *hard* a block, and so carelessly perhaps hurriedly cut, we should not look for a long inscription. Hence perhaps the word has been risted as a monogram — to save labor.

## TUNE, SMÅLENENE, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 200—300.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 247, 904, LII.*

Very slightly modifying my former version, I now propose:

ECWIWÆA AFTER WODURIDE, WITÆI GÆHÆLÆIBÆN, WORÆHTO R(unæ).

ÆRBINGÆS INGOST, LIA, ÆRBINGÆ NOÞUINGOA, DOHTR, IA DELIDUN (SET)A WODURIDE STÆINÆ.

ECWIWÆA AFTER (in memory of) WODURID, her-WITTY (wise, high, mighty, illustrious) LOAFFELLOW (partner, mate, husband), WROUGHT (carved, = let carve) these-R(unæ)s.

The-HEIRS (sons) INGOST and-LIA, and-the-HEIRESS NOÞUINGOA, his-DAUGHTER, HIA (they) DEALD to-SET (shared in setting up) to-WODURID this-STONE

For the olden ending -N in the pl. past in DELIDUN, see the remarks on the Björkö stone, under ARCHAIC MONUMENTS, and the Wordrow. Vol. 2, under DELIDUN.

Sept. 24, 1874. I have received the doublepart of the "Aarbøger" for 1874. At p. 133, 134 Dr. Wimmer gives the Tune stone. In the 2nd line of A, after WITÆ, we have (p. 133) in a copy of the runes engraved after Dr. Wimmer's own drawing as *absolutely correct*, the rune  $\mathfrak{D}$  (his DA), all as *one stave* and with the D fully rounded and joined as a distinct D. On p. 134, where the whole stone is given, reduced, from Munch's engravings as amended by Bugge, the rune is *not* so rounded as a D and the 2 left corners are *not* closed. I at once referred to the paper casts, using my fresh eyes. It is long since I lookt at them. I have 2 such squeezes (the gift of Prof. Rygh) of this particular spot. The group *cannot* be said to be a bind-rune. The paper casts give 3 letters, not one, and if I engraved the block again I should make the staves *distinctly* 3. There is a clear tho small opening *between each letter*, that is, *none* of the 4 corners of X is united to the 1 or l, and this middle X is nearly straight, thus almost —  $\mathfrak{X}$ l — IGÆ.

But even if it were not so, all acknowledge that on such rude carvings the context and formula must decide in cases of this kind. We have *hundreds* of proofs of this on runic monuments. Keeping to *this one*; on the other side, B, is the double-rune  $\mathfrak{S}$ , the S united at the top to the I, in the undivided line beginning ÆRBINGÆSINGOSTLIA. Yet both Bugge and Wimmer take the S and the I *separately*, dividing (they transliterate F as A and Y as -R), the former ARBINGA SINGOSTE, the latter ARBINGA SINGOSTER or SINGOSTLIR. My division is ÆRBINGÆS INGOST, LIA, I looking on ÆRBINGÆS as the "correct" perantique n. pl. to agree with the 2 names INGOST and LIA. The stone really has INGOSTLIA, not INGOSTEA.

And now to another question. — The valuable Fjuckby stone, Upland, (Liljegren No. 219, Bautil No. 507), has been unhappily broken in pieces, several of which have been lost; but those which remain show that the woodcut in Bautil was moderately correct, and it can be amended by Bure's older readings in his Ms. Sv. Runæ No. 71, Ms. Runahäfd No. 495, and his copper plate. What is now left is figured in Dybeck's Sveriges Runurkunder, folio, No. 215. The block reads, supplying between brackets, [ ], what is *now lost*, and in parenthesis, ( ), what is *now damaged*:

FASTUL(F)R LI(T) [R]ITA STIN EFTIR [HULFASTA, RUNFRID] LIT I(F)TIR OSLA[IK, FADUR SIN,] UK IRU ER[FAR ASLAKS].

I have only made one correction here. The female name is spelt in Bautil RUNIRID, by Bure RUNERID and RUNARID, all in my opinion badly copied for the well-known woman's-name RUNFRID. Thus:

FASTULF LET WRITE this-STONE AFTER HULFAST, RUNFRITH LET-write-it AFTER OSLAIK, FATHER SIN (her),

EKE (and) they-ARE the ARFES (heirs) of-ASLAK.

We here learn that ASLAK had 3 children, HULFAST and FASTULF, sons, and a daughter RUNFRITH. Probably in tempest or battle, ASLAK and his son HULFAST perish, seemingly together. The remaining barns raise the grave-stone, the heir (FASTULF) naming his late brother (HULFAST) whose rights he now holds, while the heiress (RUNFRITH) commemorates their common father (ASLAK).

Thus this block is a striking parallel to the Tune stone, only its son and daughter are both taken together in the plural ERFAR, which has no distinction of sex (as little as the Scandinavian

side-form ARFVING), such distinction being found nowhere in all the north in this word, as I have said p. 904, save on the Tune stone, and in Mæso-Gothic. (But I have since found instances of ARFA, *heirress*, in contrast to ARFI, *heir*; see the Worder, under ÆRBINGÆS.)

Certain it is that on either stone a woman is spoken of as *heirress*, in whatever proportion.

In fact we know that women could and did inherit in various ways and degrees, all the North-lands over. Only usually each son took twice as much as each daughter. This is the "full lot" of the son and the "half lot" of the daughter, so frequent in our olden landscape-codes.

In one word, manners and customs and laws (which are only cristalized customs) often widely differ among clans of the same blood in the same land, and change yet further in the same land as time passes on. These differences sometimes go farther back than the memory of man runneth. Not unfrequently they have been produced by the will or interest of some great chief, or by some local event or superstition or tradition, or by imitation of something seen elsewhere, or by intermixture of kin. This applies in full force to Arv-laws, usages of inheritance, of which both England and Scandinavia offer striking instances. Let us only mention, as patent to all men, the law of Gavel-kind in Kent and elsewhere, by which the estate goes to *all* the sons equally; — the ancient law of Scotland, whereby the *eldest sister* succeeded to an Earldom (see the famous instance in the Earldom of Athol), excluding her younger sisters and the heir male of her father; — the Værend law in Swedish Småland, making *daughters* and *wives* share and inherit equally with sons and husbands; — our forn (antique) right of Borough-English, by which property descends to the *youngest* son or brother, as is or was the case also in certain parts of the Black Forest and in Alsace and elsewhere both in the West and East; — and the Arv-law of Bornholm, by which the *youngest* son inherits, but, failing sons, the *oldest* daughter, who pays out shares to her sisters.

Let us add a middle-age example in a law which had a Scandinavian (Danish) origin, the Woldemar-Erich or Harrisch-Wierisch Code, Cap. 15: — "Sind Bröder eyn, eft thwe, eft mher, de suster hebben, vnd willen de Bröder deelen, So bemannen se de Suster, effte SE GHANN THO GELIKER DELINGE MIT ERËN BRÖDERN; ouer er gudt eruet wedder an ere Bröder."<sup>1</sup> — There is also the old custom of the Viking-settled Orkneys and Shetland.<sup>2</sup>

Many have repeated the cry that daughters could not inherit among our forefathers, blundering and mixing up later changes and feudal innovations, till in some circles it is now an article of faith. The real fact is, that the oldest Scando-Gothic wunt *did not* exclude women from inheriting. The West-Gothic Law, the Salic Law, the Ripuarian Law and others are all united in this primal tradition.<sup>3</sup>

We have another proof of all this on the Viksjö stone, Upland (Liljegren No. 51, Dybeck, folio, No. 23), where KULUA is the name of the sister:

BARTR AUK BUSIR AUK KULUA PAIR LITU RAISA STAIN DENO EFTIR OSUR, BURUDR SIN. PAISI UARU UIKULFS ARPAR.  
BART EKE BUSIR EKE KULUA THEY LET RAISE STONE THIS AFTER OSUR, BROTHER SIN (*their*). THESE WERE  
UIKULFS ARFES (*heirs, children*).

<sup>1</sup> Paucker, Die Quellen der Ritter- Lehn- und Land-Rechte Ehst- und Livlands. 8vo. Dorpat 1845, p. 132, 134: Are there brothers, one or two or more, who have sisters, and if the brothers will deal (share the property), then shall they marry off (and portion) the sisters, or these shall go to like dealing (shall share equally) with their brothers; but the property arveth back (goes back after them) to their brothers.

<sup>2</sup> "GAVELKIND, a custom by which, on the death of the father, the youngest got the dwellinghouse, while the other property was equally divided." (T. Edmonston, An Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and Orkney Dialect. London 1866, p. 37). — And again p. 102: "SISTER'S-PART . . . Under the Udal system a man's property was divided among all his children, a son receiving double the portion of a daughter."

<sup>3</sup> "Das älteste germanische Erbrecht . . . Ein gänzlicher Ausschluss des Weibstamms wird nirgends angedeutet." — W. Schaeffner, Geschichte der Rechtsverfassung Frankreichs. 8vo. Bd. 1. Frankfurt a. M. 1845, p. 296: — "Im westgotischen Recht wird das weibliche Geschlecht dem männlichen in der Succession schlechthin gleichgestellt, und je der Nähere im Grade dem Entfernteren vorgezogen. So erben die Töchter den väterlichen und mütterlichen Nachlass ganz gleich mit den Söhnen." Id. p. 305. — "Was die Erbordnung betrifft, so ruft das salische Recht zuerst die Kinder überhaupt. Der Text spricht zwar nur von Söhnen; allein dass die Töchter ganz gleich mit diesen erben, folgt theils daraus, dass die Ausschliessung der Töchter vom Sallande nur als Ausnahme betrachtet wird, theils aus dem gleichen Erbrecht der Onkel und Tanten, theils aus der Analogie des ripuarischen Rechtes. Wenn es auch anerkannt ist, dass die Töchter von der elterlichen Erbschaft im Allgemeinen nicht ausgeschlossen waren, so wollen doch Einige einen Vorzug der Söhne vor den Töchtern im salischen Rechte gefunden haben. Allein dieses macht im Ganzen überhaupt keinen Unterschied zwischen männlichen und weiblichen Verwandten, auch ist ihm ein Unterschied zwischen väterlichem und mütterlichem Nachlass fremd. Von einem Primogenitur-rechte war mithin im salischen Rechte am wenigsten die Rede, wie denn ein solches dem Geiste der Volksrechte ganz zuwider ist, und sich erst später durch den Einfluss der Lehnverhältnisse bilden konnte." Id. p. 298.



Therefore the argument against my reading of the Tune stone advanced by some linguists, that "women could not inherit in the old North", falls to the ground.<sup>1</sup>

And I repeat once more, what apparently cannot be enforced too often, that we know nothing of local *facts* or *usages* or *dialects* 1000 or 2000 years ago, except by analogy (which may turn out quite false) or guess (perhaps really wild, however clever), or, when *some life or monument tells us something about them*. Evolving and infallibly announcing such things out of "iron systems" and pedantical theories is a *quick* road enough, but, abusing the name of "science", it is deplorably "unscientific".

With regard to my objections to his reading of the Tune stone, and especially to my remark that in this long inscription, which covers both sides of the block, by his reading no Heiress is *named*, Prof. Bugge (in Bidrag, III, p. 194, 5) finds fault with my strong word that such an omission is "unheard-of", and cites several stones where such omissions of names really occur — a fact of which I was aware *at least* as well as himself. A little goodwill would have taught him that my meaning was, as most of my readers would see at once, quite simply, that *the name* of the stone-raiser or rune-carver or heir (where such is mentioned) is so universal, — that is, its absence is so excessively rare — that we should never resort to such absence when we *can* find the name on the stone by taking the formula in another way. As I have said elsewhere, should the name really be absent, we may be pretty sure that there has been a *duplicate stone* on which *the name was given*, tho that second stone is now lost. We have several such duplicate or triplicate stones, the one of which mentions details not found on the other. I will here appeal to only one example, the 2 Rockelstad stones, Upland, Sweden, to which I have myself referred at my p. 927. See them in full under Virring, in the chapter ARCHAIC MONUMENTS.

My learned friend's reference (Bidrag III, p. 195) to the Skafså stone (given by him in Bidrag II, p. 360) is an inadvertence, as the closing

KOEMONTR OUK DEIR ONLOTR, MERSIN

are the names of the 3 ORNAIRS SUNIR spoken of at the beginning of the inscription, with which they are simply in apposition, — ORNAIR'S SONS, *namely* KOTHMONT, ONLOT and MERSIN. Therefore the names of those who carved the runes to their father are not wanting on this Skafså stone. See the whole legend in ARCHAIC MONUMENTS.

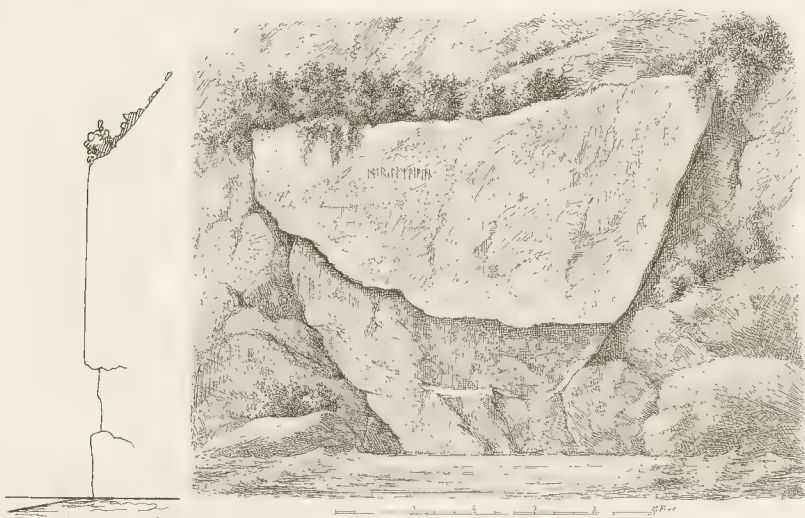
Compare with the DELIDUN (SET)A of the Tune stone the MID-KI[ARBU], *mith-gaved, shared in raising*, of the Skalmstad block, Upland, Sweden, in the ARCHAIC MONUMENTS further on.

<sup>1</sup> And if daughters could in certain times and places share in the *real estate* (landed property), still more might they take part in their father's *personal estate* (movable property). This last might be, doubtless often was, as valuable as the former, perhaps more so. Cattle and jewels and merchandise and plunder of all sorts would often mount up to a very great sum.

## VÆBLUNGSNÆS, ROMSDAL, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 2—300.

*From details and drawings obligingly communicated by Adjunkt B. E. BENDIXEN. Christiansund, Norway.  
Chemitype by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN*



If we draw a line from Hernösand in East Sweden, on the Gulf of Bothnia, right away due west to the opposite coast of the Scandian Continent, on the Atlantic Ocean, we shall more or less strike the whereabouts of this famous Runic Rock, in the innermost or easterly end of the wide and deep and far-stretching sea-like Romdals-firth. Information about it will be found in my first volume, p. 274, 5, together with a translation (now shown to be foolish) of what were then thought to be the Runes. For, as with a couple other of these monuments, fresh materials have led to fresh results, and these fresh materials have been gained by my publishing the older copies (the best I had access to), and thus drawing attention to them. Where I have not seen these carvings, I must depend upon others, and faulty texts lead to faulty results, overturned by correct facsimiles. Compare, for instance, my bad translation of the Sigdal stone (p. 271) with what I take to be my true version at p. 846; and my glaring faults in handling the Rök stone (p. 228) as compared with my new rendering from the corrected text in this 3rd volume p. 41.

The glory of having obtained for us absolutely trustworthy facsimiles of these costly Væblungsnæs staves belongs to the *practical* runologist Adjunkt Bendixen. Instead of writing a book about an inscription he had never seen, or copying it afar off like his foregangers, he determined really to master the runes themselves. But on trial he found this almost impossible. He could not come at them standing in a rocking boat, which was some yards below them. Nor could he let himself down from the brink of the cliff, with a rope round his waist, for there is nothing above to land-fasten any rope to, only a few weak bushes growing on the top. So, at the peril of his life, he climbed the almost inaccessible scar, or rather with difficulty mounted a ladder so high that he could reach the characters. This he was enabled to do by the fortunate circumstance that a huge and long block of

stone, probably borne up by a jutting crag (for there is deep water all round) lies just opposite the bluff, and when the water is down the top of this enormous thin slab is almost walkable, tho still covered by the waves. A rent on its surface gave firm footing to his telegraph-steeg. This his men had to move 4 times that he might be sure of all his letters, of which he took impressions in paper, as well as controlling them with his hand and his eye. As far as is known, the rock has never been thus ascended before, and it is not likely that anyone else will again use men and a telegraph-ladder for this purpose.

Since my old text was written, Prof. S. Bugge has made public (*Aarbøger f. Nord. Oldk. og Hist.* 1871, p. 222) 2 fresh copies of the runes, one by Rector Brinchmann of Molde, and one by Adjunkt Bendixen which latter was nearly perfect, but these are now superseded by the admirable tracing for which we have to thank the latter gentleman.

The sketch of the Runic Cliff, as seen from the deck of a boat nearby, was drawn by my learned friend's own hand, and is a most welcome illustration. It is, as we see, very striking. And to show distinctly how wonderfully steep, and *now* un-comeatable, the cliff is, he has added a side-view. Such rock- or cliff-inscriptions are not many. They are without exception, or at least almost always, grave-memorials, like nearly all other inscribed stones. The Væblungsnæs bluff I take to be a similar funeral minne, and from a very early age. I know of only one other O. N. *SEA-cliff* (= that at Valsfjord) bearing death-runes, in memory of a chieftain whose "billow-horse" had so often carried him past it in sunshine and in storm.

In the words of Adjunkt Bendixen in a letter to me dated April 13, 1872: "The runes are covered by a very fine lichen, but most of them are plain when water is thrown over the rock. They are over 11 feet above the highest water-mark, tho usually the sea is 1 to 2 feet still lower. When I was there, they were 14 feet above high-water. They are 6 inches high, and not only cut-in but also apparently smoothed-in, for the finger feels a kind of half-round smooth hollow."

In "*Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Hist.*", Kjøbenhavn 1872, pp. 185—191, the same scholar has given an interesting account of his visit to the spot. He adds: "The strandstead Væblungsnæs is at the mouth of the Ramna, at the foot of a rapidly shelving partly terrace-shaped bank, which springs from the hills on the south side of the dale. — — — About midway between Indholm and Væblungsnæs, or  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a (Norse) mile to the west, and a couple of fathoms beyond a little stream called Sjolaa or Yste Elven (the outermost Elv or stream) stands, in the hill-range Hundsleisa, an unclimbable crag. This is the Rune-hill. It is about 3 fathoms high, and the runes are about 2 fathoms — some 11 or 12 feet — above the highest water-mark." Now follows how he copied the staves, August 20, 1871. He then gives a small woodcut of the carving, which he reads and translates:

EIRILAR WIWILA.

EIRIL (= EARL) WIWIL.

At p. 192—6 Prof. Bugge discusses the same *rising*, and gives the same reading, but takes EIRILAR (= EARL) to be a mansname not a title, and WIWILA to be a second or surname.

I here also give the runes separately, as drawn for me by Hr. Bendixen himself and Photo-zylographt by Hr. Rosenstand, about 1-seventh of the natural size. My friendly correspondent says hereon: "I have exactly copied my original drawing, as far as possible reflecting all the small peculiarities of the inscription. The 6th stave has a small bend at its root, the graving-iron having apparently glided here over a very hard knot. All the letters are handsomely made, and have scarcely taken any damage during the many centuries which have past away."

MIRILEYPIPIIN

All the characters are plain and sharp. They are not group't into words, either by any stop or any dividing space. But they speak for themselves, for the first word is clearly MIRILÆA, and the second as clearly WIWILN.

Bendixen and Bugge take the first mark to stand for *e*. This I think inadmissible, both on palaeographic and linguistic grounds. A letter is often a little *simplified* in form, either to accommodate it to some flaw or iron-hard spot on the stone or some other local reason, or for caprice or elegance. But to *add to* a stave is rare indeed. *ᚱ* for *ᚱ* (*m*) is natural enough, but *ᚱ* for *ᚱ* (*e*) is unlikely enough. *MIRILEA*, dative singular of *MIRILĒ*, is exactly what we might look for. It is a well-known Scando-Gothic name in olden days. We have already had it twice before in these forn runes, once on the Etelhem Brooch (p. 182), where it is spelt without the vowels, *for want of room*,

ᚱᚱᚱᚱ (MIRILE).

and again on the Sigdal block (p. 843), where it stands in full,

ᚱᚱᚱᚱᚱ (MIRILE).

On this last the *m* has the same shape as on the Væblungsnæs rock. Both the Etelhem and the Sigdal pieces give the name in the *nominative*, and this is the *usual* historical nominative form (the *n* having fallen away). Væblungsnæs gives it in the *dative*, *MIRILEA*, and this again is the *usual* old historical dative, for at this early time datives of this class of nouns ended in *-a* (or some nearly allied vowel, afterwards gradually weakened into *i*), the *n* having fallen away. We have *many* examples of these very datives on our antique runic monuments; see p. 897. However, it is so far immaterial to my reading whether we adopt *EIRILEA* *WIWILN*, or *MIRILEA* *WIWILN*. Both will give an excellent formula. So I take what stands:

to *MIRILĒ* *WIWILN*-carves-this-memorial.

I have said that I read undoubtedly *MIRILEA*, not *EIRILEA*. And I think I can now bring a proof which is absolute and final. We all know the famous RUSHWORTH Manuscript of the Gospels, in Latin, written by an (? Irish) scribe who spells his name *MACREGOL* and *MACREGUIL*, whose date is uncertain but probably from the middle of the 8th century. Its O. English Gloss has been published by the Surtees Society in 4 vols. 8vo, in union with the Latin text and O. E. Gloss of the Lindisfarne Codex, — and by the University of Cambridge in 4 vols. 4to, adding to the above also the O. E. versions in the Southern dialect. This Rushworth Gloss is by two English priests, *FARMAN*, and his friend and helper *OWUN*, in the latter half of the 10th year-hundred. A note by *OWUN* near the end of S. John tells us about *FARMAN* that he lived at Harewood, which is on the river Wharfe in the West Riding of Yorkshire. *FARMAN* wrote little more than the Gospel of S. Mathew, in a S. North-English dialect; *OWUN* did the rest in a more northerly N. Engl. speech, but also largely using the O. North-Engl. Gloss — which is about 50 years older — in the Lindisfarne Gospels. Several specimens of the writing of this Rushworth parchment have now been published, colored or plain. There are 3 such facsimile plates in the large-folio "National Manuscripts of Ireland", London 1874; others will be found in Prof. Westwood's splendid "Facsimiles", in the invaluable plates of the English Palæographical Society, and in the Surtees ed. of the Gospel of S. John, 1865. Among them is the entry, *in FARMAN'S own hand*, at the end of S. Mathew, that he had glost that book. His words are, writing the contractions out in Italics:

*Farman presbyter þas boc þus gleosed. dimittet ei dominus omnia peccata sua ? sicut (others read: si) fieri potest apud deum.*

*Farman priest this book thus glost. May-the-Lord-Christ pardon him all his sins, as so-do he-may with God!*

As we know, in our oldest English skinbooks the older rune for *m*, *ᚱ*, (in the oldest Scandian bookfells the later mark *ᚱ*), is often used for *MAN* or *MADR*, as in the oldest English codices is the O. N. rune *ᚱ* (*p*) for *DAG* or *DEG*. Now here, in this remark by *FARMAN*, we have the only instance in this Rushworth vellum of the O. N. stave for *m*, which occurs so frequently in the Lindisfarne Ms. In the latter it is always written *ᚱ*; but here it is written by *Farman* himself *ᚱ*, exactly as on this Væblungsnæs Cliff and on the Sigdal block. For *Farman* writes his name thus (photoxylograph by Rosenstand):

ᚱᚱᚱᚱ.

By the same principle of simplification Aldred, the yet older English glosser of the Lindisfarne Gospels, sometimes uses for *h* the short (? Runic or Latin) form *F*.



Should Y be -R, all this will disappear. We get the proposed *modern* name or title EIRILAR (instead of a suitable old EIRILAS) and a name, WIWILA, both obtained by making the plain F (Æ) into A, and the as plain Þ (N)<sup>1</sup> also into A!

We know that the 2 variants þ, ʀ, for N, and the 2 variants of the later rune 4, ʀ, for A, are universally interchangeable, both forms being often found on one and the same runic object, — that we have a large class of olden Scando-Gothic names ending in IN or 'N, — that this very mansname (call it a derivative or a formative or a diminutive, or what we will) occurs several times elsewhere, that it is plainly in the *nominative*, and that we should expect a nominative here as MIRILÆA is as clearly in the *dative*. And we know also that we have a whole group of these ancient grave-carvings with *two* names, one in the nominative and one in the dative. I cannot therefore see otherwise than that my reading is regular and grammatical and characteristic, and again venture to ask that so many facts shall not be compelled to bend before the *theory* that the Old-Northern rune Y is *end-R*, which everywhere leads to such wonderful and unnatural words and formulas. At all events the giving to the clear N the value of A — in order to get rid of an inconvenient nominative side by side with an inconvenient dative — is too bad. "Fair play is a jewel".

MIRILÆ was a mighty man in his day. He perisht. From the peculiar position of his funeral inscription he most likely lost his life at sea, probably on the great Romsdal Firth which washt this very cliff. He may have been drowned while sledging over in the winter, a thing which often happened then as now, and which is more than once spoken of in the old parchments when they relate the death of a king or captain. Or he may have been shipwreckt. In either case his kinsman or weapon-brother WIWILN carved his minne-runes. And this was done from the deck of his war-galley, for the runic staves must have been cut breast-high. Some 1600 or 1500 years ago the water was much higher all along this part of Norway (or the land much lower) than now.

While on this head I may as well add, that Adjunkt Martin Arnesen, of Fredrikshald in the south of Smålenene in south-west Norway, has of late years by indefatigable exertions discovered no fewer than between 130 and 140 distinct groups of Hellristings (Rock-carvings), all of them apparently from the Bronze-age, in the south of Smålenene. Prof. Olaf Rygh, of Christiania, has written a notice hereon (Christiania Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandlinger for 1873, with a Map), and at p. 3 (457) makes the following valuable remark: — "Adjunkt Arnesen has also made an observation of great importance, which seems to prove that these carvings were once far nearer to the water than now. For he has ascertained that not one of all these rock-pictures in Smålenene is at a low level than from 70 to 75 feet above the sea, and just at this height they abound. In my opinion he concludes most justly, that when these figures were cut the sea-level was some 70 feet higher than at present, so that they were then mostly close along the strand. And how can we otherwise explain the want of all carvings under the level of 70 feet? These Hell-ristings may thus help to throw light on the question, so important to Geology, of the rising of the land during the present geological period. Here again Archæology and Natural Science will meet, as at so many other points. These stone-carvings seem to show that Smålenene have been lifted up, since the Hell-ristings were figured, more than the west of Norway. One, at least, of the scorings on the west-coast, that on Bru iland near Stavanger, is much lower than the lowest in Smålenene, only from 12 to 14 feet above the sea."

I fancy that this WIWILN was sprung from WIWIL, a local magnate, who gave his name to the district now called VÆBLUNGS-NÆS. Or a chieftain of that name may have perisht at sea just off the steep cliff, and hence it may have been called after him. The ending -UNG is only a gradual variation of the ending -IN or -ING. See the Word-roll under WIWILN.

Nov. 1875. The mystery of the much-debated *Framvaren* rock-carving, in Lister, Mandal, South Norway, is now solved. (See my Vol. 1, p. 161). This famous runic cliff was scientifically visited at the end of June this year by the Norwegian Archæologist Ingvald Undset, and he has kindly now

<sup>1</sup> "The last rune has also its own form, þ, a short sharp arm slanting downwards from the middle on the right. There is no doubt whatever as to the letter. I examined it thrice, and always with the same result. Altho I carefully scanned the rock both with eye and hand, I found not the slightest trace of any other side-mark." (Adjunkt Bendixen's letter to me, of April 13, 1872).

(in Nov.) furnisht me with details and drawings. He was favored with almost miraculously fine weather, without which nothing could have been accomlisht, and the absence of which is one cause of former failures. Armed with boat, sailors, ladder, iron clamps (to fix in the rock and hold the ropes which should steady his boat) and great coolness and practical sense, he spent two days in careful examinations and tracings. The result was a triumph. This inscription is now handed over to science and old-lore. In another generation or two it will have entirely disappeared, so violently and almost incessantly does the spray of the billows dash against its surface, which already has suffered so much. Even at the first it cannot have been sharp or deep, for the runes are only rubbed in with a tool or stone — so steep and difficult is the spot. It is in two lines, about 8 to 9 feet above the level of the sea, on a rocky bluff which stands several hundred feet high, on the eastern side of the firth-lake. All the runes are reasonably plain. Only *one* is doubtful, the 1 in *rr*. This is really now 1, only 1, and it may have been so originally, for we have both *rr* and *rr* elsewhere instead of *at*. But as this is very exceptional, and as the surface of the rock has everywhere traces of great scathe and damage, it is more likely that the vowel was the usual *a*, and that the word was *at*. There is another peculiarity in this scoring. It has 3 of the so-called later letters, the † (*æ*), † (*s*) and † (*τ*). But all these are still very old, and 2 of them, the *s* and the *τ*, are on the wonderful Rök stone in East-Gotland, which in my eyes is not later than the 9th century. I cannot therefore follow Prof. Bugge, who fixes this Framvaren grave-minne at about the year 1200. On the contrary, I believe it to be certainly *heathen* and *not later* than the 10th or 11th century.

All are agreed that the staves read:

RIST AINRIDI

(A)T USTÆN.

RISTED (*carved*) AINRITHI (*these-runes*)

AT (*to*) USTÆN (= AUSTÆN).<sup>1</sup>

But this formula is in reality *the same* as we find on the other two Norwegian grave-rocks:

Valsfjord, 2nd century:

To-the-HAGUSTALD (*Lord, Captain*) THEWÆ GODÆGÆS (= GOODDAY-wrote-these-runes).

Vøblungsnæs, 3rd century:

MIRILÆ WIWILN.

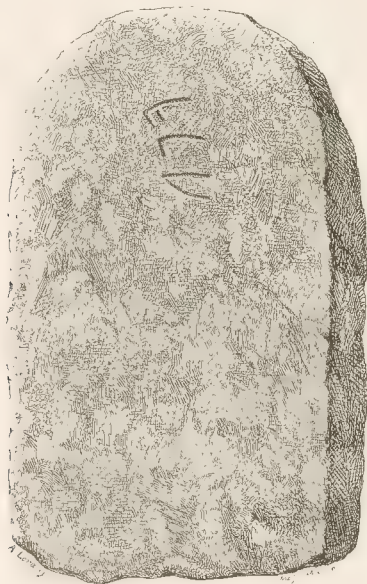
To-MIRILÆ WIWILN-carved-these-runes.

<sup>1</sup> Since the above was written has appeared: "Runeskriften ved Framvarden. Af Ingvald Undset", in "Aarsberetning for 1875 fra Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminde-mærkers Bevaring". With a plate. This most instructive and interesting paper is an overprint of pages 94—110.

## ELGESEM, LARVIK'S FOGDERI, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300--400.

*From Drawing and Paper Casts of the original, in the Christiania Museum, kindly made in October 1872  
by Director A. LORANGE, now of Bergen, Norway. Chemityped by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN.*



Another minne-stone from South Norway, this time found on the land of the homestead Elgesem or Øljesem (not Helgesem) in Sandeherred, in the Fogderi (Bailiwick) of Larvik (or Laurvik). For the following information I have to thank the courtesy of my learned friend Prof. Sophus Bugge, of Christiania.

It appears, then, that this piece was found on the 10th of August 1870 by the Norwegian antiquary N. Nicolaysen, who was then officially engaged in opening several barrows on the grounds of Elgesem. This Elgesem district is rich in hows, and Hr. Nicolaysen found that, tho many of them were from the Early Iron Age, not a few were from the later Iron period.

The runic block now before us was dug up *inside* the grave-mound, and was so placed from the first, in case the whole low was raised at once. It was lying near 4 feet from the bottom, and covered a quantity of red sand, the soil nearest the top being otherwise a layer of dark earth. Under the stone were found only small bits of Charcoal and burnt human bones. It is therefore clear that it was laid down above the mould and burnt fragments, before the soil was piled up higher and the whole covered in.

The round barrow, which had been slightly dug into from above, was very large, about 90 feet measured over the round top,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  feet from the top to the coarse bottom shingles. The bottom was as it were paved with cobbles, some of which were large hand-stones.

The rune-block was not in the centre of the how, but 17 feet 6 inches N. N. W., at the deep slant. The runish side lay on its face. It is of coarse granite, flat, evidently trimmed and shaped by hand, 5 feet 7 inches long, 2 feet 9 inches broad, from 5 to 6 inches thick, squarish at the one end and half-round at the other (smaller) end. The rune-side is fairly even, the other a little rough. It lay with its half-round end towards the North East.

But other interments had been made in this barrow; for 8 small pieces of a clay pot were found 20 feet N. N. E. of the middle, 5 feet under the surface, and under the stoney floor in several places were heaps of charcoal and burnt earth, while beneath the center of the how, at the bottom, were bits of incinerated human bones. About 13 feet N. N. E. of the middle, and only 2 feet below the sward, was found a knife of flint, which may well have got there accidentally when the earth was thrown up.

In one how, which lay in the same group as the runic tumulus, were some clay urns and the bones of a Cow, of old a sacred animal.

We thus see that nothing turned up in the runish grave-mound which could fix the date. If iron or wood had been there, it had rusted or mouldered away, as so often. But the runes and burnt bones show that the stone is from the Early Iron Age. The staves are large and plain enough. As most usual on very *old* pieces, they are turned round, and thus must be read from right to left,

ᚠᚱᚨ ᚱᚺᚱ.

This I look upon as quite simply *the name of the deceased*, as on all other these funeral monuments. But Prof. Bugge, in a letter to me dated Aug. 27, 1870, says: "It must have been a *magical formula*, which has been supposed to bear some beneficent power. It was therefore natural to cut this word on the stone which was laid down in the grave-mound." — This opinion Prof. Bugge has repeated in his essay on the Bracteates in *Aarbøger f. N. O. og Hist.* 1871, p. 219.

It is possible that this runic grave may have been there *before* the great barrow was made. In this case it was taken-in as a part of the same, its contents respected tho the stone fell or was thrown over, and the earth heapt up over the top before the turf was laid on the whole.

Hr. Nicolaysen has since mentioned this stone in "Foreningen til Norske Fortidsm. Bevaring. Aarsber. for 1870", Kristiania 1871, 8vo, p. 144.

## FRÖHAUG, ROMERIKE, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300—400.

*Old-N. R. Mon.* p. 250.

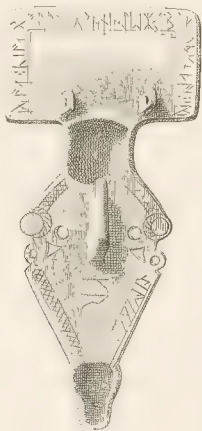


## NORWAY, BUT FOUND AT CHARNAY, BURGUNDY, FRANCE.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400-500.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 587.*

As I have said, the drawing of this Brooch, as published by its accomplished owner, was by his own hand<sup>1</sup>. But so careful was I, that the engraving given by me was *first corrected* (with the original before him) by the owner himself. Since then (now, in Sept. 1874) the double-number of the "Aarbøger f. Nord. Oldk." has appeared. Dr. Wimmer has here given (Pl. 3, fig. 2) a new drawing of the runic side by M. Baudot and M. Beauvois, Chemityped by Prof. Magnus Petersen. It is impossible for me to know how far this *third* drawing by the *same* hand (but with assistance) is better than the others; however, we shall probably never get one more exact, so I accept it as now given, repeating the inscribed back here in a fresh Chemitype by Prof. Petersen:



A rune or two in the Futhorc is now clearer. Some other staves show differences. The 4th letter on the right is doubtless = + (γ), a form which appears very early and is on the Thames Sword. The 6th on the left has the straight shank of the N but the high slanting bar of the G, and may be a bind for NG. If not, it must be G, carelessly cut as so often. It is not like the N elsewhere. As I take it, the corrected inscription reads:

F, U, D, E, R, C, G, W, H, N, I, Y, YO, P, A, S, T, B, E, (M).

Thereafter, beginning with the right side and ending with the left, followed by the word on the right below:

UD FYRÆI IDDÆN CLÆGO (or CLÆNGO) YOLÆ.

UTH FAWED (*made*) for-IDDÆ KEENG (*brooch*) THIS.

UD and IDDÆ are well-known Scando-Gothic masculine names. See Word-list. FYRÆI I look upon as a 4th Norwegian example of the well-known verb, in the 3 sing. past, for FAYED, *made*. We have it at Einang as FÆIHIDO, (see above); at Skee as FÆIH(i), and at Valdby as FADI, (see Word-list). In the rest of Scandinavia and in England, besides the common later runic FADI, we have it as FÆÆDE

<sup>1</sup> The runic side is also given, after M. Baudot's work, by Le Blant in his valuable *Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule*, Vol. 1, Paris 1856, p. CXLVI.

(Bracteate 89); FAALO (Flemlöse); FAUGEDO (Ruthwell); FEG(de) (at Alnmouth); FIBÆDU (Bracteates 49, 49 b); and FUDE (Osthofen, under England). Thus, with such a crowd of witnesses, there can be little doubt as to this word. I think the whole risting can only be *Norwegian*. Especially the word for *Fibula* is decisive. No other than the Norse-Icelandic dialects have — or, as far as we know, in any *historical* time ever had — this word, tho it is found in Sweden and England in an allied meaning. See Worder. This piece therefore goes out of the WANDERERS. Whether imitated in Norway from an original imported from Gaul, or made or bought by a Norseman in the outland, it is not the less, as I believe, inscribed by a Norwegian<sup>1</sup>.

The plain KR, below the point of the tung, are a contraction, for what word we know not.

P. 592. — Since the above was written, Colonel Gould Weston, F. S. A. has exhibited the famous Hunterston Brooch at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, London, June 15, 1876. See their "Proceedings", Vol. 7, p. 48, where he says, among other things: "It is called the "Hunterston Brooch", from having been found in the year 1826 (not in 1830, as has been erroneously stated by some authors) at Hunterston, the estate of my father-in-law, Robert Hunter of Hunter."

This beautiful Fibula has again been publisht by me, from the same blocks, in "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland", small 4to. Vol. 7, Part 2, Edinburgh 1870, pp. 462 —4, and in "Archæological and Historical Collections relating to the Counties of Ayr and Wigton", 4to, Vol. 1, Edinb. 1878, p. 76—79, with a very short text.

P. 598. — On the ornamentation of the Manx stone Prof. C. Sæve observes (Feb. 29, 1868): "During diggings here in Upsala some 20 or 25 years ago, about 12 to 14 feet under the level of the street, was found a ship or boat in which were a number of old-laves. One of these was a well-kept *wooden Spoon*, whose haft ends in a Dragon-head like those on rune-stones. But along the haft is sharply and delicately carved a row of *chain-ring work*, exactly like that on so many of the Manx rune-stones. I copy a bit of this ornament on the Spoon:



Otherwise I do not remember to have seen this kind of decoration elsewhere in Scandinavia." — (April 1877). 'Baron G. Djurklou has just publisht (in Svenska Fornminnesförenings Tidskr. Vol. 3, 8vo) an article on the antiquities of Kind Hundred, in West Gotland. Among other things he engraves the old runic granite Font at Säm. Its ornamentation includes the above Cablework, and is entirely Kelto-Northumbrian. We also find this chain-cable work on one side of the very old Penmon Cross, Anglesea. Prof. Westwood says (Lapidarium Walliæ. 4to, Pt. 5, Oxford 1879, Pl. 83, 84 and p. 185): "The west side of the cross is chiefly occupied with a very peculiar ornament, of which no other instance occurs in Wales."

<sup>1</sup> I add that Prof. Dietrich (Haupts Zeitschr. 13, p. 113), leaving the after-letters, reads the non-alphabet runes (adding a vowel and following the first facsimile) as:

UNTRFANTHAI IDDAN KIANO

which he translates *The-heroes went-on bravely*. "Boni milites (heroes) processerunt fortiter".

Dr. Wimmer, l. c. using the new facsimile, thinks the words, which he reads:

UTFRPAI IDDAN KIANO

must have a meaning, but has not yet offered any translation. The value of the first rune in the last word he thinks is unknown.

Prof. Cosijn (Taalkundige Bijdragen, I, 276) uses both facsimiles, and reads

ANTHFRNTHI DADIN KOANI

allowing himself to transpose some of the letters. His version is:

IS FOUND BY ITS-DEEDS KRENNYAS.

(= *The brave man is known by his actions*).

## ORSTAD, STAVANGER AMT, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400—500.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 258.*

## REIDSTAD, LISTER, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400—500.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 256.*

I still keep to my first, simple, natural and grammatical translation of this stone, which I have never seen:

IUDINGÆA ICWÆSUNA UNNBO WRÆITÆ.

*To-IUTHING ICWÆSON (= INGWÆSON) UNNBO WROTE-these-runes.*

At p. 172 of his "Bidrag", III, (Tidskr. f. Phil. 1869), Prof. Bugge says that my 5th rune in ICWÆSUNA is c not s, because s would otherwise be too small, and because the bend to the left below is so irregular that it must be accidental. In his note to me when he kindly corrected my engraving, he said that this 5th stave was s not c. In the paper casts with which he favored me (at my especial request *the one inkt-in* by his own hand, the other untouched just as it left the stone) the letter is plainly s not c, the lower limb no more "accidental" than the upper.

In Runic as in Classical inscriptions smaller characters *often* intermix with others, to save room or for ornament, or from the stone being rough and not permitting the full size.

His 5th stave Prof. B. says is a not u. We all know that these letters are often nearly alike, but the stave here is much nearer the ð in the first line than the R in the 3rd. And the context shows that it was meant for u.

He adds that his rune 6 is F not þ, for that the top arm has scaled off and the N is otherwise carved þ. But, as the stone is broken here, how can he or anyone know that it ever had an arm at the top? And as to N being otherwise þ on this block, I have repeatedly pointed out how frequently, as we all know, a letter is cut 2 or 3 or 4 or 5 different ways on *the same* monument.

The two last runes in UNNBO my friend declares not to be happily given in my woodcut, for that they are FÆ not BÆ. But the latter marks are those I see on the paper squeezes, now before me. In any case, my engraving was carefully and repeatedly, before its admission to my pages, (as I have stated *with thanks* at my p. 257) CORRECTED BY HIMSELF; therefore the fault, if any, is his own not mine. But I do not think there is any fault. The letters, as my woodcut shows, are injured. Both the paper casts give B. The *inkt* squeeze has a broken and more straggling, o. A couple of flaws follow (see engraving). Thus *certainly*, to my eyes, judging by the paper casts, BO, *not* ÆM.

In any case the IUDINGÆA is certain; the next word, as far as I can see, is as undoubtedly ICWÆSUNA. The last word *all* say is WRÆITÆ. We have therefore a Dative mansname and another Dative in apposition, the *Nominative* and the verb. Now it is all the same to me *what* the nominative is, UNNÆM or UNNBO or any other. But certainly such a name as UNNÆM is very unlikely. Bugge translates:

IUDINGAR.

IK WAKRAR UNNAM WRÆITA.

*Here-lies-IUTHING.*

I, WAKRAR, UN-NAM (*undertook, took upon myself, the task of cutting*) this-WRIT (*this writing, these runes*).

I find all this both linguistically and epigraphically as inadmissible, as it is without any known parallel all Europe thro.

## SIGDAL, AGGERSHUS SHIRE, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400—500.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 271, 841.*

Probably the stone has LEEWE, not LÆIWÆL.

I now prefer to take AH as 2 s. imperative, *owe-thou, own-thou, have, take, enjoy*. In this case MIRDLE will be in the vocative<sup>1</sup>. Compare the similar vocative formula on the Nærå stone, Denmark, p. 760.

## BELLAND, LISTER, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500—600.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 261.*

## BRATSBERG, TRONYEM, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500—600.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 267, 841.*

Only the name of the deceased Lady DÆLIA.

<sup>1</sup> In all lands and times Vocative death-words are found, but they are everywhere scarce. As specimens of those from very early days in *Latin*, I will only mention some from Gaul.

A kind of Altar-stone at Puy in France, originally dedicated to an Emperor and a local God, was afterwards used as a Christian tomb-stone, and inscribed on the other side with the words

SCVTARI PAPA VIVE DEO.

*O Bishop Scutarius live with God.*

Thus a rare example of the formula with the Vocative. — *Le Blant*, Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule antér. au 8<sup>me</sup> siècle. 4to. Vol. 2, Paris 1865, p. 346.

FLORENTIOLE. PAX TECVM.

*O-FLORENTIOLE, PEACE WITH THEE!*

Id. 2, p. 217. So, p. 217, 231, 356:

NECLIGIA, PAX TECVM.

STAFILI, PAX TECVM.

ÆTERNALIS ET SERVILIA, VIVATIS IN DEO.

*O ÆTERNALIS AND SERVILIA, LIVE YE IN GOD!*

Add the striking and beautiful grave-wall in *Le Blant*, 2, p. 480:

LAGGE FILI BENE QUIESCAS.

MATER TVA ROGAT TE VT ME AD TE RECIPIAS.

VALE. P. Q. XV.

*O-LAGGE my SON WELL MAYST-THOU-REST!**MOTHER THINE ASKETH THEE THAT MYSELF TO THEE THOU WILT-RECEIVE.**(Son and Wife have gone before; I soon follow after).*



## FONNÅS, HEDEMARKENS AMT, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500—600.

*Full size. Engraved on Copper by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN from the original, which is now in the Christiania Museum.*



In the summer of 1877 Archivary Ingvald Undset, of Christiania, triumphantly announced to me the find of this costly jewel, the most splendid Brooch of this type yet met with in the whole North, and the second bearing runes yet known in Norway. See STRAND, under Frey-Laubersheim. It was dug up, as he kindly informed me, in July 1877, two feet under the greensward, not in a grave but in the common earth, and was therefore either hidden or lost. The spot was now first being tilled, it having before been wild land. The homestead Fonnås in Upper Rendal Parish, as Hr. Undset explains, is situate where meet two streams, the Tylla or Tysla and the Undset, running past my learned friend's paternal estate Undset. These two becks form the little river Rene, which flows thro Storsjø and then falls into the Glommen, from the east at Åmot. Near the homestead are several hews and stone-settings, so far as they have been examined all from the later Iron Age. Finds from the Early Iron Age are very rare in this district.

This fornlave is of silver, strongly gilt. Its weight in mere metal reaches the value of 50 Scandinavian crowns, or nearly £ 3 sterling. Herr Tostrup, the goldsmith who valued it, thinks its two sides were cast in a wooden mould, in which had first been sunk a very thinly hammered leaf of gold. All the head-lines are inlaid with niello, and the large plaque has its oblong centre, which is a thin plate of gold, decorated with 3 deepred garnets, of which the middle one has fallen out. It is in excellent preservation, and on the slab-back bears two legends in the olden runes. Many of the letters have been drawn with *repeated* cuts, which is uncommon. This piece is now preserved in the Christiania Forn-hall (Museum), to which it was given by Herr Halvor T. Trönnæs, the owner of the estate. Prof. Ol. Rygh has given a short notice of this piece in "Aarsberetning for 1877 af Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmærkers Bevaring", 8vo, Kristiania 1878, p. 14.

All are agreed as to the *date* of this Fibula — the 6th century if English, the 6th or 7th if Norwegian work. — As to the *style and ornamentation*, there can be no doubt in my mind. It is Kelto-Northumbrian, Old-North-English, at a period when English goldsmiths-work was famous over all Europe. If made in Norway it must have been copied from an English original; but, should my translation of the runic ristings be accepted, it can only have been produced in olden Northumbria. The general type with its characteristic Animal Heads, was for some centuries widely spread in Europe, tho often found with local modifications<sup>1</sup>.

Let us now come to the precious rune-scribbles. Tho, as usual, there are many accidental scatches and scratches on the metallic surface, and here and there especially between lines 2 and 3 in the second writing the owner has idly *tried* his or her graver, all the letters are *sufficiently clear* as such. We must all admit that there are 2 distinct scorings, made at different times, and seemingly by 2 different persons. *The first alone* is in a scroll (has a horizontal line above and below the writing), and reads from left to right.

*The first*, then, is the line on the left, running from below upwards. One peculiarity here is, that the writer in the *side-strokes* more than once begins with a deep dig, some *distance* from the stem-line. Thus instead of ʀ (L) we get ʀ̣. And this enables us to understand the last letter, whose right side is worn from being close on the edge. She (or he) would carve ʃ (yo). But this stave was very near the rather small ʀ (τ) on the one side and the edge on the other. If the usual shape were kept, cutting the lower arm as usual *at some distance from the stem*, ʃ̣, and thus *close* upon the ʀ̣, we should have got ʀ̣ʃ̣, which would have really been ʀ̣ (a bind of ʀ̣ and ʃ̣, thus ʀ̣Æ) and ʀ̣ (L), or ʀ̣ÆL. It was *impossible* to do this! So, in the way so common in runic inscriptions, *local hindrances* modify the shape of the rune<sup>2</sup>, and for ʃ̣ is cut the variant ʃ̣̣. Thus ʀ̣ʃ̣̣ could not be mistaken, it was and remained ʀ̣yo.

<sup>1</sup> Many others of the same general shape and age have been found in Norway. One, from Nes Parish in Hallingdal, has an only partly legible inscription in Old-English letters, capitals, not runes. See it engraved, and described by Prof. O. Rygh, Pl. 5 No. 48, and p. 70, 71 in "Aarsberetning for 1867", Kristiania 1868.

<sup>2</sup> I will only give one instance of this, from pieces bearing the O. N. runes. The English Brooch found at Osthofen has the common and acknowledged Northern formula MADE AND OWNS:

GONRAT FULPE MIC. MAR OH MIC.

GONEAT (= Conrad) FADGED (made) ME. MAH OWETH (owns, possesses) ME.

Here the MIC and MIC are plainly parallel. But the o in the first MIC is carved k, in the usual way, there being plenty of room. The o in the last MIC is cut ʏ, that is ʏ, there being no room to carve k, on account of the fastening. I said hereon (Vol. 2, p. 586): "and the 21st to be k (o), the knee on the right being reverst upward on the left, ʏ, for want of room, as the

The first word in this line is clearly IH, our *z* (with a slip of the graver, or an accidental cut or scratch, at the foot of the *i*) — spelt as in many of the old Scando-Gothic tungs, including the O. North-English. See the Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 943. A divisional mark follows<sup>1</sup>.

Next is BIM, *BE, am*. Same remark, only this word has never yet been found in M. Gothic or in the Scandian dialects. In O. N. E. the usual forms in the 10th century Mss. where it occurs, (we can go no further back), are BIOM, BEOM, BIUM. As I have said so often, the frequent *BM*, (short and running for *M*, *D*, and *BM*, *M*), is redd *M* or *B* according to the context. Here BID would be meaningless.

Then ULTYO, gen. sing. of the womans-name ULTIA or ULTIU, or whatever the nom. may then and there have been. If we only confine ourselves to the female names ending in -TIU in Förstemann, we find

-DHIU,	-DIUHA,	-TEO,
-DIU,	-TEIA,	-THIU,

besides -TIU and others. (The same list gives us many masculines with the same endings, more or less, as well as the usual masc. ending -THEUS, -TEUS. So little can we sometimes "infallibly decide" as to the gender of a per-antique name, where we have no context to help us!) One such womans-name in Förstemann (9th century) is nom. GÖTESTHIU, gen. GÖDESTHIWÆ.

Now the peculiarity in ULTYO is the gen. sing. o-ending. This is one great characteristic of the Old-Northumbrian or Old-North-English. Not only do crowds of nouns in that speech lose the -N in the oblique cases, but the foregoing vowel has a prevailing tendency to become -o or -u, and this is the case also with very many adjectives, participles, numerals, prepositions, &c. Thus UL-TIA (South-E. gen. UL-TIAN) makes its gen. UL-TIO (ULTYO). This I look upon as decisive. The inscription is in Old-North-English. Should this be so, it confirms what we had expected from the style, which is undoubtedly a noble specimen of Kelto-Northumbrian high-art.

This womans-name I have never seen before. We have in runes the mansname nom. ULR, ULIR, gen. ULES, ULIS, ac. ULA, ULÖ, but as yet no feminine till now here in this compound. In O. E. there is ULI and YLLA, but no feminine. In Ohg. there is the masc. UL-THEUS, but no feminine. The stem UL is very obscure. Possibly it may have been the old Scandian God ULL(R). At all events there are many Sc. Goth. compound names beginning with UL, and the usual O. N. E. gen. of UL-TIA would be UL-TIO.

The second carving is in the 3 horizontal lines. The staves are retrograde, redd from right to left, an important change from the first carving, have a different look, show fewer double strokes, and all the side-lines are close to the stem. It seems written some time, possibly a long time, after the other. Now this piece was then in proportion much more valuable than now, and we know that all such exceptionally costly things — arms and jewels — were then often heir-looms, went down from parent to child, where not piously offered to the deaceast in his tomb for his use in the unseen world. And of such a piece the question would be askt by the wondering youth: "Whose was this?" Proud and loving lips would give the answer, and so the tale would not die out. And sometimes such family tradition, such note of genealogy, would be written on the object itself. Even in our little handful

fastening was in the way. We have many other examples, caused by the nature of the space." So on the Sjustad stone, Upland (Dybeck 8vo. 89, folio 32), where the runes are interrupted by the scroll or snake-wind, *κ* and *λ* (*Y* and *†*) in the words *us at*, are carved *Y* and *†*

*dk*

and we have an exactly similar *Y* (*Y*, *V*, = *κ*, in the word *evskrokt*) on the Valby stone, Upland, (Lij. 760, Dybeck folio No. 123, Stephens, Vol. 2, p. 819). But *V*, which is only the O. N. *k* turned-up, is several times found carved *Y* even without any such local necessity, as an elegant variation.

<sup>1</sup> The oldest wriggling snake-like O. N. *s* varies continually in its height and in the number of its twists. So here. But we have here also a short twisted mark as a stop — for also these divisional marks vary endlessly in shape, at the caprice of the carver. We have such a stop here twice, between *ih* and *bim* and between *asping* and *r*. But in both these places a straight line runs thro it, as was distinctly pointed out to me by the accomplished engraver, Prof. Magnus Petersen, when he was working on the copper-plate, with the original fibula lying on the table before us.



bearing O. N. runes we have a second instance, for the Norse Laubersheim Brooch has a similar family legend.

The first word in the second risting is WAS, *was*, as still in English; in M. Goth., Old-Scandian, Frisic, Saxon and German WAS, tho softened in later Scandinavia to WAR, VAR, as in several provincial English talks it is now WAR, WAUR. The W, A, S are plainly W, A, S, altho the stem of the A does not go *very high up*. Such variations are endless. With Bugge to read this *clear A* as K — is too bad!

Next comes HU, the well-known Scando-Anglic word for what is now HON in book-Scandinavian and SHE in book-English. In O. E. it was variously spelt and pronounced, usually as HEÓ, HÍÓ, (—HYO), but also as HO, HU, HIA, HLE, HW, HIE, HI, IO, &c.; in E. Engl. GE, YE, GHE, ZEO, &c.; the O. Fris. HU, HIO, in Mod. Fr. JÓ. But the parallel-word SEO, SIO (SO, SU, &c.), so common especially as a demonstrative in the old Scando-Anglic, and as a pers. pron. (=SHE) in M. G. (SI), Olg. and O. Sax. (SIU), as in Mod. Germ. (SIE) and in Mod. Sax. (SE), rapidly *fell away* in the Scandian homeland, while in *England* it encroacht upon the HEO, and by the 12th century became predominant in the North-English, whence, as SHE, it has now become universal "correct" book-English. But in the Northwestern English districts the mass of the people still say HO, HOO, HU, and *not* SHE.

In Scandinavia, for want of really old writings, no antique example of HA or HE for HE and HU, HO or HIO for SHE has yet been found. These words, like many others, had an early tendency to get an emphatic affix -NA or -N, and so became HA-N, HE, and HO-N, SHE. Thus in manuscripts and monuments we find HAN and HON, &c. But these materials are not old enough, do not go back to the Old-Northern Runic-Alphabet age. Here, on this Brooch, we have for the first time as Old-Northern the word for SHE, and it is HU, not HUN. So on the old Brough stone, Westmoreland, England, we have IO (—HO) not ION (—HON) for SHE. But in great sweeps of the Scandinavian popular dialects the same phenomenon meets us as we have pointed out in England. As large *English* dialects have kept up the HO, in spite of the deluge of incoming SEO (SHE), so in *Scandinavia* large and ancient dialects have kept up the apparently primitive HO, HU, O, A, in spite of the deluge of incoming HON. Everything seems to show that this HO in Scandinavia is primitive, the HON later. But the N in HAN (HE) in Scandinavia has crept also into the local talks.

The HU of this Brooch is thus the first example yet found in Scandinavia of this word without the -N enclitic. What is it? Is it English or Scandinavian? Should the English folks in whose hands this Brooch was, have kept up their English speech in the heart of Norway, at least for a generation or two, then it will be the usual Old-North-English pronoun. Should it be unlikely that a high-born family should thus keep up any such "provincial" differences in the wealthy and powerful circles of another "province" (for all these "provincial" speech-differences were then small), then it is the Old-Norse word for SHE, and shows that at this early period the HU as yet had not gotten the N affix.

The next line begins with INGLSK, nom. s. fem., the rune for ING having here its full sound-power I, N, G, as so often, not merely NG. Thus *ENGLISH, an Englishwoman*. Probably the *first time* this word has been found on any carved monument.

Then we have in this line LA (the A head-down as so frequently, A instead of Y), continued in the next line with I and NG, thus LAING, a well-known patronymic, still a common English name, *LA'S-CHILD*, here *LA'S-DAUGHTER*.

Continuing the 3rd line comes the name ASPING, A again upsidedown and ING again with its full power. This is also still an English name, and is = *ASPS-SON*.

The line now ends with contractions of other proper names. Many such name-shortenings, initials for the full word, occur elsewhere on runic and other pieces old and new.<sup>1</sup> The character at the top between the ING rune and the R, seems merely a stop or divisional mark.

<sup>1</sup> In the Danish Museum is a heavy and costly Spiral Golden Bracelet of more than 3 winds, at least as old as the earliest middle-age. It was for some centuries in the hands of the SEHESTED family before it came to the Forn-hall. It has 3 inscriptions inside, in the common writing-hand.

"GIFWIT AFF S. G. S. A° 1729."

"N. S. L. S."

"GIVET AF E: B: S: 1801 TIL SIN DATTERSON J: S:"

Thus last given to a "Daughter-son", nephew. Here, just as is the case with the R. P. S. E. of the Fonnás Fibula, the S. G. S: N. S. L. S: E. B. S. J. S: were well understood by the family owning the jewel.



The next stave is R. I take it to be merely the initial of a name beginning with R, thus R...ING, R... 's-son. — Then B, in the same way B...ING, B... 's-son. — Followed by S, S...ING, S... 's-son. — Last of all E, E...ING, E... 's-son.

These shortened names of the famous founders of the family would be so well known by its members, that they need not be written out even if there had been room for them.

I think then that the whole is, taking every word strictly as it stands:

*1st writing.*

IH BIM ULTYO.

*I BE (am) ULTIA'S-brooch.*

*2nd writing.*

WAS HU INGLSE, LAING, ASPING, R...ing, B...ing, S...ing, E...ing.

WAS HU (= *she was*) ENGLISH (*an Englishwoman*), LAING (*La's-daughter*), ASPING (*who was Asp's-son*), R...ing (*the son of R...*), B...ing (*the son of B...*), S...ing (*the son of S...*), E...ing (*the son of E...*).

I have already pointed out numerous *formulas of ownership*. Many have continued unchanged down to our own day. Monuments, manuscripts and books offer heaps of examples. Here we meet another of these well-known word-falls, *I AM, followed by the owner's name in the genitive*. We are all familiar with it, common as it is also in Greek and Latin. Quite near me, on the title of a book which once belonged to our great BEN JONSON, Shakespear's friend, but which is now in my own Bookboard, stands in his own hand:

SUM BEN JONSONIJ.

It is still in use in Norway itself. In going (August 1877) into the Norwegian Annex of the Scandinavian Ethnographical Museum in Stockholm, one of the first things I saw was a large wooden bowl, carved home-work, with painted ornaments and figures and inscriptions. Round the rim, in large letters, ran:

"Jeg er Ole Jensens Juule-Skaal.

Fire nokking er mit Maal.

Drik og pust imens du Taal. 1787."

*I AM Ole Jensen's Yule-Scole (= Christmas-bowl),*

*Nokkings (= enoughts, deep pulls) four I hold on the whole.*

*Drink and draw breath now, thirsty soul! 1787.*

I have placed this piece here, under Norway, not because it was found there but because I look upon the second inscription as in the dialect then spoken in Norway, written by a member of the family *after* it was naturalized in Norway. Should any of my readers be of a different opinion, think that it — as well as the first — was written in England (in which case we cannot understand why the writer should have said "*She was an English-woman*"), or that at least their English dialect was kept up in Norway, — it will be easy in the mind's eye to see it placed under England.

That the piece *was* really English is, I think, certain. It is proved by 3 independent arguments.

1. The undoubted Old-North-English character of the work.

2. That the first inscription is written in the Old-North-English dialect.

3. That the second risting distinctly says: *She* (the owner who wrote the first line of runes) *was an Englishwoman*.

Intermarriages into other countries have always been universal and always will be. The English lady ULTIA became the bride of a Norse chieftain and settled in Norway. In the same manner the Nordendorf Brooches followed their Lady-owners from North-England to Bavaria.

April 1878. Many months after the above was written, has reached me the 1st Part of the "Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed" for 1878, Kjøbenhavn, 8vo. It contains a valuable paper by Prof. O. Rygh on the finding and archæological character of this piece, and another by Prof. S. Bugge on the runish inscription on the Brooch, as so beautifully and carefully and truthfully engraved by Prof. Petersen and added to the text.

Prof. O. Rygh states that between 30 and 40 fibulas of this type have been found in Norway, the largest (from Dalum, in N. Tronyem's Amt) no less than 23.5 cm. long. They date, he adds, chiefly from the 6th and 7th centuries, and he thinks it probable that most of them were made in Norway.

Prof. Bugge reads the staves as: I, H, S, P, I, D, U, L, T, ?L, but adds that the first and last were perhaps beginning- and ending-marks, not letters: Then: w, k, ?s, h, u, — ng, l, ?s, k, l, h, — l, ng, h, ?s, p<sup>1</sup>, ng, ?s, h, b, ?s, e. He thinks the whole is meaningless or contractions, probably the latter.

He also points out the rune 4 in the space between the 2nd and 3rd horizontal lines. But this is an error. There is no such letter. Only the writer has "tried his point" there, as Prof. M. Petersen express himself to me. It is clearly no intentional rune.

By the courtesy of the Society of Old-Northern Antiquaries I have been permitted to take a Clichée of their splendid copper-plate for use in my work.

## FÖRDE, SÖNDFJORD, N. BERGENHUS, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500—600.

*Full size. From a drawing, rubbing and lightbild kindly forwarded by Herr A. LORANGE, Keeper of the Bergen Museum. Chemityped by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN.*



I have to thank the well-known Norwegian antiquarian digger Hr. Lorange for making me acquainted with this piece, and the circumstances connected with its discovery. With his usual courtesy he procured me the materials which I here use.

In Sept. 1874 a farmer was clearing fresh land on a hill-side towards Förde river in Söndfjord. In so doing he found lying two objects which he thought uncommon and took care of, and which were procured for the Bergen Museum. The one was of granite, a wellcut oval piece about 5 inches long, probably a weight or sink for a net, or for a warp in a loom. It has a kind of cross-mark backt in, one furrow from top to bottom in the middle of the stone, and another right across the thickest part. In this way it could be tied fast, and in fact these weight-stones are common enough.

The other was something quite different. It is flattish on the broad sides, roundish on the narrow sides, and is of *Soapstone* (Steatite). It has two holes bored thro it for hanging or fastening to

<sup>1</sup> This transliteration by Prof. Bugge of the plain O. N. rune  $\text{ᚱ}$  (or  $\text{ᚢ}$ ) (r) into P (rn) must be a mere inadvertence. This common O. N. variant for P not only abounds in the O. Engl. Ms. Alphabets, which see, but is also distinctly on the Thames Knife, the Whitby Comb and the 5 English Amulet Rings. Its presence on the Crowle stone and the Bingley Font is supposed, but doubtful.

something, and bears a risting in the OLDEN RUNES. It was quite easy to cut these, as this stone is so soft especially when freshly broken. In "Aarsberetn. for Foreningen til Norske Fortidsm. Bevaring 1868", pp. 47—49 Hr. Lorange has some interesting remarks on Soapstone as used for making urns and other articles in Norway. We are familiar with its employment for this purpose in Greenland, but in Denmark it is nearly unknown (see my Runic Die, of Soapstone, under SEALAND, DENMARK); and in Sweden (see p. 21 above) it is as rare, besides the rune-bearer only one other piece of this material (a Grave-cup) having been found, in Dalsland. In Norway Spinning-whorls of Steatite have turned up in Early Iron graves, and in later Iron graves Steatite grave-urns are common, often in districts where the stone itself is quite unknown. They have therefore been an article of commerce, and in 1868 Lorange found a regular Steatite quarry and Urn-factory near Årnæs in Romerike.<sup>1</sup>

Hr. Lorange thinks that this Runic piece was a Net-weight, inscribed with the owner's name that he might claim his costly lines in case they were swept away by storm or current. This is possible, but not likely. We have thousands of such sinkweights from former days, but they are never so inscribed. They bear neither bomarks nor names. Some examples must have come down to us, had it been customary so to mark them. The object before us is too rough and rude and common-looking to have been either an Amulet or an Ornament. It may have been a Dog-collar.<sup>2</sup> The name, ÆLUA would then be that of the Dog's master, that the animal might be restored to him in case he strolled away. But perhaps future finds will throw further light on this subject.

However this may be, the letters are quite plain. Apparently, from its position, a little way off from the rest and further down, the o is taken separately. We may read ÆLUAO<sup>3</sup>, as one word. but I prefer

ÆLUA O.

ÆLUA OWNS-me.

A couple of other such pot-stone pieces, with holes for hanging, have been found elsewhere in Norway, but never before bearing letters.

Oct. 1875. "Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmærkers Bevarings Aarsberetning for 1874", 8vo, Kristiania 1875, has just reached me. At p. 83 is Hr. Lorange's short notice of this piece, in which he remarks: "Thus, whether this object has been fastened to fishing-apparatus or to any thing else, it has been intended to announce the owner's name. This marker and the little Bronze Figure from Frøshaug [my Vol. 1, p. 250] are, as far as we know, the only loose things bearing the older runes as yet found in this country." At pp. 175—179 is an article by Prof. S. Bugge on the piece before us. He sums up (p. 177) that we must see in the inscription "a rune-group whose meaning is magical not linguistic ('en Rune-gruppe med magisk, ikke sproglig, Betydning')." If the stone was fashioned for suspension to some fishing-tool, the runes were probably carved to bring luck in fishing."

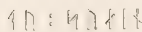
A thinnish nicely-smoothed stone, nearly a roundel, about the size of a small saucer, with runes on both sides, from about the 14th century, has lately (1872) been found in Kolindsund, N. Jutland, Denmark. In my eyes it can only have been a DOG-COLLAR. The loop is pierced for suspension.

<sup>1</sup> At pp. 536—594 of Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, sm. 4to, Vol. X, Part 2, Edinburgh 1875, is a charming and richly illustrated essay by Dr. Joseph Anderson, Keeper of the Edinburgh Museum, called "Notes on the Relics of the Viking period of the Northmen in Scotland, illustrated by specimens in the Museum." In this paper the learned author with great sharpness and sagacity lays hold of certain groups of objects found in Scottish graves of the Viking age but decidedly not of Scottish origin, compares them with similar things of the same time known to be Scandinavian and common in Scandinavian graves, and thus identifies them as having been buried with Scandinavian warriors who came over to Scotland in the Viking centuries. The first group thus handled by him are the *Uras of Soapstone*, which he thus shows were brought over by men from Norway.

<sup>2</sup> Of the hundreds of thousands of *Slave-collars* which were used in olden days in our Scando-Gothic lands, not one has come down to our times, and the only reference to them in our antique literature is probably the passage in the Elder Frostathing's Law (Norges Gamle Love, fol., Vol. 1, Christiania 1846, p. 228): "En sunr þýborinn ef honum er frelsi gefit frá horni oc frá nappi." The shape of this Slave-collar must have been various, tho perhaps usually, as with the Romans, it was like a crescent (whence "horn"). It was fastened with an iron band and a "knob" or tie or twist (whence the "knapp" or "napp"). — This piece from Förde may thus perhaps have been a simple Slave-collar; but I think not. The material makes this too unlikely.

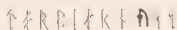
<sup>3</sup> In Aarb. f. Nord. Oldk. 1878, Part I, p. 68, Prof. S. Bugge announces that Prof. O. Rygh is of opinion that the 4th rune has not and has not had the form Y. All I can say is, that Lorange's drawing, his text at p. 83 as above mentioned, the Rubbing and the Photograph all 4 HAVE this Y, but the 1st 3rd and 4th indistinctly (the middle top mark damaged), as carefully copied by my artist.

The one side bears:



DU SWAIN

and the other has (the 9th stave being a bind-rune, <sup>1</sup> (s) and h in one):



TORBIARN'S WINE.

THOU SWAIN (*the Dog's name*) *art-TORBIARN'S WINE (friend)*. Torbiarn being thus the Dog's master.

Good Dogs being very valuable and easily liable to be lost or stolen, Dog-Collars must have been widely used at a very early period. The oldest instance I have seen is in connection with Egypt, about 1700 years before Christ. Of Antefaa, a deceased Pharaoh of that time, it is said: "The tomb and tablet of Antefaa have been discovered in the valley of El-Assasif at Thebes. On it he is represented standing amidst four dogs, each of a different kind, and wearing a collar, and accompanied by its name. The king is followed by the master of his hounds."<sup>1</sup>

One of the oldest names of a Dog which have come down to us, is that belonging to the great Rameses II, King of Egypt, somewhere about 1400 years before Christ. — "In this [campaign] he is accompanied by his dog, named *Antaemnekht*, or "Anaitis in her strength".<sup>2</sup>

On a sarcophagus found in a tomb in Cyprus, evidently of great antiquity, among other figures is that of a Hound with a Collar round his neck.<sup>3</sup>

Early in the 18th century was found in a Roman grave near Speyer a figure, of the finest white clay. It was nearly 4 inches high, and represented a Dog sitting on its hind legs, a Collar round its neck. It was doubtless a House-god, placed in the tomb to guard the deceased from the infernal Lemures. See it engraved, Pl. I, fig. 12, (and described p. 28), in G. Litzels Beschreibung der Römischen Todten-Töpfe, &c. 8vo. Speyer 1749.

"Psalm XXXIX has a representation of two greyhounds or hunting dogs with collars round their necks."<sup>4</sup>

Costly indeed would be a Dog like that given by Olaf Peacock to Gunnar in Njál's Saga: "I will give thee three things of price, a gold ring, and a cloak which Moorkjartan the Erse king owned, and a hound that was given me in Ireland; he is big, and no worse follower than a sturdy man. Besides, it is part of his nature that he has man's wit, and he will bay at every man whom he knows is thy foe, but never at thy friends; he can see, too, in any man's face, whether he means thee well or ill, and he will lay down his life to be true to thee. This hound's name is Sam." After that he spoke to the hound, "Now shalt thou follow Gunnar, and do him all the service thou canst." The hound went at once to Gunnar and laid himself down at his feet."<sup>5</sup>

## TOMSTAD, LISTER AND MANDAL, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500—600.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 264, 841.*

The reference to the Odensholm block on p. 266 must be struck out. This stone has been re-found, and is given by me in the chapter on ARCHAIC MONUMENTS.

<sup>1</sup> S. Birch. Egypt from the Earliest Times to B. C. 300. London 1875, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Id. p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> L. P. di Cesnola, Cyprus, 8vo. London 1877, p. 110.

<sup>4</sup> Birch. The Utrecht Psalter. 8vo. London 1876, p. 238. The skinbook referred to dates from about the year 800.

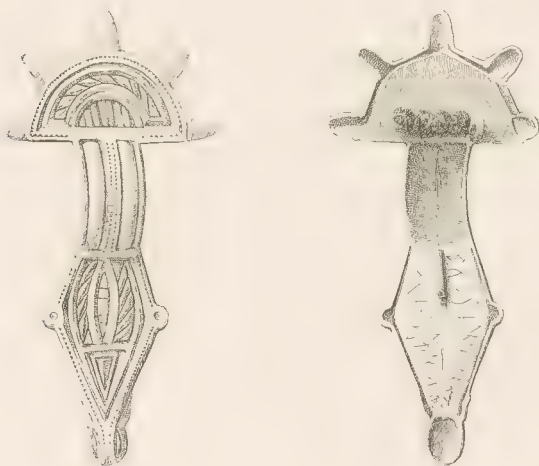
<sup>5</sup> G. W. Dasent. The Story of Burnt Njal. Vol. 1. Edinburgh 1861, p. 223.



## NORWAY, BUT FOUND AT FREI-LAUBERSHEIM, RHEIN-HESSSEN, GERMANY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600—700.

*Drawn and Chemityped, full size, by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN from the original, now in the Roman-German Museum. Mainz.*



At Frei-Laubersheim, a Rhein-Hessian village south-east of Kreuznach, is an old burial-ground, south-east of the Church and the high-road. Several "forn" things had been found there, and forwarded to the Museum in Mainz. The energetic Director, Dr. L. Lindenschmit, determined therefore that official diggings should be undertaken. This was done for 3 weeks in 1873, and the result was highly encouraging. Besides 15 graves from the early Christian middle-age, they opened 10 still lower down from the heathen cremation-period of Germany, and, in spite of the poverty of some and the fact that others had been already plundered, great numbers of ornaments, weapons and utensils were obtained. Only 2 coins were turned up, a small Roman brass of one of the late Emperors, and a piece struck for BADULLA (= Totilas), the East-Gothic king who perisht in 552.

In one of these graves was the *Skeleton of a Lady*, together with a pair of Silver Brooches alike in size and type, one of them bearing *Old-Northern Runes* on its back or inner side. This is the one here engraved. The 5 jutting knobs above and the ornamental spaces above and below are gilt; the border-ornament is filled-in with niello.

But the tomb also contained 2 small rosette-shapt cloak-pins of gilt silver, set with colored stones (or glass), a Necklace with beads of glass paste or colored clay or amber, a large whorl of cut rock-crystal, a small bronze fitting with two wee rings, 2 bronze Shoe-buckles, a large Buckle of iron, a glass Goblet and a clay vessel<sup>1</sup>.

In October 1873 this precious Runic Fibula was sent to Prof. M. Rieger, of Darmstadt, for his inspection. He made a drawing of the inscribed side<sup>2</sup>, and publisht this with an interesting text

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Lindenschmit's "Verein für Rheinische Geschichte und Alterthümer. Jahresbericht für 1872, 73; 9 Dec. 1873."

<sup>2</sup> Or rather, the drawing was made by Prof. Hofmann, the Curator of the Darmstadt Museum. But both gentlemen examined the runes together, and unitedly fixt what characters were to be drawn. Zeitschrift, l. c. p. 376, note.

(dated March 1874) in "Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie". 8vo, Vol. 5, Part 4, Halle 1874, pp. 375—381, with plate. He copied the staves, as I think with some errors, and reads them thus:

BOSO : WRAETHUNA : LINDI

DEKIDANSNA : GOSLU.

BOSO WROTE *this-RUNE-writing*. *By-the-FAVOR*  
PROTECTED *of-the-GODS* GOEST THOU.

This was followed by the 4th Part, Vol. 3, of Dr. L. Lindenschmit's "Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen vorzeit". Mainz 1874, which has already made public so many valuable remains of Scando-Gothic antiquity. Plate 6 of this Part, fig. 1 a and b, gives the fibula nearly full size, the runes almost the same as in Prof. Rieger's engraving, whose reading and version are communicated in the appended text.

In the autumn of 1874, on my return from the Archæological Congress in Stockholm, I began to study this piece from the materials thus before me. But I could not see my way, and suspected some inaccuracy in the published copies. So I threw myself on the generosity and kindness of the distinguished Keeper of the Mainz Museum, and begged him to lend the Brooch for a few days to the Danish Old-Northern Museum, for careful inspection and copying here. This Dr. Lindenschmit most courteously acceded to, and I thank him accordingly for the great favor he has thus conferred upon me and upon all friends of Runic studies. It is only by the united help of the rune-learned in all countries that we can hope eventually, more or less, to master this difficult branch of philological and palæographical science.

In now making public my own transcript — the result of great care and long and patient examination in all lights — I beg to add that I have been kindly and powerfully assisted by Archivary C. F. Herbst, Keeper of the Danish Old-Northern Museum, and by the Norwegian archæologist Adjunct B. E. Bendixen of Bergen in Norway, who was then pursuing antiquarian studies in Cheapinghaven. My excellent artist also, Prof. Magnus Petersen, has spared no pains to give a true facsimile.

Accordingly I now (October 1874) commit to writing my ideas about the inscription and its meaning. — quite aware that I myself may be mistaken about some particulars. Altho in general the staves are sharply and elegantly cut and can be well made out, some few of them are hard to read. Some have largely suffered from *friction of the mantle*, are a good deal worn away; and, as is usual on metallic surfaces which have been knocked about for years, there are so many small scratches and dints, as well as weak places *from corrosion*, that it is sometimes hazardous to fix what was originally carved. The engraving shows only those marks which are really more or less *distinct*. My artist could not give those strokes which are so fine and worn as scarcely to be seen without the magnifying-glass, and many marks which are only accidental injuries.

But I will go thro all the letters one by one, and will try to let the reader judge for himself, as far as mere description can go.

1.  $\mathfrak{B}$  (B), clear. — 2.  $\mathfrak{A}$  (O), clear. — 3.  $\mathfrak{S}$  (S), clear. — 4.  $\mathfrak{A}$  (O), clear. — 5. Two dividing-strokes, clear. Thus the word BOSO.

6.  $\mathfrak{P}$  (W), clear. — 7.  $\mathfrak{R}$  (R), clear. — 8.  $\mathfrak{F}$  (Æ), clear. — 9.  $\mathfrak{M}$  (E), clear. — 10.  $\mathfrak{T}$  (T), clear. — 11. Two dividing-strokes, the lower one very faint. Thus the word WRAETH.

12.  $\mathfrak{R}$  (R), clear. — 13.  $\mathfrak{U}$  (U), clear. — 14.  $\mathfrak{N}$  (N), tolerably plain. — 15.  $\mathfrak{F}$  (Æ), clear. — 16. Two parting-strokes, clear. Thus the word RUNÆ.

So far I have Lindenschmit and Rieger with me, only they have not remarkt the separating marks No. 11. Hereafter I unhappily somewhat differ from my learned fellow-workers.

17.  $\mathfrak{I}$  (I), clear. — 18.  $\mathfrak{A}$  (O), tolerably plain; a good deal worn, but the vital parts can be made out with the naked eye. What is left shows that it *must* have been O. — 19. Top and bottom worn, now only  $\mathfrak{M}$  (D), not  $\mathfrak{M}$ . — 20. Two dividing marks, very faint, nearly gone. Thus the word IOD. In Lindenschmit and Rieger the  $\mathfrak{I}$  and the  $\mathfrak{D}$  are substantially the same, the middle-letter confused and mistaken; but Rieger proposes to read  $\mathfrak{IYMI}$  or  $\mathfrak{IYMI}$ , LNDI or LINDI, which he translates (as given by Lindenschmit) *lenitate* (s. favore). — We now come to the second line.

21. Excessively faint and doubtful from wear. Requires the lens. May have been  $\mathfrak{A}$  (O). — 22.  $\mathfrak{T}$  (TH), clear. — 23.  $\mathfrak{C}$  (C), clear, cut large, the lower limb unnaturally long, as if the graver had slipped. — 24.  $\mathfrak{U}$  (U), very faint, but can be seen in certain lights. Nearly worn away. Only a bit of the right side is plain, the left side is cut so as to run down over the long under-limb of the  $\mathfrak{C}$ . —

25. Two divisional bars, as usual, but almost invisible. Thus the word (o)pc(u). — Rieger and Lindenschmit give þ (t), too great a distance between the TH and the c, and the bit of the n, and no divisional marks. The next word begins with M (p). Dr. Rieger makes it the last letter of this word, suggests THEKD as the word intended, and translates (as given by Lindenschmit) *protectus*.

26. M (p), plain. — 27. F (æ), plain. — 28. þ (TH), plain. — 29. J (yo), plain. — 30. t (n), plain. — 31. F (æ), plain. — 32. Two separation-marks, plain. Thus the word DEPYONÆ. — Rieger and Lindenschmit give the same runes. Only Rieger links the D on to the last word, makes the 3rd stave þ (N. — Lindenschmit has it correctly as þ, (TH), gives to the vowel yo the power of s, and translates the thus gotten ANSNA by the word *deorum*.

33. X (g), clear. — 34. ʒ (o), clear. — 35. l (i), clear. — 36. þ (TH), clear. — 37. h (v), not sure but very likely. We have now the appearance of two strokes ll, but this is because the spot here is so much worn away by friction and by corrosion of the metal that part of the top is gone, and we cannot see the *moot*, the joining at the top, but I have no doubt it has been there. It will be observed that the writer has handled his scalpel with great freeness and boldness, careless of pettinesses. Consequently in many of the letters the lines do not *end* exactly. Thus in the very first, the B, the lower limb goes beyond its join with the inner bar, and the upper limb still more so. So in the next, the o, both the upper bars shoot out longer than strictly they should. So in the second line. Look at the first clear letter, the þ, the upper side-stroke goes beyond the lower. The lower limb of the next stave, the c, is *twice* too long. And look at the o farther on! — As I take it we have a similar instance in the þ, No. 36. The two bars jut out too far. M instead of þ. Rieger gives this rune as þ, Lindenschmit as þ. At all events I think the letter is simply þ, TH. But if not it can only be a letter at all by uniting it to the next stroke, the left side of the n, and reading M, D. This of course we can do, for the word and meaning will be the same. But in this case we must suppose that the remaining l is the left side of the n, and that the right side has perished in the eating away of the metal here. For the word must have ended in a vowel and this vowel u, it being a *feminine* noun in apposition with the *female* name (o)pc(u), who was BOSO's mother. In my eyes then the Brooch has GODU, but there is a possibility that the word may have been GODU. — 38. Only traces of 2 stop-marks. Thus the word GODU. — Rieger and Lindenschmit engrave X ʒ l þ n, with too wide a room between the g and the o, and with l instead of l, and to this l Rieger again strangely gives the value s. But the stave is without doubt a clear l (i), altho there are some accidental dints here as elsewhere. Prof. Rieger reads and translates GOS DU, *ambulas* (s. *ambules*). If I am right, all the words were originally divided by stops; and there are 2 varieties of the n (ʒ and t, the former from the narrow space), and now 2 of the n (M and M), but, as it happens, no M and no A. The æ-dialect, as often, is strongly marked.

Omitting the doubtful stops, which are of small consequence, we have, I think, only 3 staves really *unsure*, the o at the beginning of the 2nd line and the u at the end of that word, and the last runes of all, the DU. But a careful inspection of the original with a lens will, I believe, convince us that each u is there. — The outcome of the whole will be, in my opinion:

BOSO WRÆT RUNÆ. IOD, (o)pc(u), DEPYONÆ GODU.

BOSO WROTE these-RUNES, her-YOUTH (son), for-(o)THCA. of-the-DÆTHES (= of the Dæthe-clan or family) the-PRIESTLESS.

Prof. Rieger claims this piece as *German*, because it has been found in Germany. I have already shown the worthlessness of this argument, and have yet to learn that any German or Saxon people had any letters at all, whether Runic or other, until they acquired the Latin alphabet from Roman civilization and Christian missionaries.

Dr. Wimmer, who redd the first 3 words, which he gives as BOSO WRÆT RUNA, *Bose wrote these-runes*, announces that the language is *decidedly emphatic German* ("bestemt udpræget tysk")<sup>1</sup>, because an Old-Northern Runic inscription would have had BOSA WRÆT RUNOR, while a Scandinavian (or later)

<sup>1</sup> Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed Kjøbenhavn 1874, p. 263.



Runic would have had *BOSI RAIT RUNAR*. The *BOSA* (not *BOSA*), the *WRAET* (not *WRAIT*), the *RUNA* (not *RUNOR*) show the language to be undoubtedly German, probably Low-German.

To this I answer that we have half-a-dozen examples of this verb on O. N. monuments, beginning with *w*, and that of these neither the *WÆRYT* of the Istaby stone, nor the *WÆRITÆ* of the Varnum stone, nor the *WREITÆ* of the Reidstad stone, nor the *URIT* of the Northumbrian Casket is in "German" much less in "Low-German", while not one of the variations, with or without *w*, is (*w*)*RAIT*.

As to the name. On the oldest Old-Northern monuments (as in the oldest Northern parchments) we have *multitudinous* examples of *o* or *a* or *æ* &c. interchanging as the nom. mark of nouns masculine, the older *n* having generally fallen away. And this is what we should expect on such *antique* Northern pieces, for we find the same ending very commonly in all the other *oldest* Scando-Gothic dialects.

As to the *RUNÆ*. We have *many* O. N. examples of this ac. pl. fem. ending in *a* or *o*, not *ar* (elder *as*) or *or* (elder *ós*). and we have at least *half-a-hundred* Scandinavian-runic examples, on stones all over the Northern lands, where this word ends in *o* or *a* or *æ* or *i* and *not* in (*os*) *or*, or (*æs*) *ær*, or (*is*) *ir*. The last-found Old-Northern runic example is one not to be denied, for it has been published by Prof. Bugge and we all agree in the runes. It is the Einang stone, Valdres, Norway, from about the 3rd century after Christ. The *third* word we all read in the same way. It is the ac. pl. and is *RUNO*, not *RUNOS* or *RUNOR*. But these 60 Northern stones, *without* this *-R*, are surely *not* "German".

See the remarks of Rydqvist (Svenska Språkets Lagar, 4, 430-432) on this remarkable and ancient dialectic *absence* of *-R* in pl. nom. and ac. masc. and fem., in both nouns and pronouns, especially in Old-Swedish. This also is found in other of the *oldest* Scando-Gothic dialects. In Scandinavia it goes back as far as the monuments reach, and is *still kept up* in certain words, especially in Denmark. Afterwards, about 1500, the lost or silent *-R* begins to work its way back again, especially in Swedish book-language.

But, should my transcript and reading be substantially correct, we have here at least two words which are decisive.

The first is *IOD*, child, son or daughter, offspring, by some connected with O. E. *EADEN*, N. I. *AUDINN*, given, granted, but which I believe is etymologically the same as the English *YOUTH*, the German *JUGEND*, &c.<sup>1</sup> Whatever its source, it has hitherto — as far as I know — never been found in any Scando-Gothic tongue save in Scandinavia, and only there in the Norse-Icelandic, where it is scarce and poetical (*JÓD*, *JÓÐ*).

The other is *GOIDU*. From *GOD* (God) comes *GODI* (O. N. Engl. *GODE*); in the 7th century probably this would have been *GODO* or *GODO* in Scandinavia; a Priest and Patriarch, a holy clan-chief, an officer at once *both Judge and Priest*. Its feminine is (*GODA*), *GYDIA*, *GYDJA*, a goddess, *a Priestess*, gen. sing. (*GOIDU*), *GYDU*, *GYDJU*. This word also, I believe, has never been found save in the Norse-Icelandic.

The feminine endings in *-U* (*ODU* and *GOIDU*), if admitted on examining the Brooch itself, are Old-Scandinavian and Old-North-English at a time (7th century) when the final *n* had usually fallen away.

I take *DÆRYONÆ* to be an Old-Norse masc. gen. plural in *-NA*, of which many examples are left in the oldest Anglic and Norse-Icelandic literature.

Now should *IOD* and *GOIDU* really be on the fibula, — and I think there can be no doubt that they *are* there, and they give a simple and excellent meaning to what is otherwise unreadable and meaningless, — they are clearly and distinctly Norwegian, Old-Norse, words; for in the 7th or even in the 8th century Iceland was as yet unknown and uncolonized. But if the language is thus undeniably Old-Norse, it cannot be German, and the ornament itself must be a *WANDERER*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Jan. 12, 1876. In a letter just received, Prof. C. Sæve not only approves this derivation but announces that he had come to the same conclusion 3 or 4 years ago, and made known the same in a meeting of the Upsala Northern Philological Society.

<sup>2</sup> I have lived to see many revolutions in both archaeology and linguistics, and I dare say may live to see yet others, in proportion as we more and more insist upon *facts* instead of endless *theories* and learned *phrases* and mere break-jaw technical expressions. What a hurry there has been to be *all-knowing*, to master the whole field of old-lore at a glance, to fix and determine absolutely and for ever every possible antiquarian question, to shake big books out of one's sleeve in rapid succession on the whole cycle of anthropological and social science — instead of devoting a life to one particular branch! And the younger the men the more



Than this nothing is easier. Persons and things wander and emigrate every day, and always have done. By marriage or otherwise the Priestess herself may in fact have died in Germany, and the Skeleton may be *her* bone-house, and the large and costly Crystal Ball<sup>1</sup> which Lindenschmit has called a *whorl* (for spinning) may in fact have been her official Priestly *Show-stone* or *Magic Mirror* or *Consulting-glass*, so well known to students of occult lore, and of which several specimens have been found in ancient graves. They continued in use thro the middle age, and some subsist and are consulted still, partly in reading the future and partly for superstitious medical purposes.

However this may be, should my reading be substantially correct, the inscription is no more "German" than I am. But other runologists may decipher the runes better and come to a different result. I shall then, as always, be willing and glad to alter my opinion.

they know, and the more infallibly and without appeal! We are now tired of hearing *this* called *only* Sealandish or only Jutlandish or only Danish, *that* only Northumbrian or only Kentish or only English. How futile the rage to draw up great hard systems from 2 or 3 or 20 or 30 finds, instead of from the 30,000 which have been found and lost, and which have shown endless transitions, the 300,000 which are still earth-hidden, and the 3,000,000 which have for ever perished!

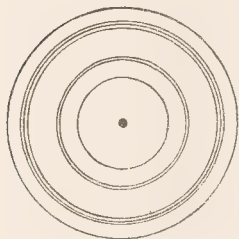
Nothing, too, is more wonderful than the strange habit of looking on Scandinavia as surrounded by an iron wall, so that no thing and no man could go out or in - , tho, as we all know if we give ourselves time to think, there was in proportion as much circulation, wanderings, pilgrimages, war-expeditions, trade and chafmanship, then as now.

Equally surprising is it to argue as if a Northman in another land could not or would not buy anything of a different type to his own, or imitate it in his workshop abroad, or write his name upon it just as he would at home. But we know that such Northmen living abroad did all these things then as now, and imitated or imported to their own country such things then as now. To use the words of Dr. Montelius with reference to another period and other antiquities (Sveriges Historia, I, Stockholm 1876, p. 239): "at all events most of these things show themselves to be of outlandish fabrication or to have been made in this country after foreign patterns."

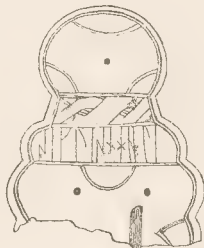
<sup>1</sup> The balls of crystal found in Barbarian female-graves in the Early Iron Age may have been originally an adaptation from those worn by Roman ladies - as it is supposed, carried in their hands for the sake of the delicious coolness they gave during the heats of summer. In his "Precious Stones" the Rev. C. W. King thinks that these crystal balls went out of use in the Roman lands shortly after the general introduction of Christianity, being superseded by the finger-rings cut out of one piece of solid crystal which then became common, and some of which bear Christian emblems. But in Classic times these crystal globes were *originally* used for divination, the adept eying them with certain ceremonies to see things that would happen. In his *Antiqua Schemata* (Gemmarium Annularium), Liceti engraves a Classical Finger-ring, repeated by W. Jones in his *Finger-ring Lore*, 8vo, London 1877, p. 101. It represents two figures eagerly divining in a crystal globe, near a flaming altar. The one figure, a female, holds a snake over the magic ball, which the other scans. Taken generally, Crystallomancy embraced all kinds of divination by transparent bodies. In my own Museum is such a Beryl sphere, like that belonging to Sir Edward Harley and described by Aubrey; "the diameter of it I guess to be something more than an inch, it is set in a ring or circle of silver resembling the meridian of a globe. . . . This, it appears, was efficacious in detecting thieves; it also forewarned death."

In his admirable novel "The Caxtons" Mr. Bulwer (Lord Lytton) says in a note: "In primitive villages, in the west of England, the belief that the absent may be seen in a piece of crystal is, or was not many years ago, by no means an uncommon superstition. I have seen more than one of these magic mirrors, which Spenser, by the way, has beautifully described. They are about the size and shape of a swan's egg. It is not every one, however, who can be a crystal-seer: like second-sight, it is a special gift. N.B. — Since the above note (appended to the first edition of this work) was written, crystals and crystal-seers have become very familiar to those who interest themselves in speculations upon the disputed phenomena ascribed to Mesmerical *Clairvoyance*."

See also the charming "Notes on some Scottish Magical Charm-stones or Curing stones", by the late accomplished Leech and Old-lorist Sir J. Y. Simpson, 4to, Edinburgh 1863, — an overprint from the Proceedings of the Antiquarian Soc. of Scotland, Vol. 4.



BACK OF THE ROUNDEL.



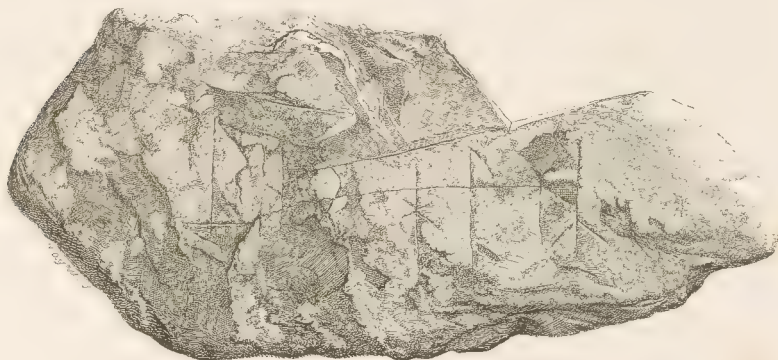
BACK OF THE BROOCH.



## VATN, VERNES, S. TRONYEM, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 750—800.

*From Lightbild of the stone and a full-sized Linen-tracing of the whole block, kindly forwarded by Archivary INGVALD UNDET of Christiania; together with a Paper-Cast of the runes, for which I have to thank Lector KARL RYGH of Tronyem. Chemityped by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN.*



Owing to the above excellent materials, the Chemitype before us is absolutely trustworthy. We see that it is an *Overgang-stone*, part of the old alphabet still left and part of the newer coming in. As this, it is doubly interesting; for it is the first transition piece yet found in Norway. That it has been rescued to us — we have to thank Hr. Undset. Having once heard of it, he doggedly followed, till he deposited it triumphantly in the Tronyem Museum. Besides private information to me, this active archæologist has just published (May 1875) a minute account of the minne-stone and its runes in "Det Kong. Norske Vidensk. Selskabs Skrifter", Vol. 8, Part 2, Throndhjem 1875, pp. 24—30.<sup>1</sup>

Vatn is in the Deanery of Örlandet, on the southern side of the entrance to Tronyem firth, a little outside the bluff called Agdenæs, which is so often mentioned in the Sagas. On this farm, near the water, under a hill called Bengtsberget, is a group of 5 not large grave-hows, running from east to west. Four of them are long-barrows, south therefrom is the 5th, a round tumulus. The last but one of these long-barrows is 24 feet long, 9 broad and from 2 to 3 high. The owner of the farm, Jon Larsen Vatn, in the fall of 1871 began to dig in this how, beginning at its western end. He had come about 5 feet forward when he found, inside the grave, a stone standing on edge. On the side turned towards the middle were written characters. This struck him as curious and uncommon, so he raised it up and carried it home. But in this operation the scaly stone split in two, so that it is now only one half its original thickness. But the other half had no marks of any kind, so he left it where it was. The inscribed portion remained in his home, but he thought people might laugh at him if the letters were of no value. So he used the block to dry fish upon, and at last oil and filth had nearly hidden the characters. In this state during his antiquarian journey in 1874 it was hunted out by Hr. Undset, carefully cleaned by chemicals and at once made known to science.

It is of gray slate, 2 feet 7 inches long, 1 foot 2 inches broad, and now about 2 inches thick, but at first was about 4 inches thick. From the loose nature of the stone, several slips have scaled off, and hereby a couple of the letters have taken damage. But we can see that they all were at first

<sup>1</sup> A short previous notice is in "Foren. til Norske Fortidsm. Bevar. Aarsberetning for 1874", Kristiania 1875, p. 55.

sharply cut. The inscription offers no real difficulty. The *h* and *n* are plain enough. Then comes *o*, but part of this rune has peeled away. Between this stave and the next is a bad uneven place, which the rune carver has skipt over. This was often done by the rune-smiths, and was very wise and "practical". The next character is *æ*, the overgang-*æ*, *æ* from *h*. This is followed by *l*. Thereafter is what was once *r*; at the top of the letter the stone has scaled away, and the top-arms are lost. But there can be no doubt of what once stood. Last of all is *-r*, end-*r*, that *later* rune which is yet found so early. Thus the 7 letters spell the name of the decaest:

RHOÆL(T)R.

On a stone 500 years earlier it might be spelt somewhat like HROPOWALDO. On the even-timed Danish Snoldelev block we have the genitive as RUHALTS. On other yet later monuments the name is ROPUALDR, RUALTR, HRUALTR. The *rh* for *hr* is common. See the Word-row under RUHALTS. — Thus the chieftain hight GLORY-WIELDER.

The farmer dug no more in the how, and all the other barrows were left untouched, but Hr. Undset intends examining them all this summer (1875). — Thus in Norway alone we have now 8 examples of runic stones from the *Early* Iron Age which were deposited *inside* the grave, and 2 such from the *Later* Iron Age.

Nov. 1875. Hr. Undset has now kindly informed me of the result of his diggings at Vatn. In the rune-stone grave nothing was found of archaeological interest. In the other 4 mounds were charcoal, bits of iron nearly eaten away, and several clincher-nails — so often found with, or symbolical of, a ship or boat. The bottom of the graves was clay, and this had held the water which trickled from above, and thus the articles laid in the tombs had been rapidly consumed. But the bodies had been *burnt*, and in 2 of the barrows the grave-gear was deposited in a squarish chamber about 1 foot deep below the surface, — all apparently pointing to the *earliest* part of the *later* Iron Age, and thus well agreeing with the date I originally fixt for the stone, about the end of the 8th century.

## WEST TANEM, TRONYEM, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700—800.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 269.*

## GJEVEDAL, OMLID, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1050—1150.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 276.*

In 1867 was moved to the Bergen Museum, from the ancient Stave-church at Stedje in Sogndal, Norway, in which it had been placed about 1185—90, a tree-stem or trunk, about 14 inches in diameter, bearing a runic inscription saying that this *STAF* was given by the lady Sigrid for the soul of Arnþor and for mercy to herself. Thus we have here a *wooden* death-pillar, of the same kind, more or less, as that at Gjevedal. This is the *second* now found.



## HOLMEN, SIGDAL, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1150—1250.

*Old-N. R. Mon. Vol. 1, p. 278.*

At p. 756 of Vol. 2 I have mentioned that the oldest *dated* Hand-bell known to me is that in the Museum of the Soc. of Ant. London, of the year 1366.

As to *Hanging-bells*, like the one here before us, the oldest known to me is that figured and described in "The Arts of the Middle Ages. By Paul Lacroix", 8vo, London 1870, p. 206. It is in the tower of Bisdomini at Siena in Italy. Within a band is the date

MCLVIII

or 1159, and under the band is a decorated Cross. — The next oldest would seem to be that of Fontenailles, near Bayeux in France, now preserved in the Bayeux Museum. It bears the date MCCII (1202). See it figured in *De Caumont, Abécédaire ou Rudiment d'Archéologie*, 8vo, Paris 1867, p. 583. — The oldest seen by Viollet-le-Duc was the precious one (now barbarously re-cast and spoiled) of dark bronze, which was drawn by him before it was cracked in 1845. See his engravings in his *Dict. Rais. de l'Architecture*, 8vo, Vol. 3, Paris 1875, p. 268. I add his description below.

## WEST STENVIK, NORTH TRONYEM, NORWAY.

A letter from Prof. Sophus Bugge, dated Christiania, July 13, 1870, communicates the following melancholy information, as given to him by Adjunct Karl Rygh: — "Close to West Stenvik, in Skatvål Parish, some 12 years back was opened a grave-mound enclosing a kist of raised slabs about 6 feet high. Within the chamber were found the cheekbones of two men, and pieces of a fragile stone-slab bearing *Runes*. The beast of a man cast them away among the other stones, and laid them in the draining-furrows of the field. The runes must clearly have been an inscription in the older alphabet." Information to the same effect is repeated (after Rygh) in "Foren. til Norske Fortidsm. Bev. Aarsb. for 1869", 8vo, Kristiania 1871, p. 164, by the Antiquary N. Nicolaysen.

## THORGÅRD, TILLER, NORWAY.

A Norwegian paper in Kristiania, speaking of the destruction of the stone above, winds up by saying: "just as it went with the rune-stone at Thorgaard in Tiller". I have not heard the particulars.

<sup>1</sup> "La plus ancienne cloche fondue que nous avons vue est celle qui se trouvait encore, en 1845, dans le tour de l'église abbatiale de Moissac. Elle était fort belle, d'une fonte admirable, non retouchée au burin et d'un son plein. . . . Cette cloche, fort simple, avait pour tout ornement deux inscriptions, entre le vase et le cerveau, placées l'une au-dessus de l'autre. Voici la première

† SALVE REGINA MISERICORDIE.

"Entre les mots *regina* et *misericordia* était une petite figure de la sainte Vierge, entourée d'un orle à deux pointes. comme les sceaux; après le dernier mot, il y avait trois sceaux.

"L'inscription inférieure portait, en une seule ligne et en lettres plus petites:

ANNO DOMINI MILLESIMO CC<sup>o</sup> LXX TERCIO GOFRIDUS ME FECIT ET SOCIOS MEOS. PAULUS VOCOR.

"La première inscription avait été façonnée au moyen de filets de cire appliqués sur le modèle."

## ANDA, JÆDEREN, NORWAY.

The same letter from Prof. S. Bugge contains the following Job's-post: — "The Antiquary Mr. Nicolaysen informs me that on the lands of the homestead Anda, in Klepp Parish, Jæderen, in the Bailiwick of Jæderen and Dalerne, was found a grave-chamber in a Barrow. On the top of the kist was a stone-slab about 2 feet square, and on the under side of this slab the flat surface bore *runes and ornaments*. The farmer laid the slab in a fence, and it has not since been possible to find it." — There can be little doubt that this tump and minne-stone must have been from the Early Iron Age, and that the runes were Old-Northern.

## VOREIM, MÆRE PARISH, SPARBUEN, N. TRONYEM, NORWAY.

Lector Karl Rygh ("Faste fornlevninger og oldsagfund i Nordre Throndhjems amt", in Kgl. norske Videnskabers selskabs skrifter, 8vo, 1878, overprint, Throndhjem 1879, p. 64) says, that in a barrow near the homestead was found some years ago a slab bearing 4 characters (apparently O. N. runes) within a square cartouche. It was put into a foundation-wall, and was lookt-for in vain in 1871.

DENMARK.

FINN MAGNUSEN.

1781—1847.

IN MEMORIAM.



## THORSBJERG MOSS, SOUTH JUTLAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 200—250.

No. 1. *Old-N. R. Mon.* p. 285.

ÆISG AB.

ÆISG OWES (*owns, possesses me*).

A small woodcut of the Sutton Shield-boss is given at p. 266 of "A Description of England and Wales", in 10 volumes small 8vo, 2nd ed. Vol. 1, London 1775. The short accompanying text *seems* to be taken from Hickes, and the woodcut is doubtless copied from his engraving. But there is a difference in the description of the find. Instead of *one silver shield-boss* we have *three*! The words are (p. 265): "upon which, one of the labourers thrusting his hand into the earth, which was of a light nature, found three thin plates of silver, of a circular shape, about six inches in diameter, two of them were locked together by a small rivet passing through their centers." This variation would seem to be substantially taken from the English translation of Camden's Britannia ("Britannia: or a Chorographical Description of Great Britain and Ireland. — — — By Edmund Gibson, D. D. Late Lord Bishop of London. The Third Edition" — — — Vol. 1, folio, London 1753, p. 492), where the inscribed side is re-engraved, full size, with the information (*inter alia*, and with reference to Hickes in the margin): — "The share of the plough laid hold of a thin plate of lead, and brought up with it several small ancient Coins; this led to a further search, and one of the labourers thrusting his hand into the earth (for it was a light moorish soil,) he found three silver plates. The two biggest were fasten'd with a round silver wire that ran through the midst of them, and lock'd them together." — Could there have been any ground for this variation of the tradition as given by Hickes?

No. 2. *Old-N. R. Mon.* p. 295.

I now adopt the view of Thomsen and Bugge, that OWLBU is a lisp-form equal to WOLBU, and propose:

NIWÆNG-MÆRIA OWLBU-DEWÆA.

NIWÆNG-MÆRIA-gives-this-sword to-her friend-OWLBU-DEWÆA

Apparently this lady was MÆRIA of the NIWÆNGS. There were clans of the NIWINGAS settled in England in 6 different counties. See Kemble, S. in England, 1, p. 470. — A chief of the same name, DEWÆ (dat. DEWÆA, as here) is commemorated on the Valsford cliff, Norway, which see.



In November 1874 the Norwegian Archæologist B. E. Bendixen, on his antiquarian tour in Germany, went thro the Danish collection seized by the Germans in Flensburg and carried off to Kiel. One section is from the Moss at Thorsbjerg: Many of the articles found there are of wood, several of them being fragments of wooden Bows. One bit, No. 6097 in Prof. Engelhardt's Catalogue, Bendixen found to bear a fragmentary Runic inscription, as was also acknowledged by the local savants. It is about  $7\frac{1}{8}$  Danish inches long, ab. 1 Dan. inch. broad and ab.  $\frac{5}{12}$  of a Dan. inch. thick where thickest. This information, as well as the drawing copied above, Adjunct B. obligingly forwarded to me. His opinion was, that we here have the last letters of the owner's name, followed by end-marks, and that the characters on the other side are private signs rather than letters. The first stave left has apparently been l (i), the second f (l), the third l (or possibly t or s, n), the last Y (a). Thus: ...l(l)a.

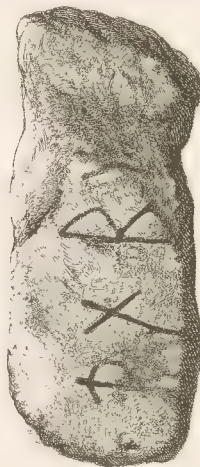
The old Scando-Gothic mansname WILIA is well-known, and this may have been the name should only one letter (p, w) be missing. In case the word was longer, it may have been for instance AUDWILIA.

Sept. 1879. — Quite lately this piece was examined by Docent Dr. Wimmer and Prof. Magnus Petersen, and they thought the marks were not runes, but made by the pressure of blades of grass &c. on the soft wood while in the water. This is very possible. I have not seen the fragment. I therefore leave it, not giving it any separate number.

### BALKEMARK, NEXØ, BORNHOLM, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 200—300.

*From the Block, now in the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven. Drawn and Chemityped by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN.*



Up to 1865, when I made a runish expedition thro Bornholm in company with the learned rune-lorist Prof. Carl Säve of Upsala, no heathen rune-stone was known to exist in that iland, still less anything bearing the olden or Old-Northern staves. Everything was Christian, and all the letters were in the later or Scandinavian futhorc.

But in 1866 the yeoman J. P. Elleby found a long and narrowish block, inscribed with one line of Scandinavian runes, low down in the southern side of the bridge over the stream called *Gyldenså*, near Svanike and east of Østermarie Church. It was in two pieces. The first reading was made by the schoolmaster L. Petersen of Østermarie. Afterwards it was taken up, joined and raised in the open air by the pious care of the enthusiastic and accomplisht antiquarian E. Vedel, then Lord-lieutenant of Bornholm, whom I have to thank for an excellent photograph. There is no doubt that this piece, which has no ornamentation of any kind, is very old (the 9th or 10th century) and *pagan*. The risting is:

BUFI AUKA LET STAIN AT DUKIL.

BUFI HEW (*mark, inscribe*) LET this-STONE AT (to) THUKIL (= THURKITIL).

This grave-minne carried us at once into non-Christian times. But in November 1872 came another block, not only heathen but Old-Northern. Herr Marker, an intelligent tradesman of Nexø, discovered in a rough stone fence, which had long ago been built up with sarsens gathered in the fields around, a small pillar, 18 inches high, dark, hard and heavy, about 8 inches broad and about 5 thick. The ground there was called Balkemark. It is not far from Bodilsker Moss and close to Nexø Plantation. Its small size points to its having been originally deposited *inside* some grave from the Early Iron Age. Afterwards it would seem to have been used by fishermen to hold fast their boats, for there are clear marks of long wear and tear from ropes near the top of the stone, the lower part having been doubtless planted in the earth. Fortunately the whole inscription is complete. The ropes have damaged the right arm of the last letter, but otherwise the whole can be made out.

The first rune is ↑ (ṛ). — The second is a much smaller ʀ (ṛ), but which has suffered so much that it can only just be redd. Such smaller letters are often found on these ancient monuments. There may have been some flaw in the material here, to explain the faintness of the letter, but its presence is certain. We can still see the top and each foot. — Then comes × (ʀ). — Afterwards ʀ (ʀ). — Lastly ʀ (ʀ), followed by a fracture and the wear of the ropes, so that the foot of the character and a part of the center stroke and right arm are nearly gone. But what is left shows that the mark could have been no other than the usual O. Northern ʀ (ʀ). Thus

TUNBA

simply the name of the person to whose memory the grave-how was raised and the stone deposited. This name is of excessive antiquity, and is here found for the first time on any such inscribed stone. It apparently means the BA (warrior, guard, defender) of the TUN (the Homestead), and is a counterpart to the BEO-WULF of our Old-English Epic. See the Wordrow.

I have to thank the Chamberlain Worsaae for drawing my attention to this costly piece the moment it was found, and for the kindness with which he assisted me in all my labors respecting it.

## DALBY, SOUTH JUTLAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 200—300.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 283.*

The name, whether masc. or fem., LUDRO, (may also be redd LEDRO).

## HIMLINGØIE, SEALAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 250—300.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 297, 857.*

The name, apparently masculine, HÆRISO.

## NYDAM MOSS, SOUTH JUTLAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 250—300.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 299.*

## VI MOSS, ALLESØ, FYN, DENMARK.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 301, 305, 307, LV.*

No. 1. CLASP OF A SWORD-SHEATH. The visible letters meaningless.

No. 2. BONE COMB. Owner's name, HÆRINGÆ.

No. 3. WOODEN SITHE-SHAFT PLANE. Three several scribbles, by different persons. The first:

TÆLING o.

TÆLING OWNS-me.

The second, broken at the end, says:

GISLIONG-WILI AB LÆ-ORB(Æ) [? locer].

GISLIONG-WILI OWNS this-LEA-STAFF (sithe-shaft) [loker = plane].

The third, on the side, tells us, as I now think:

TIBAS HLEUNG, DE RIIGU.

TITHAS HLEUNG (= HLE-SON, THEOW (slave or servant) of-the-lady-RIIGA.

Violet le Duc (Dict. Raisonné de Mobilier Français, Vol. 2, 8vo, Paris 1871, p. 526). engraves a Plane from the 15th century, the oldest known to him.

During my antiquarian visit to the island of Gotland in July 1877, I was fortunately able to add to my Museum an object of great interest. It was a *Runed Plane*, parallel to and illustrative of the Danish Vi Moss Plane, but 15 hundred years later.

Among other places and homesteads which I entered was the farm of the "Husband" (= Yeoman) Carl Johan Gardelius, Hegasarve, of Ekeby; the family name (Gardelius) being taken, in the style of the last century, from the hamlet (Garde) where his forelder was born. My host's father was a yeoman like himself, and also was a clever hand as a joiner, and I found Carl Johan at work in



his joiner's shop, surrounded by a host of tools. The conversation turning on old-laves and runes, my host remembered that he had something in this way, inherited by him from his father Olaf, who had kept up the old letters (the Runes) with which he was more at home than with the Latin alphabet. So he began to rummage about, and soon brought forth 2 well-kept narrow *Ploughing-planes*, of peartree. On each of them, clearly and deeply cut by his father's own hand, stood:

1 7 8 6 . .

1. 1. 1. 1.

This is the latest instance I know of, of the runes being still in domestic use in Sweden as the *bonafide* staverow of the common people. Had these staves been found on an *ancient* article, we could of course only have *guess* that the 3 letters were the initials of the owner's name. But here the tradition is complete. *We know* that o. o. s. signifies

OLE OLS-SON.

This ÔLÊ (popular form for OLAF) OLS-SON GARDELIUS simply *wrote his name* on these Planes, as workmen so often do on their tools, and his son, CARL JOHAN GARDELIUS openly bore witness to the fact. Very generously Carl Johan gave one of these Runed Planes to myself, and the other to my friend and comrade Dr. P. A. Sæve, Keeper of the Forn-Hall (Museum) in Visby, the capital of Gotland, for him to hand over to that excellent local collection.

In 1878 I added to my Museum a curiously carved and painted wooden Washing-bat (Bucking-beetle) for beating clothes clean in the old way. It was doubtless the home-made gift of a peasant to his sweetheart, as was once so common with such things, and came from a farmhouse in the country in Sealand. It bears:

A B L N D 8 0 3

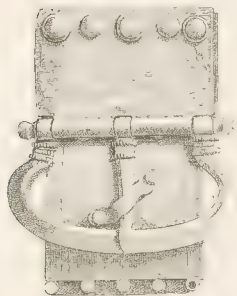
cut in large letters within a small space, only about 4 inches. The words are therefore contracted to the utmost, and to save the room of yet another stave 2 letters TR are given by the well-known bind-rune 8, 0 and 3 in one. For the whole is:

ABIL NILS-DATTER. 1803.

This is the latest instance I know of the traditional use of Runes among the peasantry in Denmark. ABIL is an old, still common, Danish womans-name, DATTER is DAUGHTER.

No. 4. Full size. From the original in the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven.

Drawn and Chemityped by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN.



This is another proof of what we may yet hope to find even in our public Museums. Years ago, when objects were placed and numbered in collections, the eye was not so sharp to detect runes as it is now. The BRONZE or rather BRASS BUCKLE here before us belongs to the earlier portion of the Vi Moss finds, and was given to the Museum in 1851 by the excellent and watchful Pastor Meldal of Allense and Næsbyhoved Broby. I translate Archivary Herbst's description, written by him at the time in the Museum Protocol:

"No. 11, 650. A Brass Buckle, with its attacht shanks for the two ends of a Belt. Small silver ornaments have been placed round the base of the pin and of the two buckle-clamps. The attachment to which the clasp is fastened is made of brass plate folded over, to which the Belt was fixt by 5 large-headed rivets. The other tail was held by 5 rivets along each end, clincht behind over long and narrow end-slips. On the middle of this shank and in the diagonal of its square is a small brass bow, held by 2 rivets, in and thro which the tung of the Buckle plays."

As we see, no runes are mentioned. They were first observed April 4, 1868, by Professor Engelhardt, when he carefully went thro all the pieces afresh in connection with the detailed description of the Vi Moss on which he was engaged. In his "Guide Illustré du Musée des Antiquités du Nord à Copenhague" (Copenhague 1868, 8vo), p. 24, Prof. E. has given an excellent full-sized chemitype of this piece, both sides, by Prof. M. Petersen, and again in his beautifully illustrated "Vimose Fundet", 4to, Kjøbenhavn 1869, p. 20.

At first dim from dirt and rust, a little cleaning brought out all the letters, and they are now sharp and clear. They are freely cut on the back of the broadest shank, first one line running along near the bar of the clasp, and then another line on the other border, turning the attachment round. Thus the staves stand:

A B C D E F G H I  
S N ð a o n k t r

With regard to the translation, we must first decide which line is to be taken first. But this is not so easy, for one rune, the last in the upper line as the engraving is here placed, is doubtful. All the runes in the lower line (beginning with T = L) are plain. But in the line above (beginning with F = æ) the last stave is not sure. We have here 5 rivets. The first 2 runes have been cut between the rivets. The third, a broad letter, has been carved over the third nail, but as this stands somewhat high the parts of the rising on the nail have been rubbed off by friction. The 5th stave has also been inscribed over the rivet, which lies low, and therefore the marks have not been worn away. The last rune has suffered by the decomposition of the metal. We cannot surely say whether the cutting originally was *one* letter (N, U; or M, E) or *two* letters (M, U). I am inclined to think, after repeated careful examinations of the original, that it was M, U. In this case the name was *ÆÆDEGÆSLI*, and this line, in the nominative, stood first in apposition with the other line. Should this be so, we have:

ÆÆDEGÆSLI  
LÆÆSÆUWINGÆ.

I take the whole to be the owner's name:

= EDGISLI LESSING ( . LES-SON,

The many bends in the s are a mark of great antiquity. The g has feet as well as legs, which is merely ornamental. The vowel-drawl or vowel-richness is as self-evident as is the frequency of the æ-sound in the local talk.

Sept. 24, 1874. Just received "Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed", 1874, pts. 1, 2, containing Dr. Wimmer's dissertation on the Origin of the Runic Alphabet. At p. 130 he engraves this piece, cannot say which word was first or last, thinks the whole inscription probably meaningless, and reads the letters: LAASAUWINGA AADAGASU. — I only know one other attempt to read these letters, that of Hr. Rud. Henning, (Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum, Vol. 22, Berlin 1878, 8vo, p. 311—16). He proposes: "AUDAGA SULA A SALVINGAM, Gesegnet sei Sula im Sölvengaue", that is: *Happy* (or *Blessed*) *be Sula in the-Sölvenland!*

I will add an interesting example of how history repeats itself; how old and how new common things and common formulas are. A few years back a SILVER BUCKLE was fisht up by an oyster-dredger in the harbor of Falmouth. It bore in capital letters, still easy to read:

S. G. BRYDGES . RODNEY.  
'311HA '3HL 'JO 'TAVHROV

"Sir George Brydges Rodney, Admiral of the White", who was born in 1718 and died in 1792, was made Admiral of the White in 1778. His title changed in 1782, when he became *Lord* Rodney. This Buckle was therefore lost in Falmouth Harbor somewhere about the year 1780. It now belongs to the Hon. Sarah Mundy, his only surviving daughter.

Vol. 1, p. 310 I have pointed out the frequency of double-letters on the oldest runic monuments, as here. They are also often found on Ogham grave-pillars. Mr. Brash says (*Archæologia Cambrensis*, 8vo, London, April 1869, p. 161): "The Gaedhelic Oghamists delighted in double letters, thus on a stone, Barachaurin, county Cork, we have the name "Carrrttacc", one over from Kilboultragh, in the possession of Col. A. L. Fox, "Muddossa", on one at Kilbonane, Kerry, Gonnngu".

At p. 388 of his interesting treatise "Nordeuropas tidligste Bebyggelse og Kulturudvikling" (in Aarboger f. Nord. Oldk. og Hist. Kjob. 1872), Worsaae (following Grevingk: Ueber heidnische Gräber Russisch Litauens p. 201-205, after Bielenstein and Döring; Sitzungsber. d. kurländ. Ges. f. Lit. und Kunst 1869, p. 20, 26) refers to a find in a little bog-hole at Dobelsberg in Antz Parish, between Liebau and Mitau, south of Riga-bay in Courland. Within the space of a few square feet, and only about 18 inches beneath the surface, partly in a clay pot and partly loose, were found:

472 lance-heads, iron, 46 of which had the point sharply twisted; — 186 (? broken) lance-shaft pipes, iron; — 131 iron Celts; — 40 iron Axes; — 13 Hacks or Axes, iron; — 14 bits of Celts, Axes, Hacks, Hammers, an Anvil, iron; — 28 pointed tools (? of a smith), iron; — 6 bits of swordblades, iron; — 3 hilts iron; — a quantity of rusty iron-lumps; — 1 bronze Neck-ring; — 15 Arm-ornaments of bronze, iron and silver; — 9 Brooches of bronze and iron, "apparently of Roman shape"; — 2 Spiral rings; — Many metal bands rolled together, 2 Sharpening-stones; — 60 shuttle-shaped stones, with and without scorings on the flat sides.

Now this, if ever there was one, would undoubtedly seem to be a deposit of miscellaneous property, or booty or a chapman's or metal-seller's stock of useless and useful things. Some are injured, some fragments, some whole. There is only a bit or two of silver among the lot, and no gold or any other "precious" ready-money object. Yet the learned writer claims this find also — as well as the Danish Moss-hoards — as an "offering of booty to the Gods after victory."

"He had more goods and supplies of various kinds, also, than were required for present purposes, or than could be conveniently transported on horseback; aided, therefore, by a few confidential men, he made *caches*, or secret pits, during the night, when all the rest of the camp were asleep, and in these deposited the superfluous effects, together with the waggons. All traces of the caches were then carefully obliterated. This is a common expedient with the traders and trappers of the mountains. Having no established posts and magazines, they make these caches or deposits at certain points, whither they repair, occasionally, for supplies. It is an expedient derived from the wandering tribes of Indians." — *Washington Irving*. The Rocky Mountains: or Scenes, Incidents, and Adventures in the Far West. Digested from the Journal of Capt. B. L. E. Bonneville. Philadelphia 1837. Vol. 1, p. 98, 8vo.

Strabo, who wrote some 20 or 30 years before Christ, when speaking of the heap of precious metal found at Toulouse, partly in a temple and partly in holy lakes, adds that treasure was so often met with in Gaul, sunk in lakes and bogs, *as being excellent hiding-places for such things against marauders*, that when the Romans became masters of the country they publicly sold these marshes to the highest bidder, and the purchasers often found store of valuables (he mentions *silver handmills*) therein. — Strabonis Geographia, cum notis Casauboni. Fol. Amst. 1707, Bk. 4, p. 287.

Another example of the meaning of "War-spoil" — that it is not arms alone, but everything useful that may be rapidly swept up: — "Whilst this was going on in the interior of the [Turkoman] tent, outside the various members of the robber's family were busy inspecting the booty he had brought home. The elder women seized greedily upon one or another utensil for domestic use, whilst the children, who were jumping about merrily, were trying on the different garments, — now one, now another, and producing shouts of laughter." — *Arn. Vámbéry*, Sketches of Central Asia. 8vo, London 1868, p. 50. — "Even these measures do not suffice, for the [Turkoman] robbers often come in large bands and lay siege to such fortified places, and not seldom carry the whole population, men, women, and children, into captivity with all their moveable property." — *Idem* p. 210.

Another short picture from life, not fancy. The scene is in Málwah, East Indies, about 1806: — "In those days lawless turbulence found a much larger field for display than it did a few years afterwards, when the power of the British Government was exerted for its suppression. Two or three



times a year accounts would reach us of the approach of large bodies of Pindarees, who had been committing havoc in the surrounding districts; or of an intended attack by some neighbouring potentate, for the purpose of levying contributions on the city. Then the hearts of the inhabitants were filled with terror and dismay; and forthwith jewels, money, and articles of value were buried in the earth, or otherwise secreted." — *Autobiography of Lutfullah, a Mahomedan Gentleman*. 2nd ed., 8vo, London 1857, p. 8.

Let us add a striking example, from Scandinavia itself in the very old days. I refer to the inroad of the Norse king Eystein (Snorre Sturleson, *Heimskringla*, *Ynglinga Saga* ch. 51, folio edition, Vol. 1, Havnæ 1777, p. 59):

Eysteinn konungr fór með herscip neckor  
yfir á Vörnu, oc heriadi þar, tók slíkt er fyrir  
vard klædi oc adra gripi. oc gögn bóanda, oc  
hiöggo strandhögg foro í brott sidan.

*King Eystein drew with some war-ships over  
to Vörn, and plundered there; he took whatever there  
was, clothes and other valuables and farming-tools,  
slaughtered the cattle on the coast, and went 'his way.*

## GALLEHUS, NORTH JUTLAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300—400.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 321.*

The valuable library of the late learned and lamented Prof. E. C. Werlauff has just (Sept. 1871) been sold by auction, and I have thus been able to add some very rare "Runica" to my collection. Among these is a piece apparently unique, an impression of the large facsimile-plate of the Golden Horn published by Dr. Krysing in 1734. See Vol. 1, p. 326 and my plate 3 ("First copy of the Staves on the Runic Golden Horn"). I have there explained that on the Horn itself, as given by Krysing, the inscription rightly begins with the mansname ECHLEW, followed by a mark of division, but that in the large-scale repetition of the runes separately the first word is TÆWIDO and the last HORNÆ.

Now in the copy bought by me at Werlauff's auction the TÆWIDO at the beginning has been erased from the copper-plate (tho so imperfectly that it can still be made out on the paper), and has been re-engraved on the copper in its proper place after HORNÆ. Thus here also, as at the Horn-mouth, the carving begins with ECHLEW and ends with TÆWIDO.

By whom or for whom the copper-plate has thus been used to produce a kind of corrected second edition, I cannot say. Probably it was so arranged by a gentleman called ALARIK VON WITKEN ZU WITTENHEIM, to whom the whole volume has belonged. It was gathered and bound by him, and he has added several ornamental pictures. On the binding, inside the first cover, stands his name written in runes:

ALARIK VON WITKEN ZU WITTENHEIM

Then on the next page, within engraved ornaments, are the words in 8 lines: "J. R. Paulli, G. Krysingii und B. Grauers Tegning, Typus und Erklärung alln figuren und Characteren des bey Tundern 1734 gefundenen Gulden-Horns. Ex Museo A. de Witken-Wittenheim. 1749."

Besides marginal notes here and there in Wittenheim's own hand, we have next Paulli's Description of the Golden Horn, both the German edition of 1734 and the Danish of 1735. The title-woodcut is colored, and below the girl's figure is written her name, KIRSTEN SVENS, and below that of the peasant his name, ERIK LARSEN. All the other plates are colored yellow. — Next we have Grauer's treatise, mounted on paper, so as to make it a folio; figures colored yellow. — Then a plate of the Oldenburg Horn. — Next an old engraving of the Runeless Golden Horn. — Last is a copy of P. Egard's notice of the Runeless Golden Horn, Luneburg 1642, 4to.

Now the owner, Wittenheim, has approved of Grauer's translation, which makes TÆWIDO the last word, and has written the Roman-letter equivalents, as understood by Grauer, under each of the



runic staves as given by Gutacker<sup>1</sup> and Krysing. Thus he would seem to have got Dr. Krysing<sup>2</sup> to alter the old copper-plate, and print off a copy in harmony with his own word-order at the mouth of the Horn and with Grauer's reading, for him to bind up in his folio volume about the Horns.

(Jan. 1879). It has always been the likeliest opinion that the Golden Horns — from their great bulk, their peculiar make, and their open ends — could never have been intended for common domestic use *to drink out of*, but rather to be held aloft by Idol-figures in a heathen temple. So Saxe tells us that in the right hand of the Slavic God Svantovit, at Arcona, was held a bronze or brazen Horn (In dextra cornu vario metalli genere excultum gestabat. Sax. Gram. Lib. 14).

This conclusion is strengthened by a piece which I have lately added to my own Museum. It was found a couple of years before I got it (which was in April 1878) in a sandbank near Hørsholm in Sealand. It is a well-preserved Horn, of the usual small size and shape, about 18 inches long, and 1 foot in length from mouth to point. Width at mouth about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches, greatest breadth only  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch. It tapers rapidly, becoming very small lower down, and ends in a head of the usual doubtful kind, apparently intended for that of a Worm, Dragon, or Bird. The whole, including bands and rivets, is of Brass. This Horn is *very strongly gilt* outside, tho much of this is gone from oxidation, which has



even eaten small holes right thro here and there. It may be as old as the 7th century, scarcely later.

But the most interesting feature is its peculiar casting, in 4 pieces. The 1st, about 3 inches long, is the mouth-piece. The 2nd, about 4 inches long, is the next. The 3rd, about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches, is the narrower bit, and the 4th is the last.

The 1st section is cast all in one piece, with a narrow outside fold or rand, about 1—7th of an inch wide, turned up on the one side, and with a higher outside wavy band about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch broad, at the end with a depression inside to admit a separate strengthening insertion. This inside band is held fast by 2 brass rivets, one on each side the Horn, which go right thro till they touch the wall of the opposite inside. There is a similar depression of the wide end of Part 2, to permit its sliding under the brace of Part 1. Part 2 is cast in the same way, but under the wavy band 2 there never has been a separate tie placed inside, it is only held by 2 rivets. Piece 3 is cast in a like manner and with answering outside wavy band, all in one bit, but goes about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch beyond the 3rd rivetless

<sup>1</sup> Shortly after the finding of the Rune-Horn a full-size copper-plate picture of it appeared, "Sculp. R. Frost", "P. E. Gutacker Aufleger". A copy of this rarity, colored yellow, is here added by Wittenheim as the first of the plates of Paulli. Paulli's first plate (Fig. I and Fig. II) gives the last word as *razwino* and has the distinct divisional mark after *enlezw*; but this parting mark has been inserted by Wittenheim himself in ink. There can only be one explanation of this. He had doubtless often handled the Horn, and had seen that the mark was forgotten by Paulli. See my Vol. 1, p. 326, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> George Krysing was a well-known physician, antiquary and collector. He had a Museum of Old-laves found in the Danish province of South Jutland (or Slesvig), of which he publ'sht a Catalogue in Flensburg, no date, in 4to. I have a copy of this rarity.

brace, which has no counter-band inside. Piece 3, deprest inside, admits the larger end of Piece 4, also sunk so as to slide in, the two pieces not being strengthened by an inside clasp as being so narrow here, but are held fast only by one rivet which goes right thro, and is therefore visible on each side of the surface.

The terminating Head has two large eyes and a full mouth, but no ears or any other parts. It is possible that the bands have been painted a darkish color, to set off the bright gilding, but the oxidation is so great that this is not quite certain.

Now it is clear that this piece is highly interesting from its workmanship. It is a direct copy of an older original made of *beaten* metal, probably Gold, fashioned into a Horn, with edge turned over and with bands fitted on. Only, to spare all this labor, the brazen Horn is *cast*, and then the pieces put together with rivets &c.

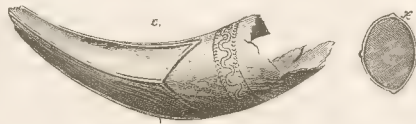
Also remarkable is the metal employed, a kind of Bronze very richly gilt, so that this object was intrinsically worthy and costly as well as outwardly handsome.

But most striking is the *certain fact* that *no one could drink* out of this Drinking-horn. From being so strangely flattened, and from being so blockt inside with brass pieces and rivets, it holds very little. The shape of the mouth-end prevents this little being conveniently swallowed, and the metal itself (ungilt inside) would quite simply *have poisoned* any liquor drunk out of it. Besides this, any liquid would easily have oozed out between the only riveted bands.

What then could it have been intended for? I think it was made for the same purpose as the Horn of Svantovit and the Golden Horns, *to be held in the hand of an Idol*. In that case it would practically be as good as if it had been made of Gold, would produce the same effect on a spectator. But it would be comparatively cheap to make, from so much metal being saved by its flat shape, and from the material being only brass. It would also require no expensive decoration, for such on so small a Horn would not be seen any distance off. It was therefore probably made by the temple officials, for a donor would at least have added the "ornament" of some words announcing his gift.

One peculiarity here, which we also find on the Danish Trumpets of the Bronze Age, is the Bands. So also on the Golden Horns; the larger one had 13 such over the inner tube; the rune-bearer, which is not complete, had 5 yet left.

We have this same feature, and the overlapping rand, imitated on the 2 damaged Ox-horns found a few years ago at Knabstrup near Holbæk, Sealand, and now in the Danish Museum. As these are the natural horn of the animal, the imitations have been made with a knife. I add a sketch of one of these horn-bits, one-third of the size, for comparison, as drawn by Prof. Magnus Petersen:



As these Ox-horns have suffered so much, we cannot see in what ornament the thin end once terminated. But it is clear that the one half of the *metal original which they copied* had, low down, a double sectioned overlaid plate. Higher up there was a brace, here represented by cutting. Its style and decoration are scarce, and characteristic of the Early Iron Age. Archibury Herbst has kindly pointed out the same waveflow and dots on two pieces found in the Vi Moss, a Play-table and one of the Bows.

In Worsaae's Nordiske Oldsager, No. 320, is a rather small Glass Horn of the same type, with band-ornaments of glass. His No. 559 is another Drinking-horn of the same general shape with settings of metal, but very much later in date and resting on 2 feet. Also later is the Chess-queen Horn from the Wiking period.<sup>1</sup> But a second and perfect Early-Iron-Age Horn of green glass has

<sup>1</sup> Besides other things, no fewer than 67 excellently carved large chess-pieces, of Walrus-bone, were found in the island of Lewis, Scotland, in 1832. They are engraved and described by Sir Fred. Madden in the English Archæologia. Five of them were Queens, one of which holds in her left hand a small plain drinking-horn. All these pieces were of the same date, the 11th century or a little later.

lately been found in Denmark, and added to its rich Museum; it is slightly fluted throout, but near the mouth has ring-bands of glass. A third equally old glass horn is in the Bergen Museum, Norway; it has ring-bands and fittings of the same material — green glass.<sup>1</sup>

In its moderate size as compared with the Golden Horns, the Brass Drinking-horn thus agrees with all the other ancient Iron-age pieces of this kind known to us.

Oldest among these is perhaps the one held by the Priest on the 2nd band of the Runeless Golden Horn.

But we have the same shape on 2 Runic pagan bild-stones found in Gotland, and dating from about the 9th century. On the Tjängvide stone (see my O. N. R. Mon. Vol. 1, p. 224, and Vol. 3, p. 69) the Priest or Chieftain presents the Horn of offering and worship to Woden, who is seated on his 8-footed steed Sleipner, and the god welcomes the fallen warrior to Walhall. But the stone is much damaged, the Horn also.

On the Habblingbo stone, however, where a Walkyrie welcomes a sea-king to Walhall, the horn is perfect. See both sides engraved Vol. 2, p. 708. I here repeat only the front:



Thus it appears to me that the Brazen Horn was not only made as a Drinking-vessel in shape and ornament, but was cast for use as a Temple-horn, and was intended to be held in the hand of a not overgreat Afgod (Idol-figure). In this case it throws light on the huge Danish Golden Horns, which would seem to have been costly gifts to Afgods in FREA'S (FROE'S, FREY'S) Godhouse. But such a Harg-horn would have a Temple-formula, if any, and thus we have here an indirect support to my version of the runes.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. Lorange, Samlingen af Norske Oldsager i Bergens Museum, Bergen 1876, 8vo, p. 66, where it is engraved.

<sup>2</sup> I printed the substance of these remarks on the Brass Horn in Danish, in "Illustreret Tidende", Kjøbenhavn, 26 Jan. & 2 Feb. 1879, in an article on "De Danske Guldhorn".



Feb. 1879. — I have just received Part 4 of "Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed", Kjøbenhavn 1878. At pp. 319—337 is a paper by Architect J. B. Löffler, who paid an archæological visit to the island of Rygen in 1873. His chief object was to examine the old stone Churches, raised by Danish architects at the beginning of the 13th century, after Valdemar the Great had conquered and Christianized the Slavic (Wend) inhabitants. Among other details Löffler describes and figures a granite block in the church of Altenkirchen, fixt in the plinth at the east of the south-aisle, on the outer wall. The general local tradition, to which Löffler assents, is that the basrelief was placed there in remembrance of the triumph of Christ over Svantevit, long after his image in Arkona was broken to pieces. He continues, p. 328: "What seems especially to strengthen the tradition in the monument is, the large Offerhorn which the figure grasps with both his hands, for Saxo speaks distinctly of such a Horn when he describes the statue, as a separate feature in the worship of Svantevit. At the great yearly Harvest-feast which the Rügen-men celebrated in honor of their God, the priest filled the Horn with wine or the best drink made in the island, and hereby foretold in the new year how the harvest would turn out. If the vessel was then yet full, it was a token that the grain would be mightily increast; but if the liquor was sunken in the horn, it announced poor crops and hard times. It is also of weight to remark that the Idol-figure is in Altenkirchen; for, as far as we know, this church was not only the nearest of all to Arkona, but also the chief Christian sanctuary in this whole district. This therefore would be the most suitable place, if it were desired to erect a monument whose carving would show at once — that the might of heathendom was gone, and that its chief Afgod was now a prisoner in a Church of Christ." Löffler's drawing (p. 327) of the Wendish God Svantevit is here repeated in facsimile, Heliotyped by Pacht:



At p. 320 of his "Reise durch Pommern nach der Insel Rügen", Berlin 1797, 8vo, Joh. Fr. Zöllner says, quoting Kosegarten's Rhapsodien Th. 2, p. 91, that this stone basrelief was the image of the God WITHOLD, and that the words "St. Vitus oder Swantewit" were cut in a later hand. But in Löffler's drawing there are no words. I cannot explain this mistake in Kosegarten. Have the letters been erased since his time?



## KRAGEHUL MOSS, FYN, DENMARK.

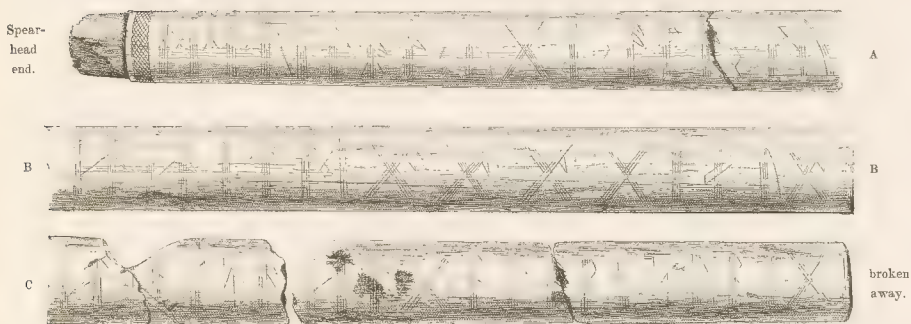
? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300—400.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 317, 319.*

No. 1. BIT OF A WOODEN KNIFE-HANDLE OR SMALL BOX.

No. 2. BONE SNAKE OR FISH. (*Lost*).No. 3. WOODEN BOX-LID. (*Lost*).

No. 4. PIECE OF A SPEAR-SHAFT, OF ASH-WOOD.



*Full size. From the original in the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven. Drawn and Chemityped by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN; for clichés of the blocks I have to thank the Roy. Soc. of Northern Antiquaries.*

In the summer of 1877 Prof. Engelhardt was enabled to make some fresh diggings in this valuable antiquarian bog, and the result was highly satisfactory. A number of interesting forn-laves was obtained. But chief among them was an ashen Lance-shaft bearing a long inscription in the olden runes. It was drawn before being boiled and prepared, but the wood suffered nothing from the operation. The risting is still sharp and clear. As far as I know, no translation has yet been made public. It is very difficult, and I offer my version chiefly as a help to a better. The words not being divided, we have the usual perils on every hand.

As I take it, the first group is certainly *EO*, the English *i*, here as on the Gilton Sword and on the Lindholm Snake not a mortuary or mere carver's expression, in which sense as I have said it is never found on our oldest runic monuments, but a *weapon-formula*.

Next I take *ERLEA*, where the last stave is a bind-rune, *Æ*, *FE* and *LA* in one. This I look on as a mansname, *JARL* or *EARL*, in its oldest known shape, as on the Lindholm piece. See the Word-roll.

My third word is *ÆS*, as I think dialectic for the fuller-voweled *AS*, *ASS*, still older *ANS*. In O. Engl. also we have usually the weakened form *ES*, *God*, *Hero*. See *ANS* in the Wordrow, Vol. 2.

Next I find *UGIS*, that is, runes usually not being doubled, = *UGGIS*, gen. sing. of *UGG* (later *YGG(R)*) in the nom. in Icelandic which has the gen. *ÜGG(I)S*, later *YGGJAR*), the *UG*, *UGG*, fearful, terrible, fierce, one of the well-known names of the god (*W*)*ODEN*. In English only left in the Mid. Engl. *UG*, fear, *UGGIN* to dread, Prov. E. *UG*, *UGGE*, to affright, &c., mod. E. (*UGGLY*, now) *UGLY*, properly *frightful*, Prov. Swed. *UGG*, *YGG*, *IG*. — *AS*, *ÆS*, *ASS* is often prefixt to the name of the chief gods: thus here *ES-UGIS*, of *ANS UGG*, — of *ANS-(W)ODEN*, the terrible war-god.

As 5th letter-group I fix on *ÆLE*, gen. pl. of the common Scandian neut. noun *ÆL*, storm, tempest, rain-fight. Usually found in the older kennings emphatically in the gen. pl. as here. — Thus *ÆS-UGIS-ÆLE* is literally = (*W*)*oden's-storms*, that is the *Battle-shock's*.

Then the cluster *SMUHE*, as I suppose an ac. s. masc., formed from the olden stem whose verb is in N. I. *SMYGA*, O. Engl. *SMUGAN*, Mid. E. *SMUZEN*, to pass thro, dart along, creep, penetrate, in our Modern Cant *SMUG*, to slip away with, steal. In Scandinavia it is now used mostly for to creep or sneak thro. In England it is out of use, but has left lively offspring, *SMUGGLE*, *SMUGGLER*. — The whole compound, *ÆS-UGIS-ÆLE-SMUHE*, properly the *Battle-piercer*, is therefore a kenning or poetical picture-synonym in the usual Old-Northern style, for a *LANCE*, spear, missile, which darts with deadly aim over and thro the kamp-wong. This particular kenning I have not seen elsewhere, but in yore-day Northern poems are several almost the same. A curious chapter could be written on the names and epithets given to farn weapons, and the kennings by which they were painted. However, as I take it, the whole word-group *ÆS-UGIS-ÆLE-SMUHE* is = *THIS LANCE*.

The next word seems certain, *HÆTTE*, 1 s. pr. indic. I *HIGHT*, bid, command.

So I think is *GE*, 2 s. imperative, go-thou. The weaker sound, *Æ* for *A* or *Ā*, is still a distinctive mark in some of our Northern shire-talks, especially in Denmark. In North-English we have for long centuries said *GAE* for *GA* and *GO*. In the oldest N. E. left to us where the word is found (about A. D. 950) we have *GA*, *GAE*, *GAE*, *GÆ*, *GAA*, *GAE*, *GAEA*, as well as *GEONG*, *GANG*, *GONG*, the O. S. E. *GĀ*, *gega*, and *GANG*. In Mod. Eng. we say *GO*, but in our Northern provinces also *GANG*. — As I think the whole is in verse, I do not take the first *GE* to be the usual emphatic prefix (here *gæge*), as in M. Goth. *gagaggan*, O. E. *gegaggan*, *gegan*, Ohg. *gagaggan*, *gagan*, but give it as the verb *GE* twice repeated, *GE*, *GE*, *GO*, *GO*; but if *gæge*, the meaning will be the same.

Also the next group seems sure, *GÆGIN*, preposition governing dative. Our old Scando-Gothic moles have a host of parallel forms, O. E. *GÆGN*, *GEN*, *GEAN*, *ON-GEAN*, *A-GEN*, &c.; Ohg. *GAGAN*, &c.; O. Neth. *GAGN*, &c.; Dan. *IGJEN*, &c.; N. I. *GEGN*, *GEN*, *GIN*, &c.; Swed. *IGEN*; Mod. Engl. *GAIN*, *AGAIN*, *GAINST*, *AGAINST*.

So apparently *UGE*, dat. s. m. def., the *UG*, *UG*, fierce, savage, N. I. *ýG(R)*.

Next, as it seems, *HE*, 2 s. imp. of the verb which in N. I. has the form *HEYJA*, to work, make, cause, let. This imperative on Bracteate No. 57 appears as *HE*.

Thereafter I suggest the group *NIYÆ*, here as often without the tip-*H*, but otherwise in N. I. and O. Fris. *HNIGA*; M. G. *HNITWAN*; Olden Swedish *NIGA*, Olden Danish *NEIGE*, later *NEYE*, *NEE*, Olden Norse *NIGJA*, now *NIA*, and the *G* is early vocalized in all the Scandian prov. dialects; O. N. E. *HNIGA*, O. S. E. *HNIGAN*; Ohg. and O. S. *HNIGAN*, *NIGAN*, and so on; (the frequentative *NICKE(N)*, to nod, is also common). This neuter verb everywhere means to bow, bend, and hence to perish. *NIYÆ* may be here 3 pr. s. subj., but more likely it is in the direct infinitive; in this latter case we must mark the falling-away of the -*N*, as already in the 7th century in the Old North-English. See *Word-row*, Vol. 2, p. 940, u. *HNAG*. — Observe the *Y*-rune (ʝ) here, and further on in the word *WYU*. On this piece the *S*-rune is always of the oldest type, ʃ. — March 2, 1880. Mr. John Evans, our illustrious English savant, has just communicated to me impressions of 6 runic silver Sceattas lately found near Cambridge, and now in his splendid collection. Four of them are of the *EPA* class, from the latter half of the 7th century, and one of them has the ʝ (Y), exactly as on this Spear-shaft. The king's name is here spelt ʝċċċ, ʝPI.

As we now seem to have a stave-cluster giving the required proper name, I take *HEGELE* to follow, nom. s. m., if *NIYÆ* be subjunctive, or more likely ac. s. should *NIYÆ* be infinitive. This common Scando-Gothic mansname is in modern times *HEGEL*. Found here for the first time in runics.

Last, *WYU-BIGI* (? æ), probably dat. s. m. We cannot know whether *Æ* or any other vowel followed *BIGI*. Much longer the inscription could not have been, as we have come near that part of the shaft which was daily handled for swinging it off, and the grasp of the fingers would have spoilt the writing. But the substantial meaning is apparently clear — in or on the *WIG-BING*, war-bed, battle-field or camp. *WYU* is thus the same as *WIGU*, as so often, *WIG* = war, battle. See *Word-roll* under *BIGI* and *UGÆ*. The presence or absence of the nasal (*N*) is not essential, especially in runics. In Ohg. we have both *PIGO*, m., and *PIGA*, f. — If in verse, a word beginning with *w* has followed. I propose *WAPN-BAUTIN* = *weapon-slain*.

At present therefore I am inclined to take the whole as substantially:

EC, ERILÆA, ÆS-UGIS  
 ELÆ SMUHÆ HÆITE: —  
 'GÆ, GÆ,  
 GÆGIN UGÆ;  
 HE NIYÆ  
 HEGELE,  
 WIYU-BIGI (? æ  
 wapubautin).'  
 I, ERIL, ANS-UGG'S (= Woden's)  
 IRON-STORM PIERCER (= this Lance)  
 BID: ·· 'GO, GO,  
 GAINST the-SAVAGE;  
 HENCE HURRY  
 HÆGÆL QUICK,  
 ON-GORY WAR-BEL  
 gash him thro'!

Striking is the number of binds in this rune-line, no fewer than *ten*, ER, ÆA, MU, HÆ, HÆ, GÆ, GÆ, GÆ, GÆ, HE. The staves themselves are cut with uncommon freedom and elegance; counting each double-letter as two, there are 59 in all.

The formal *Casting of the Spear or Dart* over the border, as a declaration of war against the foe, is well known among several of the Aryan peoples. It seems to me that we have here another proof (see Bracteate No. 57) that it also was in use among our Northern forefathers. But we have before us the remarkable fact that such a Spear might bear the Ban or Defiance *inscribed on its staff*. In so far this Lance-shaft stands alone. As far as I know, no other example has been found in any land or time. Weapons bearing the name of the owner or maker are not uncommon. Others inscribed with boastful or religious formulas are familiar enough; we have a Runish example on the Gilton Sword. Frequently on *missiles* (especially Sling-bolts) was cut the name or mark of the sender, that the enemy might know by what warrior's hand he was struck. But such a formal heathen Ban as this, carved by one chieftain against another, is something as costly as it is rare.

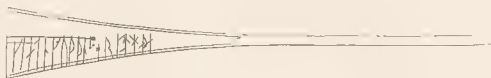
Should my reading therefore of the Golden Blink (No. 57) and of this piece be more or less reasonable, we have on the Bracteate the proud Clan-cry to their leader bidding him begin the war-raid, — while here we have the next step, the hurling of the Spear, bearing the War-ban on its bosom, over the frith-mark against the enemy.

I have to thank the great courtesy of the Norwegian old-lorist Lector Karl Rygh, of Trønyem, for acquaintance with an article which, however remotely, in some degree illustrates this remarkable Kragehul Spear-shaft. On all the rune-written weapons hitherto known, the staves tell us merely the name of the owner, with or without some other phrase. On the Spear-shaft, for the first time, we have no such mere name, but a quite different and very peculiar formula.

Now in the summer of 1879, as Lector Rygh informs me, during repairs in the chancel of Mære church, Sparbu, Nordre Thjems Amt, some feet below the floor, the workmen came upon a stone-kist. This was built up with raised slabs, and was remarkably small, only 18 inches by 21. The contents were equally strange: some morsels of iron and bronze, a bronze key to a padlock, a bead of black glass, 3 bone-bits of a human hand, and a bone Arrow bearing a runic risting.

Of course I use the word Arrow here in the same sense as that given to it by Lector Rygh, with reference only to its *shape*. It could not have been used as a *weapon*, unless perhaps in some game, the feather-end being too heavy; and my learned correspondent is doubtless right in his suggestion that it was used as a lady's *Hairpin*. However this may be, it is in good preservation, the surface still sound and hard, and the letters sharply and clearly cut. Not content with sending me all these

details, Lector Rygh has had the additional kindness to forward me, for the use of my artist, a most exact drawing of this object, *half size*, here photoxylograph by J. F. Rosenstand:



In the line of Scandinavian runes here before us, there is only one divisional point. But I venture to think that the inscription is comparatively easy. The  $\mathfrak{A}$  being clearly a bind, doubtless for  $\mathfrak{A}+4$ , ONA, I would read:

KLETE GUD DES ER KONA MADA.

GAIT (*keep, bless*) GOD THES (*g. s. m. = that-one, him*) AS (*whom*) a-QUEEN (*woman*) MADDE (*made wretched, destroyed*).!

= *God help him whom a woman ruined (slew)!*

As to the first word and the formula it involves. On the Norse Sylling stone (Vol. 2, p. 794) we have: GUD GÆTIE DINA, *God save thee!* On the Dansk Giesingholm sarcophagus (Vol. 2, p. 795, and Stephens, Runic Hall, p. 14) is: SYLL NIKLAOS KÆTI, *his-soul may-Saint-Nicholas guard!* On the Swedish Ängby block (Vol. 2, p. 795) stands: MIHEL KATI AT HANS, *may-Saint-Michael deliver ond (soul) his!* — Here we have a 4th example. GÆTA is usually GJATA in Norse Mss. — The form MADA, 3 s. p. of MÅ, for the usual MADI, is another instance of the older o or a, &c. for the later i-ending, of which we have so many on runic pieces.

But what is the date of the grave-kist and its contents? We shall never know. Judging from the runes and language, perhaps about the 12th century.

And what is the meaning of the whole? We shall never know. It may refer to some secret domestic tragedy, in which a woman was mixt up. KONA may be translated both *woman* and *wife*; who shall say which?

Possibly, from the position of the kist in the church, it may have been a kind of cenotaph or pious memorial, privately constructed, containing relics of some Priest who fell a victim in the great long savage battle waged by the Roman Church against the marriage of the secular Clergy. In some way a local Ecclesiastic may have been denounced *by*, or *on account of*, a wife or sweetheart by a malignant rival; and a sister or near kinswoman may have deposited in the little chamber, with the other things, a Prayer for him written — to avoid discovery — on her harmless Hairpin. At all events it is a most interesting and romantic old-lave, and as such I give it.

## VALLØBY, KØGE, EAST OF SEALAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 800—400.

*From the original in the Old-Northern Old-ward, Cheapinghaven. Drawn and Chemityped by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN.*

MOLLEHØI (Mill-how, Mill-hill) is a natural bank southwest of Valloby Church, and was so called from an old Post-mill which once stood on its top. Herefrom is a wide view over the broken country around and athwart the famous Køge Bay. In 1869 the owner, who was carting away stones from the highest part of this knoll, came upon some olden things and stowed them away, caring little for them. At last, in 1871, they were forwarded to the National Museum by the Schoolmaster A. Petersen. They consisted chiefly of a Dish (red Samian Ware), and two silver Beakers with barbarian figures in relief on a band below the brim. This led to enquiry, and Prof. Dr. C. Engelhardt



was sent down in September 1872 to examine what was left. He found that the grave had been shamefully damaged and was now almost ruined, but still he was able to rescue many costly old-laves. A notice of his visit was furnished by him to the Newspaper "Fædrelandet", Cheapinghaven, Oct. 1, 1872, and to "Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed", Kjobenhavn 1873, pp. 285—320 a detailed paper. From these sources I draw up the following short description, referring for all minutiae to the pages of the "Aarbøger", which are illustrated by two score of Magnus Petersen's excellent Chemitypes.

Let us cut a trench about 6 feet deep. Then dig a rectangular oblong grave 11 to 12 feet long and 2 deep, of which about 18 inches at each end being a handstone wall, the rest is the tomb, from which nearly 2 feet are thought by Engelhardt to have been partitioned off at the southern end by a cobble wall. Nethermost of all we spread a thin layer of flint shards. Above this sand and gravel, 5 to 6 inches deep. Then a floor of oaken plank, about 1 inch thick. On this a corpse (probably of a man), every bit of which however was quite mouldered away. Near the one end were:

1. A red-clay Samian Dish,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches across at the mouth, with hunting-scenes in raised work and a half-obliterated potters-mark. — 2, 3. Two Silver Cups, in the style of those from Himlingeie (my Vol. 1, p. 330). — 4, 5. Two Roman Bronze Pails, on feet. — 6—9. Four Roman Bronze Saucepans and Cullenders. — 10. Fragments of the bronze fittings of a Drinking-horn, most likely "barbarian". — 11, 12. Bits of two Glass Goblets, blue and white threads on a colorless ground.

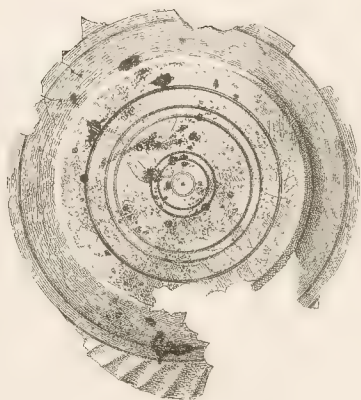
In the grave-kist proper, high up on the left, were 46, and lower down on the right 60, glass Counters, play-pieces, dark and white. Lower still, left, a piece of amethyst, 2 ribbonlike golden finger-rings. In the clay was also found a third similar ring and a golden spiral arm-band, the two ends in the snake-type. Further, two silver fibulæ. Still lower, right and at the feet, 4 Roman Bronze Dishes and Pails, and an earthen Pot with ear. All the bronzes have the (usually Roman) concentric circles below. The two Pails with handle and the Pot have the furrow or fluted ornament. On the outside bottom of the one Pail is a RUNIC INSCRIPTION. There were also a couple of small silver ornaments.

The grave had thereafter been apparently covered over with an oaken plank and a flat stone. Above this a pile of small cobbles, then the soil heaped up, and above all a mound of earth some 45 paces in diameter, with footstones. But all this overground work has nearly disappeared in the present century.

Being thus familiar with the grave and its contents, we can proceed to examine the Runish Bronze vessel, with its characteristic fluting. As we see, it is Roman or Roman-provincial manufacture. I give it here half size.



Underneath is a Runic scribble, in the usual way. Only 5 letters. The owner, as so often, has cut-in his name. The following is what is left of this bottom-plate, also half the bigness.



That it *is* Runic, not Roman as some have asserted, is certain. There is no mistaking the first stave, the w. But I add this part full size.



In spite of the damage and corrosion, all can be made out save the upper part of the last rune. It was apparently  $\Psi$  (A), judging from the look and the widish space from the foregoing stave, which would give room for the arm on the left. But if not, it may have been  $\mathfrak{F}$  (Æ), or even l. Thus the common Scando-Gothic mansname

WIS(A) or WIS(Æ) or WIS(l).

The date we cannot fix with absolute certainty, but everything points to about the 4th century.

## GLOSTRUP, SEALAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500—600.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 858.*

## VEILE, NORTH JUTLAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600—700.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 332.*

This lost stone may perhaps have borne:

ÆNI ISINGÆA.

ÆNI-carved-these-runes to-ISINGTHÆW.

## VOLDTOFTE, FYN, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600—700.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 333, LVII.*

## VORDINGBORG, SEALAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600—700.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 335, 857, LVII.*

Lower down, the bind-rune HW, probably = H... W(ROTE). Still lower, UI. Perhaps this is *short* for UI(KI BUR RUNA), or KINI-RUNAR or KUML &c., *may-Thur-WIH-(bless)-these-runes!* &c.

With regard to the doubt thrown by my learned friend Dr. Vigfusson (see his valuable *Sturlunga Saga*. 1878, Vol. 1, p. clxxxvii) on ÆISL here, and on its form elsewhere, I would remark, — that I know of only 3 or 4 instances of this mansname on runic pieces. They are: Nom. Svartsjö, Upland, Sweden, *heathen*, (Lilj. 345. Dybeck fol. II, 62), ADISL; Kirk Michael, Ile of Man, *Christian*, where W. Camden has a clear ADISI, tho the stone may have borne ADISL, while Cumming has distinctly ATISI; Fuglie, Skåne, Sweden, unpublisht, *heathen*, apparently (AD)ISLI; and acc. Vordingborg, *heathen*, undoubtedly ÆISL. Thus there is *no* clear instance of ADISL in the Western lands. As to the Ile of Man the only possible one is doubtful.

## KALLERUP, SEALAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700—800.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 342.*

HURNBURÆ STEIN, SUIDIKS.

HURNBUR'S STONE, SWITHING (= SWITHE'S-SON).

## SEALAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700—800.

*From the original, in my own Old-wood. Chemityped full size by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN*

Games of chance have of course been known always and everywhere. The special sport called *Dice-playing* is of very great antiquity, but probably was not in use among ourselves till after the Bronze period. It was apparently introduced into our "barbarian" lands with many other things, tools and ornaments and luxuries, which came in a few hundred years before Christ and for some centuries later from the great centers of Classical civilization. At least I am not aware of any "Die" having been found in the Scando-Gothic countries previous to the Early Iron Age. Less common of old was the 4-sided *Talus*, more usual the 6-sided *Alea* or *Tessera*. Both were made of all sorts of materials, sometimes even of the precious metals. The *Talus* had only 4 flat sides, the other two (the ends) being more or less rounded, so that the bone would not stand on either of them. The *Alea* or *Tessera*, with which we are more familiar, was mostly a cube, but sometimes oblong in shape. In Thorsbjerg Moss (date A. D. 250—300) was found an Amber Die or *Talus*, the pips marked by incised concentric circles, the corners rounded off and the form longish, so that it cannot stand on the end-numbers 1 and 6<sup>1</sup>. In the Vi Moss (date 300—350) 4 Dice were taken up, of the usual cube make, the 6 sides bearing 1 to 6 pips (a ring round a point), as also 2 long *Tali* with 4, 3 and 6 pips on three of the long sides, while the 4th and the ends had no mark; all these were of bone<sup>2</sup>. In Worsaae's Oldsager, No. 366 (No. 463 in ed. 2) is engraved a longish Die of bone, apparently nearly as old, found with 2 others in a grave-how at Væng, Hedemarken, Norway. On the longer sides are 3, 4, 5, 6 large dots surrounded by ringlets, while each end has only one such, so that this *Tessera* has no 2-mark. In the same grave were Arrow heads of Iron and Bone, a corroded Iron Sword, an Iron Ax, a bone Comb and other things<sup>3</sup>. Similar specimens are drawn elsewhere. They occur in various parts of Europe. Several have been found in England, perhaps the latest being those from Kent, whose age is about the 6th century<sup>4</sup>. The pips are here made by a dot within 2 concentric roundels.

In my Museum is a *cogged* Die from the middle age, found in Sealand, but as far as I know no Die has yet been made public bearing *Runic staves*. I can now however communicate such a piece, and one so much the more interesting as it is evidently made by a Northern "barbarian" in imitation of a Roman or Romanizing original<sup>5</sup>. There is no doubt of its genuineness, which has been acknowledged by such illustrious experts as Steenstrup and Herbst. It came into my hands in 1865. I bought it for a trifle from a dealer, who stated that it had been found in Sealand. It is of Soapstone (*Steatite*), most rudely made, damaged, rather oblong than square, and has 1 to 6 points or rather holes, some of them shallow others perhaps bored deeper in after times. The slight scratches here and there are not letters. All the sides are of different sizes.



The 1- and the 6-side offer nothing remarkable. But the 4-pip has a clear and bold runic risting, cut-in after the holes were made, and still well preserved. As far as I can see, this can only

<sup>1</sup> Engelhardt, Thorsbjerg Mosefund, p. 22, Pl. 4, fig. 27; Id. Denmark in the Early Iron Age, p. 43. Same plate. —

<sup>2</sup> Id. Vimose Fundet, p. 11, fig. 11, 12, and pl. 2, fig. 6, 7. — <sup>3</sup> Antiquariske Annaler, Vol. 4, p. 459—60. — <sup>4</sup> J. Brent, F. S. A., Researches in the Old-English grave-field at Sarr, p. 46, where they are engraved. (Archæol. Cantiana, 6, London 1868). — <sup>5</sup> A Die of Burnt Clay found in a grave in Holbek Amt, Sealand, Denmark, is in the Danish Museum. It is rather oblong, about 1 inch in length, and very rude. The points or pips are prickt in; 6 pips opposite to 5, 1 opposite to 2, and 4 over-against 3. This is therefore very like the Runic Die, and is equally the work of a native Dane.



be in the O. Northern staves. As I take it, stave one is certainly a bind-rune (UR, N and Þ), while letter 2 is plainly F (Æ), followed by IC (I and C written close, as elsewhere). The last mark is cut small for want of room, as so often. It is 1 (T). Thus:

UPEICT

DISFAVOR (= BAD: *The Bad Throw!*)

The word is correct enough, and the meaning plain enough. It is even still in use in Iceland. See the Word-roll.



The 3 and the 5 pips are as usual. But the 2-side has a V-mark or a bind of V and T (L). What is its right position (perhaps A) I do not know, nor can I tell its meaning, unless it signify UEL, VEL, WELL, FAVOR, the Good Throw.

I have to thank the great kindness of the accomplished old-lorist Joseph Anderson, Esq., F. S. A. Sc., the Keeper of the Scottish Museum in Edinburgh, for the information that the collection there contains a *Cast* of this Die, which came to it some years ago, when and how not known. Of course it must have been *before* the original was bought by me in 1865.

In Roman days 3 or 4 of these Tali or Tesseræ were thrown at once. But there were many varieties of play. When only one Die was used, it may have been for some special purpose, either as to who should begin the game or for luck and unluck in general. Perhaps here the 4-side may have been selected as the *bad* number, and markt as such by the "barbarian" owner. The 2-side may then have been lookt upon as the *good* number.

For remarks on the *material* of this Die (Potstone, Lapis ollaris), see Förde, under Norway. and Kinneved, under Sweden.

## FREDERIKSBERG, SEALAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 750—800.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 861.*

I now think I can read this little stone amulet. It was, I believe, for finding out a Thief. Such pieces and inscriptions were used in various ways, in a vessel with water and a small looking-glass, or otherwise, that the Thief's image might appear. The whole accompanied with Charm-words. I take the risting to be:

ÞIWBYO-FUNDR.

THIEF-FIND. (= For finding a Thief.)

The end-R seems to be written below for symmetry, to fill up.

## HELNÆS, FYN, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 750—800.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 338.*

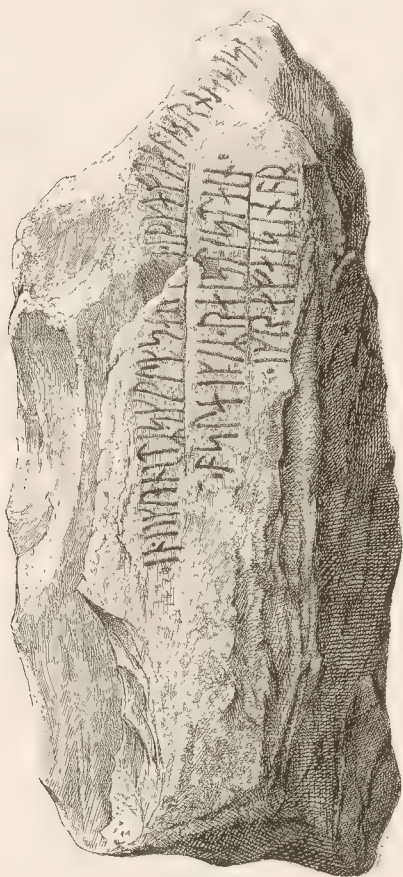
The broken part I now fill in: TRUKNAÐU (*Hannum alir*), DROWNED (*were drowned, were lost at sea*) (*with-Him all; = he was lost at sea with all his men*).

For Latin grave-stones mentioning DEATH BY DROWNING see Le Blant, Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule, Vol. 1, p. 15 and fol.

## FREERSLEV, SEALAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 800—850.

*Drawn and Chemityped from the original block, now in the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven,  
by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN.*



In April 1876 the garden dike of Årodgård, Freerslev Mark, Frederiksborg, Sealand, was cleared away. The workpeople came upon a large stone, a softish sandstone, 4 feet 6 inches high, about 2 feet broad and about 2 feet thick. This they clove lengthways in 3 pieces. But the owner of the homestead, Hr. Kristen Olsen, now remarkt some letters on one side, and stopt all further cleaving. He called in a High-school teacher, Herr J. Olesen, who saw at once that the staves were runes, and information of the find was instantly sent to the Old-Northern Museum. Official examination followed, the value of the block was at once acknowledged; and the owner, Hr. Olsen, generously gave it to the Museum. It has suffered very little. Only at one part some of the surface has scaled off, whereby 2

letters are partly and 2 wholly gone. But even these can with great probability be supplied. A stave or two at the end is also dim and doubtful, but can still be redd with reasonable certainty. The runes have been slightly cut, then rubbed-in with a sharp stone or instrument, and are therefore unusually deep and broad. Some of the characters, especially the *r* and the *h*, vary much in form, as is not uncommon. The inscription is:

IN · UKUNITR · SKWLFSAR(fik)I · IWKAFIAÆRRNR(D)ISI  
· ÆSLAIKIR · RAISTISTAIN ·  
· IKRAFAISINÆR

We here see 2 of the Old-Northern runes still left, the *æ* and the *w*, consequently the monolith is overgang. There is no *o*. If it had occurred, it would likely have belonged to the O. N. futhork, and would have been *æ*.

We have also here another of the many instances of short writing, to save labor. Several letters are *understood*. This is clear from the words IKR, SKWLFS, IWK and RNR.

The question and the difficulty, as so often on these monuments, is where we are to begin, and in what order we must take the lines. As I believe, we commence with line 2, continue with line 3, and end with the uppermost or long line. Let us now see how this will work, taking the words separately:

ÆSLAIKIR, n. s., a common mansname, whose oldest form would be ANSLAK(A)S. We have it in runics as nom. AOSLIKÆR, ASLACAR, ASLAKR, OSLAKS, ÜSLAKR; as gen. ASLAKS; ac. OSLAIK, OSLAYK, OSLAK. — There are repeated instances on Scandian monuments, both in Runish and Roman letters, of the nom. mark (*older form -s*), as R, AR, ÆR, ER, IR, OR and UR. It afterwards *fell away*.

RAISTI, 3 s. p., the usual RAISED, set up.

STAIN, ac. s. m., as continually, this STONE, this-the-STONE.

IKR, g. s. f. Here evidently written short for IKUR, that is INKUR, INGUR, of INGA, a common womans-name. Besides the many instances in the Old-Northern runes, we have it in the nom. a dozen times as IKA in the later runes and half-a-dozen as INKA, with 2 instances of the gen. as IKUR and one as INKUR. This local dialectic ending -UR in the gen. sing. fem. was first pointed out by Carl Säve, and supported by me with fresh examples in my O. N. R. Mon.<sup>1</sup> In this my Vol. 3 are 5 clear *additional* instances. My dozen runic examples of this fem. gen. in -UR date from heathen days downwards, but are all *Swedish*. For the first time we have here *one* on an overgang *Old-Northern* monument and in *Denmark*.

AFAI, g. s. f., a *Grandmother* (the sound intended probably very near our AFÆ or AFÆ). As far as I know the only yet found direct Scando-Gothic parallels to the Lat. AVUS, grandfather, AVIA, grandmother, and AVUNCULUS, mother's brother, are the Norse-Icel. AFI, a grandfather, and the M. Goth. AWO, a grandmother. Of course it is only paucity of really olden pieces which prevents us adding to this scanty list. (The N. I. otherwise has AMMA for Grandmother.) As I suppose, we have here an additional example. I cannot doubt that this Old-Danish AFAI, which is here gen. sing. fem. in apposition with the gen. sing. f. IKUR and SINÆR, is quite simply a *feminine*, answering to the N. I. *masculine*, and signifying *grandmother*.<sup>2</sup> By the paradigm the M. Goth. AWO should have made AWONS in the gen., but it may have been something else, for it only occurs once; and then in the dative (2 Tim. 1, 5, AWON DEINAI). As we see, the O. Danish gen. form here is AFAI<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This is *besides* examples in MSS. and in the *living* tung of Gotland.

<sup>2</sup> It is no more "incredible and impossible" that the Old-Danish should have locally preserved this word (its nom. form here unknown) for *Grandmother*, than that the same language should (in a modified meaning) have kept the old word for *Daughter-in-law*. With the single exception of modern German, this term is now practically extinct in all the Scando-Gothic tungs. And yet, I believe, it lives on unobserved in Denmark. Omitting Slavic and other dialects, this vocable was the Sanscrit SNUSHĀ; the Latin NURUS; the O. Engl. SNORU (now, DAUGHTER-IN-LAW); the Icelandic SNOR, SNÖR (now, TENGDA-DOTTIR); the Ohg. SNUR, SNORU, &c., Mhg. SNOR, SNORCH, &c., on the Main still SCHNÖRCH, (but now almost driven out by the compound SCHWIEGER-TOCHTER); the O. French NÖRE (now, BELLE FILLE or BRU), the O. Prov. NÖREKE. The Daughter-in-law being so often the longed-for favorite who should perpetuate the name and house of "the old folks", became in Danish equal to *Darling*, and then a pet-word for *Baby*. But as this might be of either sex, it became *neuter* in Danish. Most terms of kinship have undergone immense changes, even within the times reached by written remains. This curious Danish word is the still often used NOR, NÖR, also NURUS, NORRES, &c., a *Baby*, *Darling*, *Pet*.

<sup>3</sup> The O. North Engl. gen. of these fem. nouns is mostly in -Æ, -E, -F, -O, -U, but many of them have assumed a strong masc. form, gen. in -s, as in Modern English. The O. Fris. here has mostly in g. s. -A, -E; the O. S. Engl. -AN, E; the O. Sax. -UN, -ON, -AN, -EN, -A, -O, -E; the Ohg. -UN, -EN, -IN, -O, -A. The still older M. Goth. has -ONS, -EINS. When the N became nasalized many local changes sprung up, of which only the commonest are in grammars, among them the above -UR, s to R, and in Scandinavia later the *æ* fell away leaving only -o or -u.



SINÆR, g. s. f., (now SIN in Danish); in O. Engl. SINRE (now extinct, = HIS, HER); N. I. SINNAR, O. Sw. SINNAR, SINNÆR (now SIN). On other runic stones occurs twice as SINAR, and twice in the shorter "popular" incoming form SIN. — Hillesjö. Upland, last passus but one: DAR KUAM KAIRLAUK AT ARFI INKU(r), TUTUR SINAR (see Vol. 2, p. 716, 885), *THERE (thus) CAME KAIRLAUK AT (to) the-ÆV (inheritance, property) of-INKA, DAUGHTER SIN (her)*. — Smula, W. Gotland: KULI RSDI (= RISDI) STIN DESI EFTIR BDR (= BRUÐR) KUNU SINAR, ESBURN OK IULA, TREKA HRDA (- HARÐA) KUDA.

IAN DIR URDU TUDIR

I LEI (= LIDI) ÜSTR.

KULI RAISED STONE THIS AFTER the-BROTHERS of-QUENE (wife) SIN (his), ESBURN EKE IULI, DRENGS (soldiers) HARD (very) GOOD.

IN (but) THEY WORTH DEAD (died, fell)

IN the-LITH (fleet, expedition) out-EAST

Observe the many contractions here, to save labor, exactly as on the Freerslev stone. — Hargsä, Upland: KUNAR, SUN FARULFS, LIT KIARA MIRKI FR (= FIR) SIAL IUFURFAST (= IUFURFASTAR), STIUBU SIN (= SINAR), TOTUR HULMTIS (= HULMTISAR); KUNAR, SON of-FARULF, LET GARE (set up) this-MARK FOR the-SOUL of-IUFURFAST. STEP-child SIN (his), the-DAUGHTER of-HULMTIS. — Mörby, Upland: KHULU LIT KIRA BRO FR (= FIR) ANT KILAU, TOTUR SIN, UK SUM ATI ULFR. ÜBIR RISTI; KHULU LET GARE (make) BROO (bridge this) FOR the-OND (soul) of-KILLAU, EKE SUM (her whom) AHTÉ (owed, owned, had-to-wife) ULF. ÜBIR RISTED (carved the runes). It is scarcely possible that the word can be any other than this pronoun in the gen. s. f. But in this case it is *decisive* as to the case and gender of IKUR and AFAL. We have an exactly similar genitive formula on the Delsbo stone, Helsingland, Sweden, which see under ARCHAIC MONUMENTS. It begins:

(an)UNTR, KIRIBIS SUN, RISTI (kuml) RUDUR, HANAR A UAR-IU; (an)UNT (= ANUND), KRIB'S (= GRIP'S) SON, RAISED (these-cumbels = these the grave-marks) of-RUTHA, HER ON (at) VAR-EY. Here RUDUR is gen. s. f. of RUDA, just as IKR (= IKUR) is gen. s. f. of IKA (INKA). — I add another Danish example, about 10th century, of these genitive grave-formulas; Hune, Vendsyssel, N. Jutland (Thorsen, Danske Runem. 2, 1, pl. 78).

HUFI, ÞURKIL, ÞURBIURN SATU STIN RUNULFS, HINS RAD-SBAKA.

HUFI, THURKIL and THURBIURN SET-up this-mine-STONE of-RUNULF, YON (the) REDE-SPAİK (rede-sharp, wise in counsel).

IN. adv. IN. but, as so often.

UK. 3 s. p. HEWED, cut, carved (the runes), as very frequently. The 3 s. p. of HAUGUA, &c. has very many forms. It occurs on a dozen other stones as OK, UK and UKU.

UNTR, n. s. Mansname. Very rare in any Scando-Gothic dialect. Possibly stands (ONIT) on the Norrsunda stone, Sweden. In Ohg. occurs as UNNTH, UNND, UNNIT.

SKWLFS (= SIKWLFS), g. s. Mansname. Here first found in runics, as far as I know. Is the rare N. I. SJÖLFR; the O. E. SIGEWULF, SIGULF; Ohg. SIGIWOLF, SIGULF.

A(RFI)I, n. s. m. This is the only considerable damage on the whole stone, for which we are duly thankful. I think the word can only be the common ARFIKI. The A is plain. Then comes a large part of the R and the foot of another stave, doubtless F. The I and K are broken away entirely, from the large piece scaled off here. ARFIKI has not yet been found in any English dialect, but it is common in Scandinavia as a masc. fem. noun, *heir* or *heiress*, ARV-TAKER. Our old dialects had a crowd of different words and wordforms to express this. See the Word-row, Vol. 2, under ÆRBINGÆS. But the ARF-NUMA, ARF-WARD, would usually be *the son*, and accordingly both on vellums and stones ARFI and ARPING are frequently used for *son* as well as *heir*. Here the meaning is *son*, as so often in runics.

IWKA (= IWIKI), the A repeated as usual in runics, IWKAFTA = IWIKI-AFTA. Adv. *Ever, always*. We all know the adj. M. G. AYUK(s), Ohg. EWIC. O. Engl. ÆCE, ECE, O. S. EWIG, O. Fr. EWCH, EWIG, *everlasting*, from the stem AW, AF, EY, *time*; and we see at once that the O. E. ÆCE, ECE has lost its w. This it did so early that no O. E. EWIC has yet been found, and *the whole word died out early in England*. In Scandinavia also it disappeared so quickly that it is as yet unknown in very old parchments. It was re-introduced into Sweden and Denmark (as EVIG) late in the middle age from the German EWIG. But it had of course existed in the oldest Scandinavian, and we have it once as a mansname in runics (ÆUIKI, dat.) on the heathen Sparlösa stone, West Gotland, Sweden, a name which answers to the Ohg. AVICO. The adverb in vowel-ending is scarcer still. It is the O. E. ÆCE, ECE, Ohg. EWIGO. This, it



seems to me, is the word here. It is found also, as *IAIUKA*, on the lately discovered Pilgärds stone, Gotland, (9th century), which see. We have many terms on olden runic memorials for rest, repose or fame *ATE* or *EVER* or *EVERLASTING*. Sometimes this is applied to the rune-inscribed monument itself. The formula of the *everliving grave-words, the longlasting funeral-stone*, is very rare on antique Christian memorials. But there is one clear and striking example in Le Blant (*Inscriptions Chrét. de la Gaule antérieures au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Vol. 1, Paris 1856, p. 365): . . . . *TITVLVM CVM AETERNETATE VNCTVRVM* . . . . *DIDICAVIT, "lui a consacré ce titulus qui ne périra pas."*

*AFTA*, adv. *AFTER-HER*. Properly a prep. with *her* understood. This adverbial usage is frequent on our runic grave-minnes. The word itself, partly as of one syllable and partly as of two, has about 100 different shapes of spelling on the stones. This one, *AFTA*, is of the rarest.

*ÆR-RNE* (= *ÆR-RUNAR*), ac. pl. f. *ORE-RUNES*, honor-staves, words of respectful commemoration. Both the Björketorp and the Stentofte monoliths, which see, (Bleking, Sweden, O. Northern, about 7th century) announce that the *GIN-RUNES* (*GINÆ-RUNEA*, *GINO-RONOA*), mighty letters, powerful staves) *MELL* (*MELE*, speak, tell, declare, perpetuate) *the-ORE* (*ERÆ*, ac. s. f., honor, fame, worshipful remembrance) of the decessant.<sup>1</sup> As here we have *ÆR-RUNAR*, so on the Hauggrän block, Gotland, the laudatory minne-pillar is called *ARU-BEKUN*, honor-beacon.

*DISI*, (the *ð* much worn and very indistinct), pron. ac. pl. f. *THESE*. Among the endless forms assumed by this pronoun on the monuments is *DISI* as ac. pl. f. It occurs several times. *RUNES THESE* (in different runic spellings) is a standing phrase, is found *hundreds* of times. It cannot be denied that we have it here also.

I hope all may admit that the above reading and version are substantially correct. But in that case we may add that the whole inscription is in verse, 6 lines of stave-rime of a simple kind:

*ÆSLAIKIR RAISTI STAIN.*  
*IKR* (= *INGUR*), *AFAI SINÆR*;  
*IN UK UNIR*,  
*SKWLFS* (= *SIGWULFS*) *AR(rik)I*,  
*IWKA* (= *IWIKA*) *AFTA*  
*ER-RNR* (= *ÆR-RUNAR*) (*Þ*) *DISI*.  
*ÆSLAIK RAISED this-STONE,*  
*INGA'S, HIS GRANDMOTHERS:*  
*BUT SET UNID,*  
*SON of-SIGWULF,*  
*EVER AFTER-her*  
*ORE-RUNES (honor-words) THESE*

The genealogy will be:

*Grandfather: SIGWULF — INGA, Grandmother.*

*UNID, Son.*

*ÆISLAIK, Grandson.*

Thus the lady *INGA* lived to a venerable old-age, as many have done before and after her day.

However we fix the date of this stone, whether we make it 50 years older or younger, we have the same features as so often, a local dialect in a flux and flow; modernisms like *STAIN* beside archaisms like *AFAI* and *IWKA*; the fem. gen. *IKR*, but also the fem. gen. *AFAI*; the nom. masc. ending *-IR*, but also *-R*, *UK* for *HUK*, and so on. But I suppose all now begin to suspect the "iron laws" and "fixt grammar" and "normal speech" and "uniform development" and all that, as applied to our manifold olden local Scandinavian as well as all other similar Scando-Gothic remains. Partial "uniformity" belongs only to sharply polished and disciplined conventional book-languages — till they also change.

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise the oldest Ms. Swedish instance of this word *ÆRA*, which I remember is in K. Magnus' Stadga, 1285 (Dipl. Svec. I, 653): "at her hawi mere ærr".

HØRNING. *Old-N. R. Mon. p. 348.*

In 1873 the Danish Archæologist Hr. V. Boye carefully examined this stone, and showed that the reading is KUL, as I have given it, and not KUD. See his article in "Jyllands-Posten" for Oct. 1, 1873. But he also pointed out that there is no mark between the *l* and the *a*, consequently no *h*, and therefore FRIALS(*i*) not FRIHALS(*i*). Thus *no Old-Northern rune* on this stone, which consequently *goes out*.

At the same time he kindly took an excellent paper squeeze for me, and I can testify that the stone undoubtedly reads KUL and FRIALS(*i*).

In his "Den Nordiske Kirkes Grundlæggelse", Part 3, Kjøbenhavn 1876, 8vo, p. 586, the learned author, Hr. A. D. Jørgensen, thinks that the word KUL should be taken for GUL. (*GULD, gold, gifts*), and refers to the "ek mun gifa þer frelsi ok kaupeyri", I shall give thee freehalse (freedom) eke cheap-oras (goods or monies), of the Gisle Surson's Saga, p. 81. This is possible. But that KUL (coll. adoption) is not Icelandic is no argument. The stone is Danish, not Icelandic. The reader can decide for himself. — Sept. 1879. Prof. Thorsen's "Danske Runemindesmærker", Pl. 55, agrees with Boye.

## JYDERUP, SEALAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D.: A, — 800—900; B, — 1200—1300.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 859.*

At p. 72 of Dr. H. Hofberg's "Nerikes Gamla Minnen", 8vo, Örebro 1868, is engraved a thin 3-cornered stone found at Resta in Mellösa Parish, Nerike. It is almost identical with the one before us, but is smaller and runeless. The author describes it as an Amulet.

## SNOLDELEV, SEALAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 800—900.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 345, 857.*

With regard to the Cup-markings on this and other stones, see the remarks at the beginning of this volume, p. 7, 8.

## BÅRSE, SEALAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1000—1100.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 862.*

## MAGLEKILDE, SEALAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1000—1100.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 864.*SÆDING. *Old-N. R. Mon. p. 351.*

I now think the runes must be taken as one word, the mansname

SKÆR.

This stone, most likely from the 12th century, in that case bears *no* O. N. rune, and *goes out*.

## THISTED, NORTH JUTLAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1100—1200.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 355.*

The arm of the *L* is a *little* lower down than I had given. This is here corrected, and I therefore repeat the plate. But these variations in the *L*, &c. are multitudinous, and there can be little doubt that the word is the common epithet *SOL* = *SUN*, *beauty*, *darling*, as I have said. *DORÆ* is a woman's-name, and one of the commonest, in which case to read *SON* would be meaningless. Some propose to take it as a side-form of, and equal to, the mansname *DORER*, when *SON* would of course be admissible. But this would not get rid of the plain  $\Psi = \Lambda$  in *TADIS*. Consequently I hold fast to

*DORÆ, TADIS SOL, HULER HERÆ.*

*THORÆ, TAD'S SUN, WHILES (rests) HERÆ.*

Prof. C. Sæve thinks that *TADIS SOL* is *the sun of TADIR (m.) or TADI (neut.) a place-name*, as *the beauty of* was and is said of *places* not *persons*. — He adds, compare *TADI*, neut. (fat, fruitful region) from Icel. *TADA*, f. dunged ground, hay from fat soil (= Dal. *TADA*, f.), Icel. *TAD*, n., Gotl. *TAD*, n., manure.

## TØMMERUP, SEALAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1227.

*From the original in the Danish Old-Northern Museum. Drawn and Chemityped, full size, by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN.<sup>1</sup>*



An unnamed private gentleman sent this piece as a gift to the Danish Museum in Jan. 1876. It was found in digging a grave in the Church-yard at Tømmerup near Kallundborg in Arts Herred (Hundred), Holbæk Amt (County), Sealand, 6 feet from the nave of the church and in a depth of 5 feet. It lay in the loose earth, doubtless once in a coffin now quite rotted away.

The little *SILVER CUP* here before us is of simple coarse make, and is so bare of any particular characteristic that it is not easy to fix its age. It has been attributed by well-informed persons to the 11th or 12th century and later, down to the 14th and 15th. All that we have to guide us is, that it was found in a Christian grave or grave-yard, which would seem to point rather to *early* than to *late* Christian times, and that it bears *runes*. Should these last be properly identified, they will more or less decide the question of greater or less antiquity.

There is every reason to think that it is of *home* manufacture, fashioned by some Danish Silversmith. It has evidently been long and much used. The wear and tear is so great that it is not a little damaged.<sup>2</sup> Some of the holes have been mended by pouring in fresh metal. But a later break

<sup>1</sup> The substance of this article appeared in Danish in "Kirkehistoriske Samlinger", Kjøbenhavn 1876, 8vo, pp. 524-535.

<sup>2</sup> We must remember that the Chalice would often be exposed to extreme friction, from being hastily placed by the priest in his wallet or saddlebags: And it often accompanied his portative altar. Add to this, that in certain cases, on administering the sacrament to one on his deathbed, who was so sick that he could not swallow the wafer, the priest was allowed to administer the *vaticum in extremis* dipt in wine, for which the chalice would be required.



remains wide open. No other such *Rune-inscribed* Cup, as far as I know, has as yet been heard of in any Northern land.

Coming now to the Runes — whatever they may mean. They are as coarse and rough as all the rest of the work. As might be expected, being cut along the actual rim, they are greatly worn, besides the direct damages. We cannot therefore be sure how the simple workman proceeded. But the whole somewhat reminds us of the Forsa Ring, and several other runic ringings on metalwork, especially the iron-work of Church-doors. If engraved, the letters have been as it were *dug in* with a sharp heavy tool; or maybe they were *punct in* with small punches. In either case lighter lines have been added with a graver, but they have all nearly perisht. Several of the staves seem to have been shortened or symbolized in the olden way, calling to mind some features in the Helsing runes, the Forsa Ring, the Rök stone, &c.

At p. 535—5 and elsewhere I have spoken of the variety of objects on which the *Alphabet* was formerly used, in order to familiarize all classes with their letters. Among the rest I pointed out various things used by the Clergy and the Church, such as Fonts, Bells, Church-tiles, Church-pillars, Church-tympana of granite. Here we find the Runic Staverow on a Silver Cup, which I look upon as the *Chalice or Communion-Cup of a Priest*.<sup>1</sup>

Of a Priest, for his own private use, not of an Altar for distribution to all the faithful. For it is so exceptionally small<sup>2</sup> that it never could have been intended for the latter purpose. By the time the Roman-Christian faith was fully established in Denmark, the distribution of the elements in both kinds had been abolished. The Bread alone was given to the Laity. Only the Priest continued to partake of the Wine as well as the Bread.

But in this case the Chalice before us cannot be older than the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century, for it was at this time that the innovation of confining the Wine to the Clergy<sup>3</sup> came in, and was finally sanctioned by the Pope (Innocent III, about 1215).

In this way the Communion-Cup came to be a special mark and privilege of an Ecclesiastic. And this again led to the custom so common in the West of burying a Priest with his Chalice lying on his breast. Examples of this are common enough in England and other countries. At present I only know of 2 other such in Denmark. Both of them are spoken of in "Nye Danske Magazin" (4to, Vol. 6, Kjøbenhavn 1836, p. 89 and Plate 1, fig. D). The one was the plain Sacramental Cup, over 4 inches high, found in the tomb of Archbishop Absalon in Sorø, when it was opened in 1827. Its edges were so sharp that it would seem never to have been used, and to have been bought for the purpose. The Archbishop died in 1201. It is thus described: "Of silver, in the usual elder form, beaten out very thin, without either ornament or inscription. . . . As far as could be seen and from the position of the arms when the coffin was opened, its foot was held by the folded hands, as we so often find it figured on olden grave-stones." — The second is thus spoken of: "The Chalice found some years ago in the grave opened in Roskilde has about the same shape, but is only of tin. It was lying at the side of the corpse, which was in a monk's dress."<sup>4</sup> At this time Communion Cups of Wood or Copper were forbidden. Most were of some precious metal, sometimes, in case of poverty,

<sup>1</sup> It is a mistake to suppose that the Chalice was only given, in his grave, to the Archbishop, Bishop or Abbot. We have abundant proofs that it was deposited in the grave of the Priest in general, whatever his rank.

<sup>2</sup> Chalice so small as this one are rare. Comparatively small ones are not uncommon.

<sup>3</sup> Even before this, early in the 12th century, as extravagant and carnal views, greater and greater materialism, as to the Holy Sacrament, rapidly gained ground in the West — culminating at last in Transubstantiation — there was in large sections of the higher clergy an increasing jealousy of the laity, who were now accused of "profaning" the cup. As superstition increased, both ecclesiastics and laity abundantly "profaned" the wafer also, and, to carry out this reasoning, the Roman Church should have abolished the Sacrament of the Altar altogether, instead of merely forbidding the half of it to the great body of the faithful. In any case the withdrawal of the Cup had practically become the rule in the West by the end of the 12th century.

<sup>4</sup> Feb. 1876. Archivist Herbst has just kindly drawn my attention to a 4th such Sacramental Cup — if such it be — which has lately been re-examined in the Old-Northern Museum. It is almost identical in size and shape with the one from Tommerup, only it is of brass. It is excessively worn. Apparently it must have been a Chalice, for its smallness and its peculiar type recall nothing secular in the middle age, but exactly coincide with the usual Communion Cup. As it has no mark or ornament or inscription, it is impossible to fix its age. Probably it belonged to a very poor Priest, its material being so cheap. Such things of copper and brass &c. must have been often used by the lower clergy else they would not so frequently have been forbidden. According to the Museum Protocol (under C. 273) it was given to the National Collection in 1867 by the land-owner Christen Hedegaard of Sevel near Holstebro in North Jutland, and was said to have been found in "Galgehoi" in Fly Parish. — In older days finds were very carelessly registered. I am not aware of any such cup being distinctly noticed as found in a grave in Sweden or Norway.

of Tin. Glass was now almost disused; one such, however, large and thick in make, from a Church in Småland, Sweden, is in the Husaby Museum.

The Chalice being the mark of the Priest also led to its being carved in the middle age *on the funeral stone*, with or without the Cross or an Inscription. All would know at once, on seeing such a Chalice-sculptured Slab, that a Clergyman of higher or lower grade slept beneath. Such Cup-carved Slabs are not uncommon in Scandinavia. Where any figure is sculptured, the Cup is held on the breast. This is also the case with the finest example known to me, the Funeral Brass of Bishop Nicholas of Roskilde, who died in 1395. But this whole class can best be studied in Upsala, in whose noble Cathedral nearly half a hundred such Chalice-bearing grave-slabs were or still are, some of them of interesting types. They go down to the first half of the 16th century, and may be seen engraved in Joh. Peringskiöld's valuable "*Monumenta Ullerakerensia cum Upsalia Nova Illustrata*" (fol. Stockholm 1719).

Now the Alphabet on this Sacramental Cup may have been inscribed not only to refresh the good Priest's own memory, but also that he might teach therefrom the young men committed to his charge, especially those reading for the Priesthood. For the Runes were still used by the Church for both Missionary and Literary purposes.

The number of such Runish Stave-rows on Stone, Metal, Wood, Parchment, Paper &c. is very large. I have myself given crowds of them. Many are not complete. Letters are sometimes omitted from carelessness or accident or as being supposed to be understood, just as when we say or write ABC we mean the whole Latin Alphabet. Often the list stops of itself, there being no room on the piece to put more characters, so it ends with a kind of understood *et cetera*. Then there are endless variations in the shapes; not only has a letter two or more types, from time to time or place to place, but these types themselves are continually modified, for elegance or to suit the spot on which they stand, or altered by some flaw or hard surface, or at the mere play and caprice of the writer. And in the middle age these Futhorks are often transitional or mixt, some of the signs belonging to the older and longer alphabet, others to the younger and shorter. Thus we have every possible difference, and they run from near 30—40 staves down to the usual later 16, or even fewer still.

Now taking the letters on the Chalice as they stand, and viewing them in this practical light, it will be clear that the rough writer has copied on the rim A RUNIC FUTHORK OF 21 STAVES, followed by THE DATE.

As we know, the Runic Alphabet is called FUTHORK because it begins with an F and goes on in this order. Now let us take each character separately:

1. F. Of this there is no doubt.
2. U. Nor of this.
3. V. Quite plain.
4. O. Another of the many variants of o. It may be a modification of the Old-English *ƿ*-type, or also of the Scandinavian *þ*-type. If the former, it is *shortened*, the space being small and unsuitable for this kind of letter; if the latter, the two side-strokes are placed so as not to come too near together, for the same *practical* reason. Such variations in the Scandinavian o-type are endless, the side-strokes being placed in all possible directions, to the right, to the left, slanting up, slanting down, on one side only, running thro on both sides, with other differences.
5. [R]. There is a hole here, and the place is much worn. We expect the usual R, and there is room enough for the letter. But the traces are so faint we can say nothing. Either it has been omitted as understood, or it has practically perished by scathe and friction.
6. K (or c). One of the many variants of the Old-Northern type for this letter.
7. H. Also an Old-Northern type. The Scandinavian is usually *✱*. The side-stroke on the right is apparently worn away, and the character was originally the common *✱*. If not, then this mark is abridged, as so often with such staves.
8. N. The usual character.
9. I. The same. As some of the runes are wide apart, so these two last are near together. But they are both quite distinct.
10. A. Plain enough. Is the well-known Old-Northern A-vowel, here in its exact place in the Futhork, as in so many other of the ancient Alphabets both Metallic and Manuscript, instead of the later Scandinavian 4-type, which supersedes it in the later or Scandinavian Futhork. I have more

than once drawn attention to such a decisive proof that this Old-Northern  $\Psi$  is the vowel  $\Lambda$ , and not  $-R$ ,  $end-R$ , or any other consonant whatsoever. Here we have a 4th Metallic evidence of this fact.

11.  $s$ . As far as we can see from the much-worn figure, the original carving here was  $\Psi$ , one of the endless  $s$ -shapes in the Old-Northern and Scandinavian Stave-rows.

12.  $T$ . Here with a straight top-mark, of which we have many other examples.

13.  $B$ . At present looks like  $k$ , a shape in which this letter is often found on the monuments. Should the finer lines be rubbed away by friction, as is likely, the rune was at first the usual  $k$ .

14.  $M$ . The Old-Northern  $\mathfrak{M}$  ( $m$ ) and  $\mathfrak{M}$  ( $n$ ) are often simplified to one common  $\mathfrak{M}$ , which may stand for either  $M$  or  $N$ , — just as we, in writing quick, confound  $u$  and  $n$ ,  $iu$ ,  $ui$ ,  $m$ , &c. As we also know,  $M$  is sometimes still further shortened. Thus we have 2 antique instances of  $\mathfrak{M}$  for  $M$ . Here the  $M$  is hinted or symbolized in a still more abridged form ( $\mathfrak{M}$ ), there being so little room on the narrow rim. — Nearly four years after this was written, was found the remarkable O. N. rune-stone at Brough, Westmoreland, England, date about the 6th century. It has  $M$  6 times, always carved  $\mathfrak{M}$ , exactly as here.

15.  $L$ . We must remember that, tho the vulgar Futhork-order is  $LM$ , yet many of the Alphabets, including several of great value and age, give the succession as  $ML$ , just as here. The  $\uparrow$  ( $L$ ) is not quite distinct on the Cup. But it can be made out with the naked eye in its proper place, and with a lens it is still more undeniable.

16.  $E$ . For several of the staves in the Old-Northern Futhork there is no absolutely fixt order. In proof of this I will only mention — confining ourselves to the 3 oldest, those on metal — that the Vadstena-Bracteate ends with

$M, L, NG, O$ .

the Norse Charnay-brooch with

$M$  (omitting all the rest),

and the Thames Sword with

$NG, D, L, M, \mathfrak{E}, \mathfrak{A}, \bar{U}, ea$ .

Still more is this the case with the *overgang* or *mixt* Alphabets, of which this is one. In these we are never sure where we may find one or other of the characters still kept from the older Futhork. So on this Cup. As it is so largely Old-Northern, we should have expected the usual Old-Northern  $B, E, M, L$ -order. But we must bow to facts. We actually find  $B, M, L, E$ , just as the Thames Sword has  $B, E, NG, D, L, M, \mathfrak{E}$ , instead of the  $B, E, M, L, NG, O$  of the equally old Charnay Brooch. At last, as we know, these lingering Old-Northern characters were *cast out altogether*. That the letter is  $E$  is certain. This letter is sometimes simplified. But here the full  $M$  is very nearly preserved.

17.  $D$ . The next mark has been a  $D$ , of Scandinavian not Old-Northern type. But the finer lines are worn off. Apparently it was at first the usual  $\mathfrak{d}$ .

18.  $yo$ . This Old-Northern character is plain enough. Whether carved  $\mathfrak{y}$  as here, or  $\mathfrak{j}$  as more commonly, its value is the same.

19.  $NG$ . Also clear. This characteristic stave has many forms (see my p. 149 for more than a dozen variants, to which others have been added by later finds).

20.  $\mathfrak{E}$ . What we see, is almost only a bent stave. But there are traces of a cross-line, and I have no doubt that the letter originally stood as  $\mathfrak{t}$ , the well-known  $\mathfrak{E}$  [when  $\Psi$  (older) or  $\mathfrak{t}$  (later) was  $\Lambda$ , and  $\mathfrak{x}$  (older) or  $\mathfrak{y}$  (Anglian) or  $\mathfrak{s}$  (Scandian) — all with their variants — was  $O$ ].

21.  $\gamma$  (or  $\mathfrak{e}$  or  $-R$ ). Not distinct, and the rim broken here. This letter completes *and ends* the usual short Scandinavian Alphabet. It has endless shapes. One of these is  $\mathfrak{H}$ , apparently the character here.

Thus Cup-Fupork:  $F, U, D, O, (r), K$ ; —  $H, N, I, A, S$ ; —  $T, B, M, L, E, D, yo, NG, \mathfrak{E}, \mathfrak{E}$ .

Scandinavian „ :  $F, U, D, O, R, K$ ; —  $H, N, I, A, S$ ; —  $T, B, M, L, \mathfrak{E}$ .

Now it is *absolutely impossible* that this succession of runes on the Chalice, most of them *undoubted and undeniable*, and the others *not more "barbarized"* than we find on scores of other "orthodox" monuments, can be *accidental*! We have evidently before us a regular transitional Runic Alphabet, chiefly Old-Northern, in the common way. It has still held fast, in the locality where and the time when it was copied, 21 letters, of which as many as 19 are Old-Northern or in common to both alphabets, while 2 of the number (the  $D$  and the  $\mathfrak{E}$ ) are later or "Scandinavian". The Vadstena-



Bracteate has 23 staves, the Charnay Brooch 20, and the Thames Sword 27. Most of the mixt and later staverows run to from 20 to 30 or more.

So far, in my opinion, all is clear. But what are the signs which follow the Alphabet? They must be either *Meaningless*, or *Runes* or *Roman* or *Numerals*. If the latter, they will give us THE DATE.

There is no reason why they should be *Meaningless*. They have a regular look, and there is surely no talk here of "magic" and "amulets". — *Runes* they are not, taking that word in its natural sense. This all can see at a glance. — *Roman* as little, also taking that word in its proper signification. — There remains only the last supposition. They may be a kind of CIPHER or DATE.

Now we know that the old rune-carvers had no characters (whether letters or otherwise) to express *figures*. They neither could nor did reckon by *numerals*. All their words for number are *written out full*. Dating was altogether unknown in really runic times. (See my p. XVI). Dating, and especially with ciphers, is a loan from Latin, and is not found till Latin-Christian civilization is widely spread and firmly established. Word-dated runic Bells (no numerals) go back only to the 13th century; word-dated runic Grave-stones (no ciphers) to the 14th: the oldest example, in Gotland, is anno 1326.<sup>1</sup>

In attempting dates, the Rune-smiths (besides the scarce formula of Regnal years, all written in full), had recourse to various expedients. One was the technical ecclesiastical way of reckoning by the Church Calendar, the Golden Number and the Sunday letter, of which we have so many examples in the island of Gotland. Thus the close of the Hangvar stone (C. Sæve, No. 20):

DA UAR UR PRIMSTAFR OK DOS SUNUTAHN EN HAN DO. — THEN WAS N PRIMSTAVE (the Golden Number) EKE (and) þ SUNDAY (the Sunday-letter) EN (when) HE DIED. — Reckoned out by the help of the Rune-clog (Rune-staff, Runic Calendar) this comes to be = A. D. 1350.

Another way was, by mechanically imitating or Runicising the Roman Numerals. Of this I have to thank the Norwegian Archæologist Ingvald Undset for a good example, the boundary-stone at Eggemo, Ringerike, Norway. This was examined and copied by him in May 1875. Carved on the back is a date, cut-in far later than the inscription itself:

ψ | ϑ | ϕ | ϕ | ϕ | ϕ : ϑ | ϑ | ϑ : ϕ | ϕ | ϕ | ϕ : ψ | ϑ | ϑ | ϑ :

These rune-ciphers are merely old friends in a new dress. ψ, the rune for M, is here taken as the first letter of MILLE, in the usual Latin way. So ϑ, answering in shape to the Roman D, stands for 500. The runic L, as in Latin, is used for 50. The runestave ϕ was commonly used for X in those late rune-alphabets which were completed and arranged so as to answer to the Latin ABC. But X in Latin numerals is 10. The l is of course 1, as in Latin. We therefore get:

MDLXXXIX : PAN : XXIII : MARTI.

1589, THE 24th of-MARCH.

Here and there, however, local attempts were made to use *conventional artificial half-runic* characters as numeral signs, and their shapes of course depended on the fancy and ingenuity of the rune-cutter. I only know of 2 such monuments. The one is the Kirgiktórsoak stone, Greenland, which ends with the date:

Y Y Y X X X X Y Y

which has been variously interpreted. But *all* have taken it to give the date. In my opinion it is explained by the common custom in the middle age to omit the mark for 1000, just as we ourselves often do now. In this way we have 2 signs for c (100), 3 for x (10), and 1 for v (5), thus 235.

<sup>1</sup> The earliest instance I know of the use of *Runes* as *numbers* in the way shown on Rune-clogs and in many alphabets, the first letter (in Runes ϑ) standing for 1, the second (in Runes N) for 2, and so on, is on a Swedish memorial copper-plate executed in 1729. For an impression from this rarity I have to thank Hr. Bukowski of Stockholm. It was engraved by J. G. Hallman in memory of his friend Petrus Geringius of Upsala, a student full of learning and promise, who died only 23 years old. The principal figure leans on a rune-stone, engraved by Ericus Geringius, and these runes give all the details. In the passus DOG D. SISTA MARS (died the last of March) 1729, the date is expressed by the staves ϑ X N, ϑ being the first letter in the Runic Futhork, N the 7th, v the 2nd and l the 9th, thus 1729.



that is 1235, which exactly suits the age of the stone as far as we can judge from all the circumstances. — The other is the Norum Font, Bohuslän, Sweden, which ends with the date:



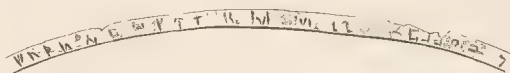
Here again I take the mark for M (1000) to be omitted, while we have 3 conventional half-runish signs for C (100) and 2 for X (10, thus 320, that is 1320, which also suits well, tho the stone-carver in his decorations on the sides of the font has followed older traditions.

Coming now to the Cup, I believe it shows a 4th way of quasi-runic dating, very much akin to the last. The conventional fanciful type for M (1000) seems to have been a kind of Old-Northern M, squared into □. The left half is kept as M (1000). The right half is kept as C (100). For the first character is C, the 2nd and 3rd (injured at the top) probably JJ, followed by a small O. This gives us MCCO, or *Millessimo Ducentesimo*, 1200. But then the rune-cutter was stopt. There was no room left on the rim for 2-tens a 5- and 2-ones, whether Runic or Roman. So he wisely and practically added — in *Arabic* ciphers — a 2 and a 7. Thus

1227.

We have seen that the Cup is, almost *certainly*, a Priest's Chalice, and that if such it cannot be older than about the year 1200. This is the limit one way. On the other hand it *certainly* bears a Runic Futhork of 21 staves, of which no fewer than 19 belong to the Old-Northern or common stave-row. It is *altogether incredible* that this should have been carved later than the year 1300. This is the limit another way. The above date will therefore harmonize with what we know of the object and of the runes.

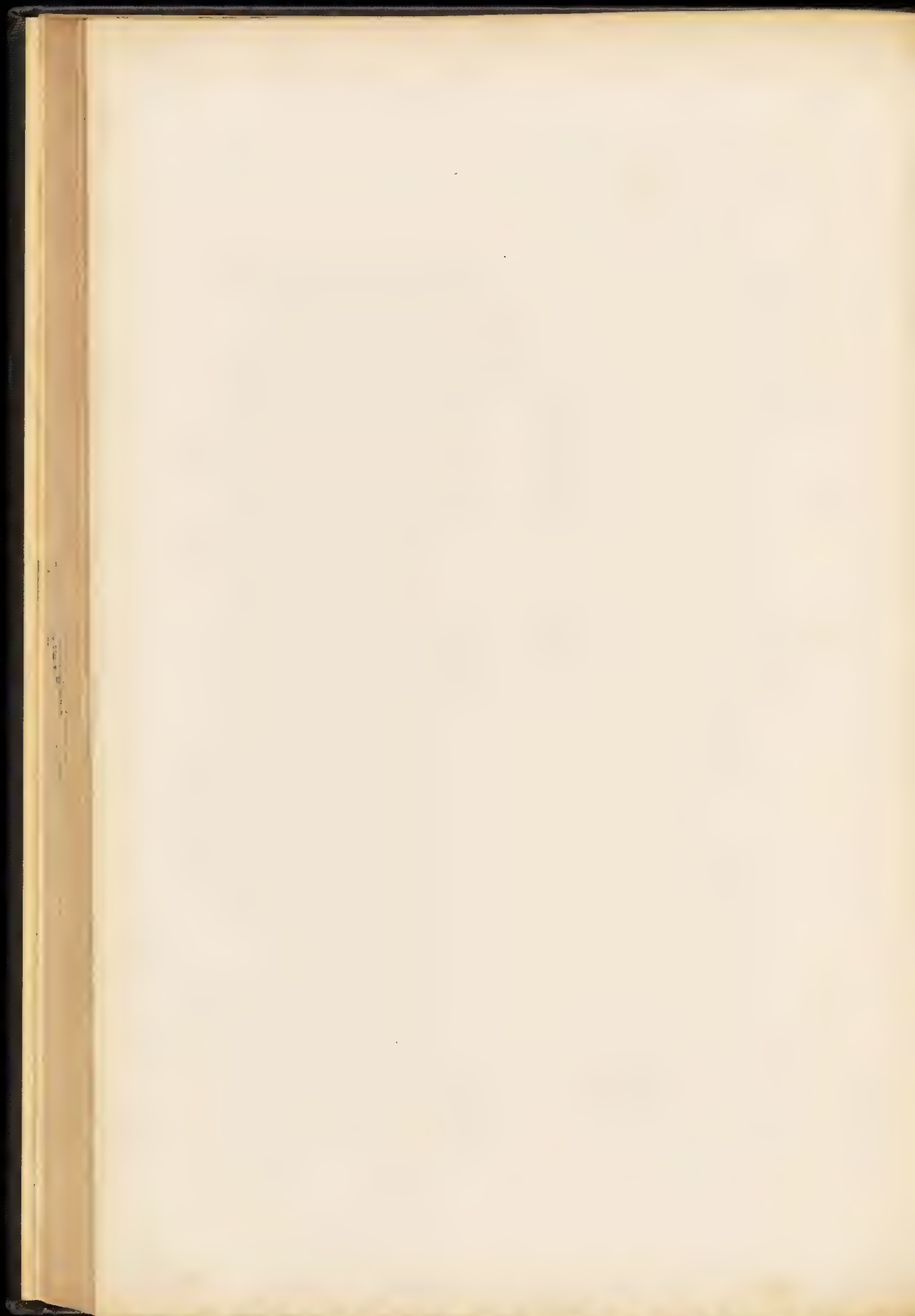
However, should this interpretation of the date be disallowed, and whether we make the Cup Sacred or Secular, older or younger, and whether we give the last conventional characters any or no meaning — it is *CERTAIN* that this old Silver Chalice bears a Runic Alphabet of 21 staves, of which only 2 distinctively belong to the later Futhork. I here give the whole line of runes and characters on the rim *in full*, in facsimile by Prof. M. Petersen, with an under-line by myself of the normal shapes more or less on the Cup before it was worn and damaged. In the 3rd line I add the usual letter-values.



Y N P R (R) H H H Y V T B M I M J J L Y

F, U, D, O, R, K, H, N, I, A, S, T, B, M, L, E, D, Y O, N G, E, G

In my opinion the last marks signify, as I have said, the date (MCCO27), or 1227.



ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

JOHN MITCHELL KEMBLE.

1807—1857.

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IN MEMORIAM.



## ENGLAND; BUT FOUND AT NORDENDORE, AUGSBURG, BAVARIA.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400—500.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 574—84.*

I now read, first the mansname:

ÆLEUBWINI.

= *Æleubwini owns this Brooch.*

Then a second scribble, the mansname:

LONÆWORE.

Last resting, in two lines:

WODÆN WINIWONÆWYO.

*WODÆN gives-this to-the-lady-WINIWONÆW.*

The dialect I look upon as Old North-English, especially betrayed by the characteristic slurring of the -N in the last word. As to the *three* name-scribbles, I can now point out a remarkable parallel. In 1806 was found at Bally-spellan in Galmoy, Ireland, a large Silver Ring-brooch, now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. It is thought by Mr. G. M. Atkinson to date from the 12th century. See it engraved and described by R. R. Brash, in his "Ogam Inscribed Monuments of the Gaedhil", p. 289, Pl. 41. Now on the back of this fibula are *four* scorings in Gaelic Ogam marks, taken by Mr. Brash to be the names of its 4 successive owners. This is the only Brooch ever found bearing Ogham characters.

P. 577. Line 14 of Note 2. — *For* to be read to be.

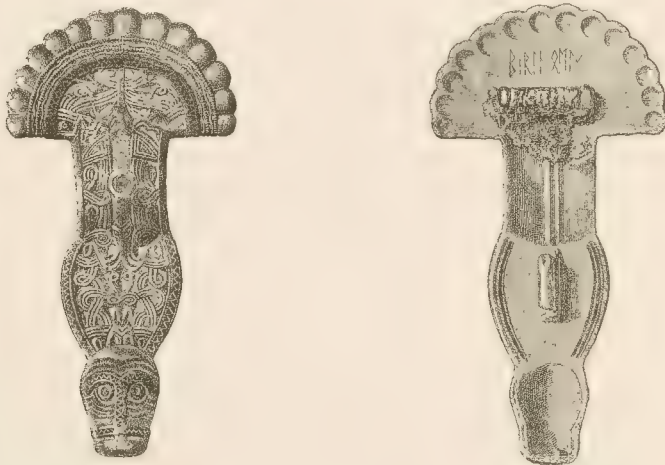
P. 583. — On this interchange in some dialects of *i* for *w* as tip- and out-sound, &c. see Rydqvist's Svenska Språkets Lagar, Vol. 4, p. 51.

P. 584. — As a striking corroboration of what is here said about *the various types* of Brooch in the same grave, I would point out the valuable account of the grave of a lady at Chessell Down in the Ile of Wight, with the accompanying large engraving showing the skeleton exactly as it lay and each ornament or utensil in its own place on or beside the body. (See Mr. Hillier's "History and Antiquities of the Isle of Wight", pp. 29, 30; and C. R. Smith's "Collectanea Antiqua", Vol. 6. 8vo. London 1868, p. 145, foll. and plate 28). We here see the Brooches which have held the now perisht clothing on the lady's breast. They are 5 in number but of 3 sorts; 1 is round, 3 are long of one make and 1 is long of another. The 3 long beighs, of the type given by me at pp. 182, 561, 574, 587, are here all worn horizontally, but two of them with the thin end to the left while the other has it to the right. The differently made long prene is also worn flat, not upright or slanting.

## ENGLAND; BUT FOUND AT NORDENDORF, AUGSBURG, BAVARIA.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400—500.

*Full size. In facsimile from the engravings given by Dr. L. LINDENSCHMIT, Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit, 4to, Vol. 3, Part 7, 8, Plate 6 and text, Mainz 1877.*



For all that I know of this piece, I have to thank the pages of the learned German oldlorist Dr. Lindenschmit. He tells us that this Silver Brooch was found some time back in one of the graves at Nordendorf, but that the runes had only lately been observed. The inner decorations are gilt, the zigzag bands filled with niello, while garnets once stood in the center and in the eyes. He submitted it to Prof. M. Rieger, who redd the staves as BIRL NIO ELK, but that gentleman admitted that this scoring gave no meaning.<sup>1</sup> I have seen no other attempt to decipher the inscription. The Brooch itself is now in the Maximilian Museum, Augsburg.

The runes are cut with remarkable clearness and regularity. What has misled Prof. Rieger is his error as to the last stave. It is not the *x* of the later alphabet, but the olden *s* of the Old-Northern staverow. It occurs several times, and is also found in parchment alphabets. We must therefore read: BIRL NIO EL S. We see here at once a common formula — that of gift. We have 2 names, one in the nom. and one in the dative:

BIRL NIO EL S

*To-the-lady-BIRL NIA EL S-gave-this.*

<sup>1</sup> "Gewandnadel. Silber. Die inneren reichverzierten Felder sind vergoldet. Die Bänder am Rande und in der Mitte des Bügels sowie an dem Thierkopfe sind Silber mit niellirter Zickzackverzierung. Die Mitte des Bügels und die Augen des Thierkopfes waren früher mit Granaten besetzt. — Rückseite der Spange. Oberhalb der Federrolle der Nadel eine Runeninschrift, welche erst bei sorgfältiger Reinigung in der Werkstätte des Römisch-germanischen Museums entdeckt wurde. Sie ist leider nicht zu entziffern nach dem Urtheile eines der bewährtesten Fachgelehrten des Herrn M. Rieger in Darmstadt, welches wir dem Wortlaute nach aus dem Correspondenzblatte des Gesamtvereins der deutschen-historischen Vereine No. 5 vom Mai dieses Jahrgangs hier anführen: "Die vollkommen sichere Legende BIRL NIO ELK gibt in deutscher Sprache keinen Sinn." . . . . . "Gefunden ist die abgebildete Spange in den Gräbern von Nordendorf und aufbewahrt in dem Maximiliansmuseum zu Augsburg."

Of course it *may* be that we must understand MADE instead of GAVE, but the general formula remains the same. The old Scando-Gothic *masc.* LIN, LINO, *fem.* LINA, here LINIA, with its patronymic LINING, is well known. In compounds it is common (*masc.* -LIN, *fem.* -LINA). BIR (in various spellings, BIR, BER, BAR, &c.), with its patronymic BIRING, is also a familiar ancient name, and BIRLIN, BERLYN is still an English family name. But I have not before seen this *fem.* BIRLINIA. The slurring of the I (BIRLNIO for BIRLINIO) both in speaking and writing is common. We have seen it before in Norway (Væblungsnaes), WIWILN for WIWILIN. BIRLINIO I look upon as quite simply a North-English form in the usual way, the end-N having fallen away, as is common in that old dialect. — ELISO, ELESIA, ELIS, ILIES, ILSO is also a familiar Scando-Gothic name; as ELSE it is still in use in England. And in all these olden names the final vowel often disappears in common talk, even on the oldest monuments.

This fibula, therefore, either followed its owner from North-England to Bavaria, as the Fonnås Brooch followed its owner from North-England to Norway, — or it was made for or given to an Englishwoman married into a Bavarian family.

## ENGLAND, BUT FOUND AT OSTHOFEN, RHEINHESSEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400—500.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 585.*

D and M being differenced, I now read:

GONRAT FUDE MIC. DAH OH MIC.

GONRAT (= GUNDRAD, CONRAD) FAYED (*made*) ME. DAH (— DAY) OWES (*owns*) ME.

If we take the o in OH twice, in the runish fashion, the name will be DAHO. — Doubtless English. If not, Scandinavian. It is therefore I have moved this piece from the Wanderers. We know of no German or Saxon talk that said FUDE for *made* and OH for *has*.

The Norwegian archæologist B. E. Bendixen, of Bergen, confirms my note p. 585. He says, in a letter dated April 5, 1876: "The Osthofen Brooch has suffered from the acids with which it has been cleaned. On this second visit I could not even see so much of its runes as when I first examined it."

## THAMES, LONDON, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400—500.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 361.*

At p. 267 of his "Runeskriftens Oprindelse", Dr. Wimmer says that, suspecting the correctness of the s-rune in my facsimile, he had procured the assistance of Mr. Gosch, the Attaché to the Danish Embassy in London. That gentleman had kindly examined the original, and had pronounced that the rune was I, not Y.

On his return from the Archæological Congress in Stockholm, I asked my learned friend Mr. Franks, the Keeper of these antiquities in the British Museum, whether this was really so. He only laughed. He said that the facsimile which I had received from Mr. Panizzi and so carefully engraved

was *not*, made by that gentleman, but *by himself*, for Mr. Panizzi to send to me. That *he* (Mr. Franks) had bought, cleaned, varnished, copied, all *himself*. That he had found the runes while cleaning the Sword. That he was pretty sure his copy was quite exact. But that we would examine the matter *together*, when I next visited London.

Accordingly in the summer of 1875 I and Mr. Franks very carefully, time after time, scrutinized the Sword in the Museum. But the *Y* was quite plain, tho the arm was a little damaged. So plain was it, that we both agreed it was quite needless to remove the varnish. This question is therefore set at rest. And indeed it would have been singular had it been otherwise. For such a sign for *s* as that supposed by Dr. Wimmer has never been heard of, as far as I know, in any Runish alphabet old or new. The *s* of this Futhorc, *Y*, I have spoken of at p. 153, referring to "the somewhat similar Roman *s* on the Franks Casket." In fact the Runish and Roman alphabets, starting from a common center, both develop the *s*-variation now before us. This Roman *s* is found on a Christian grave-stone at Amiens<sup>1</sup>, of the 6th century; and another, equally old, has the same stave<sup>2</sup>. See it also in the Ms. Futhorc of the 11th century given by me (62 bis) p. 330 of Vol. 2.

Our great English old-loreist Mr. John Evans has just (Dec. 1871) communicated to me the happy find, in Kent, of a striking counterpart to this piece — a very large inscribed Old-English knife of about the 8th or 9th century. He adds: "The owner's name is engraved on a plate inlaid with other ornamented plates of silver and brass on one side of the knife; and the maker's name is inlaid in separate letters of silver on the other side. The inscriptions are:

† S GEBEREHT M EAH.

† BIORHTELM ME WORTE "

That is:

S(i)GEBEREHT ME OWETH (*owns*).

BIORHTELM ME WORHT (*made*).<sup>3</sup>

## SANDWICH, KENT, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 428—597.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 365—369.*

## CLEOBURY MORTIMER, SHROPSHIRE, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500—600.

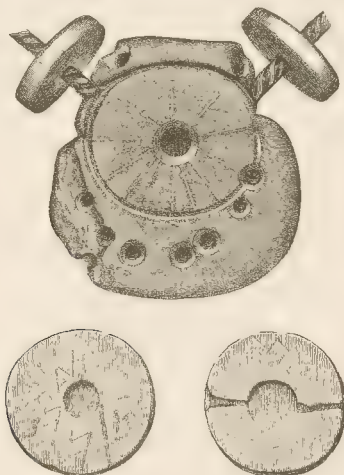
*Heliotyped, 2-thirds of the size, from Mr. HAIGH'S woodcuts.*

In "The Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Journal", Parts 17, 18, London 1877. 8vo. at pp. 134—222, is a curious and valuable paper by the late Rev. D. H. Haigh on "Yorkshire Dials". In these pages my lamented friend has collected a great deal of information on the several systems of

<sup>1</sup> Le Blant, Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule, 1, p. 428. — <sup>2</sup> Id. 2, p. 546. — <sup>3</sup> This costly piece has since been engraved and published in the Archæologia, 4to, London 1876, Vol. 44, pp. 331—4: "Note on an Anglo-Saxon Knife, found in Kent, bearing an Inscription. By John Evans, Esq., F. R. S., F. S. A."



Time-showing, and on ancient English Sun-dials in particular, with many careful and excellent drawings, mostly from casts. He proves that the "Horologium", "Dæg-mæl" or Day-mark is much older in England than has been supposed, and that the "Gnomon", "Dæg-mæls pilu", Day-mark's pile or Pointer played the same part as in later times. Connecting the various systems with those used in the Scandinavian homeland and with the knowledge of the Compass possessed by the Northmen, he throws fresh light on several difficult questions. Several of the English Tide-moles treated by Mr. Haigh are inscribed, either in English or Latin or both, and their date can be fixed to the 9th, 10th and 11th

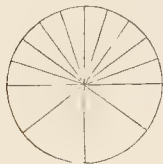


centuries. The oldest is that at Old Byland, the finest that at Kirkdale with its long and remarkable O. E. risting, in a local dialect. Of course the great mass, those unwritten, can only now and then be reasonably year-set. The date of the Dial so ingeniously introduced on the right half of the principal side of the Bewcastle Cross, Cumberland, (Vol. 2, p. 398), is about 670.

As to the one here before us, Mr. Haigh says, p. 201: "A portable dial of this class was turned up by the plough, in 1816, within an ancient fortress at Cleobury Mortimer, in Shropshire. A figure of it, published in the "Archæologia Cambrensis", (3rd series, XIV., 446), was employed in the illustration of Mr. Du Noyer's memoir, and to him is due the credit of having first recognized its true character as a dial. Yet the illustration is unfortunately chosen; for it has two sides, one flat, the other convex; and certainly it would lie on the former, when in use. Both sides have dial lines, but the convex side is more regular than the flat one, which is the one chosen for the illustration. The kindness of its present owner, Dr. Whitcombe, of Birmingham, has afforded me opportunities of studying it carefully, and of presenting to my readers the accompanying illustrations. It is made of shell limestone, and is pierced through from edge to edge. With it were found two disks, one of limestone, the other of sandstone, similarly pierced; so that I believe it was intended to be worn with them, suspended by a cord, as I have shown. On one of the beads is this inscription in runes. — — — — The lower part of the first rune is a little disfigured by the chipping away of the stone; the lower part of the fifth is defaced, but I restore it by the aid of the other disk. — — — — The other bead being of softer stone, is more worn, and is broken; but I can faintly trace the fourth and fifth of the above runes upon it, probably the remains of the same inscription, but written in the opposite direction.

"The dial is somewhat irregular; in fact it looks like a rough imitation of one more accurately made. The circle is not truly drawn, but we cannot doubt what is intended; neither can we doubt but that the line, from the indentation on the left to the centre, is intended to be continued by that from the centre to the indentation on the right. As it would be placed when in use, (in a direction opposite

to that which is given by the illustration, intended to represent it as worn), the space above these lines is divided into ten, by lines more or less distinct; and in that below are two spaces, each equal to about two of the others, and a central line for adjustment to the meridian. The annexed diagram, I believe, correctly represents its intention. Thus we have, as at Swillington, seven out of ten divisions of day-night marked, and five of these halved as at Old Byland and Kirkburn.



"Very remarkable are the eight little holes, pierced through the stone, seven forming an arc, and one outside of it. At first these seemed to me to be connected with the dial lines, and in this light I think Mr. Du Noyer regarded them. Still it seemed strange, that but one of them should exactly correspond to one of these lines, and be placed on the circle; besides that this idea would leave the eighth hole, (outside of the arc), wholly unaccounted for. The six holes at the other end of the stone led me to the discovery of their real intention; and in order to make this clear to my readers, I present another illustration, displaying in one view these and the seven, (it being impossible to take in the eighth).



"The way in which the four holes are connected by lines suggested the thought of the constellation, known to our forefathers as Woden's, afterwards as Ceorl's Wain. Then I saw that the two intermediate holes must represent the pointers, as they are in a line with the meridian and the large central hole, and that the central hole itself must represent the polar star. Thus, then, I was led to identify the six holes at the end with  $\delta$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $d$ ,  $h$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ , of the Great Bear. — — Then the probability occurred that the eight holes must also represent a crescent of stars opposite to this constellation; and on the first clear night, I observed that  $\beta$  of Pegasus,  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ , and  $\gamma$ , of Andromeda,  $\alpha$  of Perseus,  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  of Auriga, and  $\beta$  of Taurus, (the sixth of these being of the first magnitude, and all the rest of the second), remarkably correspond to them, and may well be imagined to have been combined, by our seafaring forefathers, into a constellation, known by them as "the Ship". The correspondence is at least as close as any representations of constellations on ancient monuments are with what they are intended for; and, if the stars in the sky seem to verge more to the left than the holes in the stone, and the proportionate distances be not quite exact, the limited extent of the surface, and the rude execution of this little dial in other respects, must be taken into consideration."

All this is very ingenious. Whether admitted or not, it does not invalidate the fact of this piece being a very old movable Time-mark. Mr. Haigh fixes it at between the years 400—600. Anxious not to date it too early, I would propose the 6th century.

Certain it is that the beads bear an inscription in O. N. E. runes, in two groups, on the best-preserved disk in 2 little groups, the letters reverst as so often on the oldest things:

CLÆO IWL

CLÆO IWL

The staves may be meaningless, but why it is hard to say. There is no question of "magic". They do not look like names. Taken quite simply they may signify:

*Let-the-CLAW (pointer) EYE (show-you)!*

Such a risting, on a handy Sundial given to a friend, would be appropriate enough. The first widely spread Scando-Gothic word (O. E. CLAWU, CLA, CLEA, CLEO; N. I., Sw., Dansk, Norse, KLO; Ohg. CHALAWA, CHLAWA, CHLOA, CLOA; &c.) still living everywhere and in some dialects meaning also any jutting point, may well be an old local synonym for Ælfric's South-E. PILU, probably a Latinism. — IWL seems

to be the regular 3 s. pres. subj. of the well-known verb here IWA(N) *to EYE-bring, show to the eye, make to see, point out, reveal*, (but also used neutrally for to show oneself to, appear to the eye, become visible). In usual O. E. its form is EAWAN, EOWAN, IEWIAN, YWAN, &c., and very frequently *æt-*, ED-, OD-YWAN, &c., to AT-EYE. M. Goth. has both AUGYAN and ATAUGYAN for *to show*; Ohg. has only OUGJAN, AUGAN, OUGAN, AUCKAN, &c., O. S. only OGIAN. In Mid. E. *ÆTEOWEN* still lives on. In Mod. E. both forms are dead, our *to EYE* now meaning only *to see*, tho it is still found in Shakespear for *to appear*. In modern Scandinavian (Swed. öga, Icel. eygja, Dan. øine, &c.) the word only means *to see*.

Whatever the meaning, the piece is a very old Sundial, it bears the oldest English runes, and it is the first monument so inscribed yet found in Shropshire.

The only other known Time-mark with runes is comparatively modern, being dated 1754. It is of simple marble, nearly a foot square, and was found near Norrköping in Sweden about 1876. A line of modern runes runs round all the 4 edges, and gives a rule how to arrange the Gnomon in Leapyear. I described it (in Swedish, with chemitype illustration) in *Månadsblad*, Stockholm, 1877, 8vo, p. 492—5.

## GILTON, ASH, KENT, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500—600.

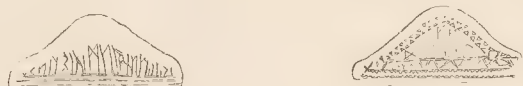
*Full size. From impressions and drawings by the Rev. DANIEL HENRY HAIGH, of Erdington. On wood by J. F. ROSENSTAND, Cheapinghaven.*

At pages 161, 370 and XXXIII (which see) of my former volumes, I spoke of and described the famous and precious Silver Pommel of the Gilton Iron Sword, and begged to decline trying to read the staves until I was in possession of trustworthy materials. These are now in my hands. Besides Rubbings from other quarters, my learned friend Mr. Haigh has again assisted me. In February 1868 he visited Mr. Mayer's (now the Town) Museum in Liverpool, examined the lave in question, took gutta-percha squeezes and made drawings, from which my blocks have been engraved. We can now therefore approach the task of decipherment with some comfort, if not with absolute certainty. For the letters have suffered by wear and otherwise on both the three-cornered spaces, especially on the name-side where they are partly obliterated.

At p. 47 of his "Remains of Pagan Saxondom" [what a barbarous and ridiculous title for England and the English!], 4to, London 1855, Mr. J. Y. Akerman has an interesting article on 3 Old-English Swords — or such parts of them as remain — found early in this century in graves in East Kent. On his plate 24 he gives colored drawings of these, showing that all are of the same general type and make. His figure 1 is best preserved. It was 3 feet and half an inch long, the blade 2 feet 6 $\frac{3}{8}$  inches long and at the top 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad, increasing to about  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch more in the middle. "The blade is still covered with portions of its wooden sheath, which appears to have been enclosed in an outer-casing of leather, of which also fragments adhere to the blade near the hilt." This piece was found at Coombe with burnt bones and objects from the Early Iron Age. — His No. 2 was found at Gilton; the iron handle is left, but the appended brand is gone. — His No. 3, also found at Gilton, in the parish of Ash, and then in the collection of Mr. Rolfe, has neither the blade nor the bottom of the hilt nor the haft left, only the top of the hilt and the pommel. What remains is thus given by Mr. Akerman, as copied on wood by Mr. Rosenstand:



And, as re-engraved by the same artist from the fresh materials supplied by Mr. Haigh:



If we now approach the reading of this piece, we shall see that there are great difficulties, partly from its extreme antiquity and partly from the effects of friction and dints, so that we are not *quite* sure what it is we have to translate. Under these circumstances all we can do is — our best. Here again future finds may help us.

I begin with Mr. Haigh's version, kindly communicated to me Feb. 24, 1868<sup>1</sup>. He takes the long line (side A) first. Rune No. 1 he reads as  $\swarrow$ , the top stroke now worn away. The  $\Pi$  he everywhere looks upon as =  $\Lambda$  =  $\Upsilon$ . Mark 12 he thinks was meant for  $\mathfrak{F}$ , mark 13 for  $\mathfrak{R}$ , mark 14 for  $\mathfrak{M}$ . The 19th stave he makes  $\mathfrak{P}$ , the top worn away. The last 2 runes he thinks were originally  $\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{F}$ . — Next he takes the other side (B). Reminding us that what is *dotted* is filled in by himself, as a guess, but that what is *not dotted* is sharp and sure, he thinks the word was undoubtedly  $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{D}$ . In this way we get as his text:

$\swarrow$   $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{M}$

which he divides and translates:

ICU IK SIGI MUARNUM IC WISA  $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{D}$ .

EKE I VICTORY *by-GREAT-DEEDS*, I CAPTAIN  $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{D}$ .

Mr. Haigh adds: "The great peculiarity of this inscription is the forms of  $\mathfrak{V}$  and  $\mathfrak{N}$ . The letters as I have given them are perfectly distinct, and the inscription is not very different in its spirit from that on old Talbot's sword

'Sum Talboti pro vincere inimico meo'

(perfectly grammatical, only dialectic), and that on William Weneman's

'Horrebant reprobi dudum me cernere nudum.'

With this, for various reasons, I was not satisfied, and sent a copy of the engravings to Prof. Sophus Bugge of Christiania, together with my own reading as I then understood the text. Under date April 6, 1868, he favored me with his own reading, but only as a guess till something better might be hit upon. He approves of Mr. Haigh's restorations of the letters, only the last stave he thinks was  $\mathfrak{I}$ , not  $\mathfrak{F}$ . But he believes the  $\mathfrak{M}$  was =  $\mathfrak{M}$ ,  $\mathfrak{E}$ , not  $\mathfrak{U}$ , and that the  $\mathfrak{U}$  on the short side must have been  $\mathfrak{N}$ . The  $\swarrow$  he takes as =  $\mathfrak{I}$ , but admits that it is of little importance whether we read this mark as  $\mathfrak{I}$  or  $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{O}$ ; "I suppose that this rune has stood for the various shades of vowel-sound which were heard in its name (eoH, eow, ih, iw); compare in your Runic Alphabets No. 4  $\mathfrak{J}$ , ih, hic; No. 8  $\mathfrak{J}$ , i et h, ih; No. 10  $\mathfrak{J}$ , k, ih." Assuming  $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{D}$  to stand by itself as the name of the owner, in which he agrees with me that *the sword is the speaker*, he reads and divides the long line:

$\swarrow$   $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{I}$

ICE IC SIGI. ME  $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{R}$  NEM. IC WISI.

This he thinks was in stave-rim:

Ice ic sigi;

me  $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{R}$  nem! ic wisi.

EKE I VICTORY. ME EARLY NIM (*seize*). I WISS (*show the way*).

<sup>1</sup> Since printed by Mr. Haigh in his "Runic Monuments of Kent", in *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. 8 (? 1873), 8vo. p. 259.



"I think (adds Prof. B.) that the Sword, as a costly heirloom, went from father to son during several generations, and might well say to the young hero "grasp me early", encouraging him not to lose time in winning honor on the battlefield, and "I wiss or lead", I point the way to deathless praise."

The version I sent to Prof. Bugge with the engravings, he could not approve, and I myself have now abandoned it, for it was based on what I now look upon as a mistake, namely that the  $\mathfrak{h}$  is =  $\mathfrak{N}$ ,  $\mathfrak{U}$ . I now think this impossible, and follow Bugge in taking it as =  $\mathfrak{M}$ ,  $\mathfrak{E}$ . As this  $\mathfrak{h}$  occurs *thrice* in the long line, the value given to it will of course largely affect any attempt at translation. — Next, I now think the first letter was what we see,  $\mathfrak{V}$ , not a worn  $\mathfrak{V}$  ( $\mathfrak{y}$ o,  $\mathfrak{r}$ ,  $\mathfrak{i}$ ), and believe it to be one of the many old variations of the O. N. rune for  $\mathfrak{r}$ ; still, as we all perceive, this is not a vital point, for  $\mathfrak{YCE}$  or  $\mathfrak{ICE}$  or  $\mathfrak{YOCE}$  would only be dialectic differences, the word is the same. — Then I cannot see that the 12th stave was ever  $\mathfrak{F}$  ( $\mathfrak{E}$ ); the top score I look on as *an accidental dint*, and I take the actual letter to be  $\mathfrak{R}$ ; the rubbings and drawings and casts now in my hands all show *scratchy damages* here, and I think that the whole group is  $\mathfrak{hRX}$ ,  $\mathfrak{ERG}$ . — With Haigh and Bugge I take the 4th stave from the end to have been  $\mathfrak{P}$ ,  $\mathfrak{w}$ , the top partly worn off. — With Haigh I suppose the last rune to have been  $\mathfrak{F}$  ( $\mathfrak{E}$ ), the arms rubbed away; but this also is unimportant, for  $\mathfrak{WIS}$  would only be an old local form for  $\mathfrak{WIS}$  or  $\mathfrak{WIS}$  or  $\mathfrak{WISA}$ . — On side  $\mathfrak{B}$  I of course would correct Haigh's supposed (*dotted*, guessed)  $\mathfrak{H}$  to  $\mathfrak{B}$  ( $\mathfrak{N}$ ,  $\mathfrak{U}$ , and  $\mathfrak{t}$ ,  $\mathfrak{x}$ , as a bind-rune). This will give us:

$\mathfrak{V} < \mathfrak{N} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{V} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{M} \mathfrak{R} \mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{H} \mathfrak{M} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{V} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{S} \mathfrak{E}, \mathfrak{M} \mathfrak{F} \mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{M} \mathfrak{M} \mathfrak{M}.$

YCE IK SIGI. MERGE MIK WISE. DÆGMUND!

EKE (*increase*) I SIGE (*victory*). MERRILY ME WISS (*show, brandish, bare*). o-DÆGMUND!

Compare the following inscription<sup>1</sup>, on the pommel of the Sword of Isabella the Catholic — which also begins with  $\mathfrak{I}$ , the Sword speaking. It is partly in Spanish and partly in Latin:

DESEO SIENPRE ONERA. NUNC CAVEO. PAX CON MIGO.

I DESIRE ALWAYS HONOR NOW I WATCH. PEACE BE WITH ME.

Pistol's Sword in Shakespear's Hen. 4, Pt. 2, Act 2, sc. 4, bore the motto: SI FORTUNA ME TORMENTA, SPERATO ME CONTENTA. Mr. Douce<sup>2</sup> engraves an old rapier, then in his possession, on which was carved: SI FORTUNE ME TOURMENTE, L'ESPERANCE ME CONTENTE. An Elizabethan rapier, now in Cambridge, is inscribed "For my (= me) Christ resolved to dy (= die)", and "Who haves me let him ware me."<sup>3</sup> Should the latter be correct ("haves" *not* miscut for "hates"), this will be = *He who bears me, let him wield me well*.

The magnificent Sabre of Joh. Sobieski (1629—1696), which has lately been presented to the Hungarian Museum by the Countess Therese Erdödy-Raczinsky, bears in inlaid golden letters on the one side: CAVE A FALSIS AMICIS, SALVABO TE AB INIMICIS (*Thyself shun false friends, I will free thee from thy foes*); and on the other: HAEC META LABORUM. It is also otherwise decorated with gold, crystal and diamonds.

Bronze weapons and tools from Egypt bearing Hieroglyphics are well known. But the oldest yet found Inscribed Sword is the Bronze specimen pickt up at Nardi, exhibited by its owner Col. Hanbury in London April 6, 1875, and described and engraved in the Transactions of the Soc. of Biblical Archæology, Vol. 4, p. 347, foll., and in Månadsbladet, Stockholm 1876, p. 272. Similar blades are cut on Assyrian monuments, and are there called SAPARA (= SABRE). This one bears on the hilt and the brand, in Arrow-headed characters, a risting thus Englisht by Mr. Boscawen: "The Palace of the King of the Vulnirari, son of Budil king of Assyria, son of Bel-nirari, Assyria's king." These kings ruled Assyria 1375—1300 bef. Christ. Length, including the haft, 21 $\frac{3}{8}$  inches. A very similar piece now comes to us from Europe. In 1879 was found in Heda Parish, East-Gotland, Sweden, a Sword not identical in shape, but of the same general Sabre-type, which hitherto is unknown in Europe during the Bronze age. See it engraved, and described by H. Hildebrand, in Månadsbladet,

<sup>1</sup> Engraved in Paul Lacroix's Military and Religious Life in the Middle Ages. 8vo, London, p. 139: from the Armeria Real of Madrid, by Ach. Jubinal.

<sup>2</sup> Illustrations of Shakspeare. 8vo, London 1839, p. 279.

<sup>3</sup> The Academy, Lond. Dec. 20, 1879, p. 452.

Stockh. 1880, p. 12. On the Sarcophagus at Reims are the figures of David and Goliath (? 5th or 6th century), copied in *Rev. Archéol.* Paris, 1879, p. 240, from Dom Marlot, *Hist. de Reims*, I, 602. Here David is grasping the *Sabre* of Goliath. Of course we cannot see whether the metal intended was Bronze or Iron.

We have not yet found any runic weapon bearing its own name. The Swords, &c., of great heroes often had names, some of them striking or terrible enough. Nearest to a name is the epithet *ANS-UGG'S* (*Woden's*) *IRON-STORM PIERCER*, assumed for the Kragehul Lance. The custom of names being borne by famous weapons is, as we know, of high antiquity and widely spread, even among simple and savage folk-clans.<sup>1</sup>

The only word in this runic scribble which is not grammatically "orthodox" is the pronoun *MIK*. In the Anglic dialect we should expect *MEK*, the older form of *ME*, *MEC* or *MEH*. But there have been endless variations of clan-talks in England as elsewhere, (the English Osthofen Brooch has *MIC*), and these words may have been cut on the pommel by some member of a family-group whose speech kept up the vowel-sound in this word of the Scandinavian homeland, supposing that *the sound* of the vowel here was not nearer to *E* than to *I*, for we know that *the letter i* is often *sounded* very nearly as *E*. In Scandinavia, and in *all* the other Scando-Gothic shires but the English, the forms of this word were *spelt* with the *i*, (however *sounded*, of which we know nothing), *MIC*, *MIK*, *MIH*, *MI*, &c., not *MEC*, *MEK*, *MEH*, &c., as in England; the M.-Gothic, Scandian, O.-Fris., O. S., O. G., have the *i*. But O. Sax. has also *ME*. Whether the English came from Scandinavia, as I and the old schools say, or from Germany, as the modern Germans say, in either case they probably brought *MIK* with them. Is not the English *E* *younger* than the otherwise general *i*, and would not the *very oldest* English really show us *i*? If so, it is possible that this *MIK* is quite right, a fragment of the very oldest English. It is true that this *MEK* *may* be a clan-form *older* than any temporary settlement of such clan or clans in Scandinavia or in Germany. But in any case there must have been local variations in England itself, if only by mere contact with the neighboring lands and peoples, who usually had *MIK*, *MI*. It is just in this way, by contact and intermixture and local development, that all dialects and dialectic forms and variations (some of which have lived while others have died) have arisen from time to time; for they have not fallen down *from heaven* or sprung up out of nothing, but are the fruit of endless overgang, gradually shaped in a thousand capricious ways *on earth*. Nowhere have these differences and changes been more chaotic, more surprisingly confounded, than in the pronouns. By degrees, a couple of these accidental pronominal variations came to be marks of "national" distinction (!) between the Scandian and the Anglian folk-groups. But only *old* monuments can tell us *how old* these differences are, to what extent they are sprung from trivial or from organic developments. Certain it is that evident interminglings of such forms are found everywhere. One unanswerable example is the stone roundel at Aldborough, from about A. D. 1050—1060. See p. XXII, XXIII.

It is clear that the runic risting on this Sword-pommel was inscribed long after the weapon had been made and in daily use. They are a rough scrawl added when the war-tool was *given* to *DÆGMUND*. This brand was a *Presentation-sword*, to one who had lost his own or who otherwise would prize it. *DÆGMUND* was perhaps joining the folk-hær, the national army, and the friend or kinsman who gave him this battle-blade lets the weapon say to him in the well-known olden epical style: 'I will help in the victory, wield me bravely before friend and foe.'

The shape and make of this pommel are striking and peculiar, and may be technically called *triangular*. These "triangular-pommeled" swords would seem to have come into use in the middle Iron Age, chiefly in Scandinavia and England, particularly in South England. An additional feature of this class of swords was, that they had a fitting (? for the belt-hanger or strap) on one side of the knob,

<sup>1</sup> "The clubs [of wood] belonging to distinguished warriors have remarkable names: one is named *A sauts, lamolamora*, "For War, though all be at peace"; another, *Na tagi, ka kere bole*, "The weeping (i. e. for the dead I slew) urges me to action"; while a third is styled *Vellalakote*, "The disperser"; and a fourth, *Kadiga ni damuni*, "Damaging beyond hope." — Catalogue of the Objects of Ethnotypical Art in the Nat. Gallery, Victoria. Melbourne 1878, 8vo, p. 68. — "The natives give names to their spears as well as to their clubs, and they are not of such a character as to inspire courage in the breasts of their enemies." — *Id.* p. 70.

namely a Ring or Double-ring or solid Button, usually of gold or silver or gilt bronze. There is every reason to believe that some such Ring or Button has been affixt to the hilt here before us. See hereon the valuable remarks of O. Montelius, of the Swedish National Museum, printed in "Hallands Fornminnes-Förenings Årsskrift", 1872, 8vo, Halmstad, pp. 134—140, where a list is given of all these characteristic pommels then known, and several are engraved. They would seem to date from about the 6th and 7th centuries after Christ. As found in a heathen grave-field, the Gilton sword cannot well be later than the 6th year-hundred.

But swords were not always buried with the dead. They were often left as legacies to the living. Many costly weapons of this kind, often *silver-hilted*, are spoken of in the Old-English Wills. Thus, among many:

"Dæt is ærest sona minum hláforde syxti mancusa goldes and MÍNES SWYRDES MID FETELE, and dærtó twá hors and twá targan and twegen frančan."

*That is erst (first), soon (at once) to my Lord sixty mancuses of gold and MY SWORD WITH ITS FETEL (baldrick), and thereto two horses and two targets and two francas.*

*Will of Ætheric, an. 997. (Kemble 3, p. 304.)*

"and DÆS SWURDES MID DÂM SYLFRENAN HILTAN DE WULFRIC WORHTE, and ðone gyldenān fetels and ðone béh ðe Wulfric worhte, and ðone drenchorā ðe ic ér æt dām hirede gebohte on Ealdan mynstre."

*and THE SWORD WITH THE SILVER HILT WHICH WULFRIC WROUGHT (made), and the golden baldrick, and the beigh (jewel) that Wulfric wrought, and the drinking-horn that I ere (before) at (of) the hired (brother-hood) bought in the Old-monastery (at Winchester).*

*Will of Athelstan Atheling, about an. 1012—1016. (Kemble 3, 361.)*

"and DÆS SEOLFER-HILTAN SWURDES DE ULFCYTEL ÁHTE, and ðere byrnan ðe mid Morcere is, and ðæs horses ðe Þurbrand me geaf, and ðæs hwitan horses ðe Leófwine me geaf. And ic geann Eádmunde minen bréðer ðæs SWURDES DE OFFA CYNG ÁHTE<sup>1</sup>, and DÆS SWURDES MID DÂM PYTTEDAN HILTAN, and ÁNES BRANDES, and ænne seolforhammenne blæðhorn."

*and THE SILVER-HILTED SWORD WHICH ULFCYTEL OWNED, and the brinie (mail-coat) which with Morcer is, and the horse that Thurbrand me gave, and the white horse that Leofwine me gave. And I bequeath to Eadmund my brother THE SWORD THAT OFFA the-KING HAD<sup>1</sup>, AND THE SWORD WITH THE PITTED (with open-work) HILT, AND A BRAND (wavy blade), and a silver-coated blast-horn.*

*Idem.*

"And hic geann Eádwige minen bréðer ÁNES SEOLFORHILTES SWORDES."

*And I give to Eadwig my brother A SILVER-HILTED SWORD.*

*Idem.*

"and DÆS MÁLSWURDES DE WIDER ÁHTE, and mines horses mid minom gerédon. And ic geann Ælmeře minen discōene ðara .viii. hida æt catheringatūn and ánes fagan stēdan, and DÆS SCEARDAN SWURDES, and mines tærgan. And ic geann Siferðe ðæs landes æt Hogganclyfe, and ÁNES SWURDES, and ánes horses, and mines bōcscyldes."

*and the MÆL-SWORD (inlaid-sword) that Wither had, and my horse with my trappings. And I grant to Ælmer my dish-thane (sewer) the 8 hides at Catherington. and one pied steed (stallion), and THE SHARD (? chequered) SWORD, and my targe. And I bequeath to Siferth the land at Hockcliff, and ONE SWORD, and one horse, and my beechen shield.*

*Idem.*

<sup>1</sup> Akerman (p. 49) asks: "Was this the Hunish sword which Charlemagne sent as a present to Offa? "Vestrae quoque dilectioni unum baltheum et unum gladium Hunicum, et duo pallia serica." — *Epistola ad Offam Regem Merciorum. Corpus Juris Germanici Antiqui*, ed. Walther, Tom II, p. 125."

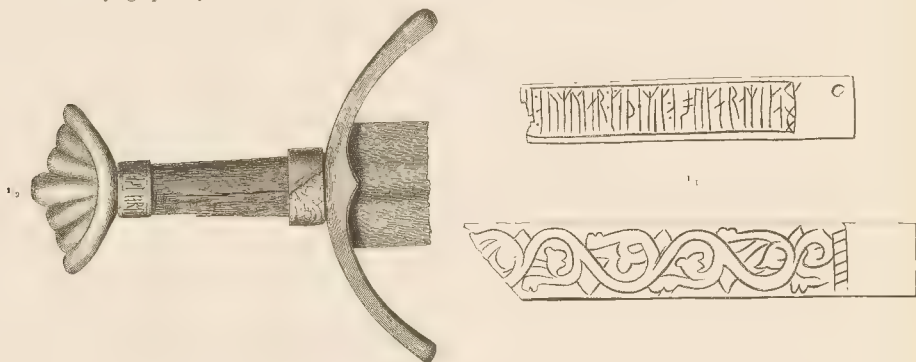


"And ic geann Eádrice Wynfleda suna, DÆS SWURDES DE SEÓ HAND' is on gemearcod. And ic geann Æðelwine minon cnihte DÆS SWURDES DE HE ME ÆR SEALDE. And ic geann Ælfnoðe minon swurð-witan DÆS SCEARDAN MÆLSWURDES."

And I give to Eadric Wynfled's son THE SWORD ON WHICH THE HAND IS MARKT<sup>1</sup>. And I give to Æthelwine my knight (page) THE SWORD THAT HE BEFORE GAVE ME. And I leave to Ælfnoth my sword-whetter (furbisher) THE SHARD MÆL (inlaid) SWORL

*Idem.*

Quite lately (March 1880) a runish sword has been found in Norway. As such are so excessively rare, I add it here, with the kind assistance of Prof. Olaf Rygh, Keeper of the Museum in Christiania, where it is now preserved. That gentleman has obligingly forwarded the following drawings, Photo-xylograph by Rosenstand:



I am also indebted to him for the subjoined details which I translate, with many thanks, from his friendly letter, dated April 1, 1880: "During the building of the Hedemark Railway, which runs along the eastern shore of the Mjösen from Eidsvold to Hamar, was lately found at KORSØDEGÅRD in Stange, Hedemarken, north of Christiania, a Two-edged Sword and the remains of a Shield, lying under a large stone. They had been deposited with great care. The block was on a slanting spot, and on its nether side had a projecting edge. The weapons lay in the space thus formed, on the outside and above protected by flat stones. From lying thus dry and sheltered, both are in excellent preservation. The blade (36 Norse-Danish inches long) has still here and there its original blue-polisht surface, and even of the Sheath large pieces of the two woodlengths inside and some of the outer prest leathern cover with simple ornaments are yet left. Of the Shield we have the iron Boss, with remains of a bronze strengthener at the top and silver inlay lower down, as also bits of the woodwork and some of its iron fittings on the rim and higher up. — On the grip of the Sword are 2 loose slips of bronze-leaf bent round the haft, which were fixt at the top and bottom of the tang on wood which has now mouldered away (next the iron guard). The lower one has incised tendril-ornaments, and is nearly  $\frac{2}{3}$  of an inch broad; the upper one (next the iron pommel) bears a Runic resting easy to read, and is  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch broad. Only a tiny decorated bit wants at the top end. — The Hilt is very like other such on double-edged swords in Norway from the Wiking time, but has also peculiarities, as also has the blade. On the whole these arms would seem to be from the first Christian days in Norway, the last half of the 11th century or the beginning of the 12th, a period from which so very few weapons remain in our country. — The Shield was round, resembling that — Rune-inscribed — from Rike, but not so large, only about 40 ctmr. across. See O. N. R. Mon. Vol. 1, p. 293."

<sup>1</sup> Akerman (p. 49) adds: "Possibly the *Hand of Benediction*, a favourite device on the coins of the period of the Will here cited."



I follow Prof. Ol. Rygh in the reading, which is plain enough:

AUMUTÆR GEDE MIK. AOSLIKÆR A MIK.

AUMUND GARED (*made*) ME. ASLAK OWES (*owns*) ME.

Interesting linguistically are the old nom-endings in -ÆR (originally -AS, then -AR), which afterwards became -R and then fell away; the slurring of the R in the verb, as so often, (GEDE for GERDE); and the antique AOS, the nasal gone but seen in the o, AOS for ANS.

A collection of the *names* borne by swords, especially in Europe and more particularly in the North, would be highly interesting. Geoffrey of Monmouth, in his fabulous History, tells us that the Sword of Julius Cæsar was called *Crocea Mors* (Yellow Death), and was buried in the tomb of the British Chief Nennius, who had taken it in battle: (See his Bk. 4, Ch. 4).

## ST. ANDREWS, FIFE, SCOTLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500—600.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 371.*

## TRURO, CORNWALL, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500—600.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 372, 865.*

## BROUGH, WESTMORELAND, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 550—600.

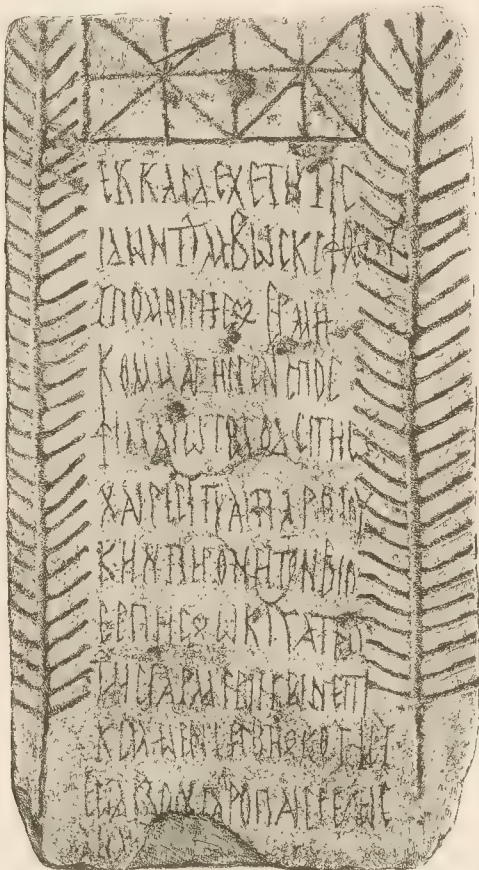
*From Casts and a Lightbild of the original. Engraved, 1—3rd of the size, by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN.*

This is the most valuable English-speaking monument found in Great Britain during this century, and is the first in Runes known to have turned up in Westmoreland. Whether we regard its striking general character, its great age, or its peculiar and long inscription, it is equally costly. It was first brought to my notice by my learned and watchful helper the Rev. James Raine, M. A., Canon of York, who sounded the alarm and sent me a sunbild. Thereafter I was kindly assisted by the Rev. James Simpson, L. L. D., Vicar of Kirkby Stephen in the east of Westmoreland, which is only about 4 English miles from Brough (pronounce BRUFF), where the stone was met with. Influenced by the friendly representations of these gentlemen, the Cumberland and Westmoreland Archæological Society generously forwarded me (in April 1880) two fine casts, one in Plaster of Paris and one in type-metal. The former is now in the Danish Museum, the latter in the Husaby Museum, Småland, Sweden.

Thus I have had excellent materials provided me, for which I am deeply thankful. But in addition hereto, Canon Simpson has consented to my prayer, and drawn up the following valuable sketch of the circumstances connected with this noble find, permitting me to add it to my pages<sup>1</sup>:

"Vicarage, Kirkby Stephen, March 16, 1880.

"When repairing and partially restoring the Church of Saint Michael, Brough under Stanmore, in the County of Westmoreland, in October 1879, it became necessary to take down the old porch, a



comparatively modern erection, and rebuild it in a style more in keeping with the rest of the structure. When removing the old walls, it was found that grave covers and other memorial stones had been used in building them. There were fragments of five or six, having on them crosses of different patterns and of different periods, two of them having also the Shears; one with a Roman inscription nearly obliterated, headed IMP. CAESAR; and one with a Runic inscription in twelve lines. This stone is

<sup>1</sup> On the 11th of Sept. 1866 Canon Simpson observed in his Address at Penrith, in connection with a passage in my Vol. I: "I think it probable that we may find monuments in these counties [WESTMORELAND and Cumberland], belonging to that [Runic] period, sculptured, and, it may be, inscribed with Runic characters that have never been studied or figured, or even noticed." (Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Vol. 1, 8vo. Kendal 1874, p. 10). Canon Simpson little thought that, 14 years after penning the above, he would have the pleasure of thus describing the precious Brough stone.

ornamented across the top with squares divided by cross lines into eight triangles, and up each side by what is probably intended to represent a Palm-branch, but looks very like the frond or leaf of a fern that grows in the neighbourhood. Across the other end of the stone there is no ornamentation at all, and so far as can be judged by its present appearance there never has been. The stone itself is carboniferous sandstone, and has probably been taken from a quarry in the immediate neighbourhood. It measures twenty-three inches in length, about twelve and a half in width (being rather broader at one end than the other), and varies from about five to three inches in thickness. On the sides and across the top, the stone appears as if portions had been chipped off with a mason's hammer to fit it for the place where found, and at the bottom it seems as if a chisel mark might have been cut across the face of the stone, and then the end broken off by the stroke of a hammer. The face of the stone bearing the inscription has of course been dressed, but the back or opposite side has never been touched by a mason's tool. It is apparently in the same state as when first separated from its native rock or split from some larger stone. It is by no means improbable that it was originally one side of the shaft of a Cross, about fourteen inches square, and that the mason who placed it as a foundation stone finding the portion of the pillar, upon which he had just cast his eye, too thick for his purpose, split it in two with the point of his walling hammer. Of this however there is no proof. It is mere conjecture. The stone was found in its present condition in the foundations of the wall on the east side of the door of the South porch of Brough Church by John M<sup>c</sup> Cabe, a labourer employed in removing the walls of the old porch. Great credit is due to the Rev. William Lydc, Vicar of Brough, for his care of the stone since it was discovered, and for his kindness in permitting the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian Society to take a cast of it. It is intended as soon as possible to have the stone set in the inside of the north wall of the Church tower, where the light from the west window will fall upon it at a favourable angle, and have it protected by a plate of glass.

"Brough (sometimes written Burgh sub morâ) was a Roman station on the Roman road from York (Eboracum) to Carlisle (Luguvallum). That road would be the most convenient and easiest way by which the Angles, Danes, &c., landing on the east coast of the North of England could cross the Pennine chain (of which Stainmore forms a part) to the west side of the country, and after traversing that wild and bleak moor from east to west Brough would be their first resting place, and there they would find the remains of a Roman station."<sup>1</sup>

After these interesting details, we will now examine the slab itself, doubtless as suggested by Dr. Simpson the center stone of a Grave-cross. It bears 12 lines, nearly all of the last line scaled away. The number of runes is 171, besides 3 partly obliterated, with room for about 6 more. The alphabet is Old-Northern, yet with several remarkable and scarce peculiarities. See especially the types for A (Λ), E (W and W), K (K and K), M (M), and P (P). There is no NG-stave; for this is used KK or KC, which is therefore voiced NG, as in M. Gothic and in Greek. Nor is there any Æ-stave. The Q or QU sound is given by CO. There are several varieties of the B, the C (C, C, C), the F, the O (O, O, O), the R, and the S. — The letter D does not once occur. There is no bind-rune.

As to the date. Until we are favored with fresh runic finds from the same local district, I think we shall not be able with any *certainty* to fix its approximate age. What do we really *know* of the accidental *beginnings* of Anglic Christianity in the North of England? And especially here in Westmoreland, at that time under another name a part of lands that had belonged to the old Brigantes, thereafter to territories called Cumbria and then the Welsh Strathclyde — which, as still largely Celtic were chiefly Christian, till the gradually overwhelming arrival of the Angle strangers? A family here

<sup>1</sup> Close to the churchyard is Brough Castle, a pile whose ruins attest its former grandeur. It stands within the clearly marked ramparts of the Roman Camp. Dr. Taylor says hereon (see *The Westmorland Gazette*, Kendal, Aug. 21, 1880, p. 6, col. 2): "Eighteen hundred years ago this site was pitched upon by the Romans for the establishment of a camp. Whether it had ever been occupied previously by Celtic tribes as a defensive place does not appear. No sepulchral or other remains, so far as I know, have been found in the immediate neighbourhood. During and after the building of the Roman Wall, it was a matter of military necessity to have the safe possession of roads over which came the supplies and supports for the garrison of that defensive position. The chief road from the western portion of the Wall to the great northern metropolis of Eboracum, passed close by on the east side of the rivulet of Helle beck, which washes the north base of this cliff."



and there, a chieftain or lady here and there, by marriage or conversion may have been Christian long before any formal Irish or Roman or Welsh "monastery" or "mission", and some of these last were older than we think. St. Ninian evangelized the Southern Picts in the last half of the 6th year-hundred, St. Columba the Northern Picts about 565, St. Kentigern many of the Lowland Scots from Glasgow downwards about 560. Other efforts were made, of which we ken little or nothing. Welsh "kingdoms" were still many in this 6th age, and they were all Christian. — And we *know* very little of the old floating Anglie settlement-dialects, and of the various intermixtures of things seemingly old and new actually in use at the same time and place. Add to this, that new facts are continually turning up as to the modified runish stave-rows actually employed. The loud-voiced modern theories (grounded on knowing everything all at once) cannot stand. Here the Futhorc is Old-Northern, and has even the oldest O. N. type for *g* (*X*), hitherto found only twice before in England, on the Gloucestershire Golden Trismesis (Bracteate No. 77 in this volume) and on the fragmentary Bakewell stone, Derbyshire (Vol. 1, p. 373). We have also the scarce type for *c*, and that for *e*, the usual O. N. *M* turned upside down, and the so-called "Greek" and "Roman" *K*, and the simplified *μ* upside-down, only found once before, on the late-Danish Sacramental Cup (above, p. 148). If I am right in my reading, we have too the "Greek" mark for *p*.<sup>1</sup> Side by side with such peculiarities and antiquities, we have the so-called "later" or "Scandinavian" *4* (on the stone all but once *λ*) for *λ*, before found as "O. N." only on Bracteate No. 94, which can scarcely be "later" than the 6th century.

The general style and ornamentation of the Brough stone is also unique. The Cross-marks at the top are quite out of the common way. Here, on a Christian tomb, these transverse lines can scarcely be other than the Holy Symbol. Technically this is a union of the Greek Cross and the St. Andrew Cross. It is found on early Christian pieces, including a Coin of the Emperor Constantius, down to the close of the 5th century. It is also on two costly ivory Screens or Pyxes from the middle of the 5th year-hundred, described and figured by Fr. Hahn in his "Fünf Elfenbein-gefäße des frühesten Mittelalters", 4to, Hannover 1862. But this mark on Roman leaden coffins may perhaps have been merely decorative. Two examples on such Coffins are known in England; one described by C. R. Smith, Collect. Ant. 7, p. 194, pl. 19 A; the other by Mr. Pilbrow in Archæologia, Vol. 43, p. 160.<sup>2</sup> — The 12 rows of runes, without lines or cartouche, are also very striking. — Still more so is the Palm-branch on each side. Such a decoration, as far as I know, has never been seen before on a funeral stone in any Northern land.<sup>3</sup> It is the oldest Christian symbol of the Resurrection, Life Everlasting, the Christian's triumph over Death. But it is also in the oldest time the emblem of Martyrdom. It naturally belonged chiefly to the early Church, yet in combat with heathendom, and it retired as Christianity became the prevalent faith. Accordingly it is in the Catacombs, in the finest Christian Mosaics, &c., here and there on an antique tombstone in Gaul, and so on. On this slab it cannot but announce very great age. — The grave-formula is also (for want of monuments) new to us. — Some of the folk-words are also unknown before on such funeral pieces. Should my reading be in general

<sup>1</sup> Apart from the question, what was the very oldest character for *p* in the Old-Northern Runish Stave-row, and how far the *p*-marks now known to us on O. N. monuments were local deviations, — we must remember the Greek Colonies in the West, the wide-spread use of Greek in the Roman Empire (so that the oldest Christian Church in Rome itself had originally a Grecian Liturgy), the Greek inscriptions in the Catacombs and elsewhere, and the gradual intermixture of Greek or half-Greek letters in the Roman alphabets early used in the West. The *p* here before us *may* be *not* a survival, but merely such a fanciful or ornamental adaptation or imitation, as often elsewhere in *Latin* carvings and codices.

<sup>2</sup> A line of these Crosses or Marks, together with other regular Crosses elsewhere, is on a Christian grave-slab (in the church-yard of St. Aureus at Mainz) bearing, as the learned author expresses himself, "einen hochalterthümlichen Charakter", by which, as I suppose from his context, he means the 5th century. The inscription, in Latin, is to a lady called Bertisindis. — See L. Lindenschmit, Handbuch der Deutschen Alterthumskunde, 8vo, Part 1, Braunschweig 1880, p. 103, where the stone is engraved.

<sup>3</sup> I have since found *one* example of the Palm-branch on a *leaden* tomb in England. In his valuable paper on "Roman Leaden Coffins and Ossuaria" (Collectanea Antiqua, Vol. 7, Part 3, London 1880, at p. 199, 200), Mr. Ch. R. Smith says: "I have referred to the coffin once in the Crystal Palace. This, I think, may be accepted as shewing a Christian influence in the palm branch, a very common emblem, particularly in the catacombs in Rome, but the greatest rarity in the north of Europe. It occurs



on the Barmington tomb described by the late Mr. Poste in vol. I; but I can point to no other example in this country. I understood from Mr. Fairholt that this coffin was about 3 ft. in length."



reasonable, the speech is English, and yet Scandinavian, a cross so old that it marks strongly the mother-land whence the Angles came. But it is rapidly becoming a North-English mole.<sup>1</sup> We have *i* for *in*, *o* for *on*, and there is neither the older *-s* mark in the nom. sing. nor the later *-r* mark; the *-n* falls away in the weak nouns, while the *-th* of the 3 s. pres. indic. is already (if I am right in what stands on the block) lisped into *-s*; in Scandinavia the *-th*, *-s*, became further softened into *-r*. The Ruthwell Cross has no verb in the 3 s. pres. ind., so we cannot see what the form was in that place-talk. We have no article, while we have the archaistic *-o* ending in the 3 s. p. (BECKCTO), and the in England rare Northern verb FAIDU, 3 pl. p. (the *n* fallen away as so early in Scandinavia), and the Scandinavian negative particle AICI (*not*), here for the first and last time seen surviving on English ground.

On the one hand apparently the Age of Martyrs, the oldest Runic Alphabet and this with rare local peculiarities, the oldest Cross, an olden formula but *new* and severely *Early-Christian*. Grave-words which show that the tomb and funeral mound were overgang and built up in the usual style of the *heathen* Barrow, Words and Word-forms excessively antique; — on the other hand the "later" A-mark, the "Greek" or "Roman" K, and a local dialect slurred and "modern" in several important particulars. Who shall year-set a monument like this? On the whole, it *must* be either *very* old or *very* young. But all the arguments show the latter opinion to be untenable. Hence I venture on the approximate date — with a little elbow-room on either side — about A. D. 550—600. It may be a century *older*.

Generally speaking, the risting is wonderfully well preserved, from having been covered up so long. But it is often not easy to read. The letters are rather small, lower down still smaller and more crowded, and are not so much cut in as *rubbed* in with a pointed tool, so that there is little depth and sharpness. Then there are no divisional points, at least none are now distinctly left. Add the usual weathering and chipping and dints and scatches, all the injuries made by frost and snow and idle hands during *many centuries* (ere the grave-cross was thrown down and the pieces flitted from the churchyard and used as mere building-material), — as well as the variations in the letters themselves and the likeness of some to each other, — and we shall see how cautious we must be. Accordingly I offer my reading with all reservation. The facsimile plate is as exact as I and my artist could make it, but of course we must always appeal to the original or a cast.<sup>2</sup> Generally speaking, I believe my reading is trustworthy. Wherever a word is *doubtful* I say so. More I cannot do. The reader must study the Chemtipe for the many letter-differences; in what follows I can only give the head types.

I suppose we all agree in the first word, |KKΛΓΛDXC, IKKALACGC = *INGALANG*. This compound mans-name I have not seen before, but we have dozens of Scando-Gothic words beginning with INGO, INGA, INGE, INGI, &c., and others ending in LANG.

So we do in the next. I. P. IN, the *n* already slurred in this local N.E. mole. Prep. gov. dat. and accusative.

Clear also is the next group, BNCIΛWHHΛΛ, BUCIAEHOM, *BUCKHOME*. Apparently dat. s. masc. This place-name doubtless stands for the fuller BUCIAEN-HOM. with the usual early and especially N. Engl. and Scandian slurring of the end-*n*. We have BUCHAM in an O. Engl. Charter, and the same word, with the unelided *n*, BUCKENHAM, is still a common steadname in various parts of England.

<sup>1</sup> Even at a far *later* period, so near to each other were the Old-English and the Old-Scandian dialects, and so unlike was Old-Scandian to the common German, that the French of the early time lookt upon *Scandian* as an *English* folkspeech. Sir Francis Palgrave remarks hereon, speaking of Jarl Rolf or Rollo in the year 911, on his final return to the Gauls previous to his wresting Neustria from Charles le Simple. "Some of his squadron-crews were unquestionably Norsemen from Norway, others Anglo-Danes, Jutes, Englishmen; — whatever may have been the precise proportion of these national constituencies, the French were accustomed to call their language English; and it is remarkable, that the very scanty vestiges of their dialects preserved in local denominations, and in the single exclamatory phrase which we possess in Rollo's words, are rather Anglo-Teutonic in their sound." (See Sir F. P.'s *Normandy and England*, Vol. I. 8vo. London 1851, p. 671, and p. 755, note to p. 687).

I need not add that Sir Francis uses "Teutonic" in the sense of "Scando-Gothic", and that by "Anglo-Teutonic" he means Anglo-Scando-Gothic in contradistinction to German-Scando-Gothic.

<sup>2</sup> When my chemtipe was ready, I sent a copy to Canon Simpson and begged him to oblige me by carefully comparing it with the original block, so that any error might be corrected. He answered, under date Sept. 22, 1880: — "I do not think your copy can be amended, and taking stone, cast and photograph together it is almost impossible that there can be a mistake. It is curious to observe the variations in the lines of the letters caused by the skipping of the inscriber's instrument, and the want of junction between the lines of some of the letters, as well as the variation in depth of their different parts."

Exceptionally distinct next comes **BECKCTA**, BECKCTO, the B and T much taller than usual, the legs of the o running close and the head small, as often. In several places on this stone where we have o, the head is small and sometimes has almost disappeared. But this is immaterial as to the reading, for in every such place the pair-of-compass legs are there, and there is no doubt as to the letter itself. The head, small or large or even altogether absent, makes no difference in this well-known o-type. This is the 3 s. past, the present North-E. *BIGGED*, usual English *BUILT*, raised, Scandinavian BYGGEDE, BYGGDE, BYGDE. The O. E. inf. is BYCGAN, the middle Scandian BYGGJA, BYGGVA. The ending is in the antique o (or u), as on so many of these oldest Old-Northern monuments both in Scandinavia and England.

In the following word the first B is much damaged, and a couple of other letters are dented. But the whole is plain enough. It is **CNAMBIBIS**, CUOMBILBIO, *CUMBEL-BOO*, *this-the-grave-kist*, last I with side-dints. Probably ac. s. neut. The very old Scando-Gothic neuter noun CUMBOL, COMBOL, KUMBL, KUML, KUBL, &c., of which I have spoken Vol. 2, p. 915, meant originally a mark, sign, beacon, stamp. Hence on the one hand a military sign or badge or banner or standard, a sense which rapidly died out in Scandinavia; and on the other a grave-mark, death-pillar, grave-stone, how, barrow, a sense which so rapidly disappeared in England that it is found here *for the first time*. In Scandinavia, where KUMBL was oftenest used in the plural, for the *united stone-settings* in memory of the dead, it was long common but is now nearly extinct. It occurs frequently on the Scandian monuments given in my pages, but with the verb KAURA, RAISA, or SETTA, not BYGGJA, as here. — The old Sc. Goth. substantive BU, BO, of various local genders, now only left in England as a N. E. provincialism, *BOO*, *dwelling*, *homestead*, *farm*, *village*, also occurs often on Scandian runic monuments, but is here *for the first time* on such a piece in England. — I do not remember to have seen this particular compound, CUMBL-BO, before. In Norse-Icelandic however we have its derivative, KUMBL-BUI, *the dweller* in such a grave-house, vault or tomb, *the decessat*. — In older Scandian-English otherwise spelt BU, BY, BO; in Ohg. BU; in O. Sax. BU, BEO, BEU; in O. Swed. s. an. 1210—16, is the holding BIORNWLF-BIU<sup>1</sup>; thus the liquid sound here, BIO, is dialectic.

So, beginning with a large c and with each o damaged, comes **CIMAKKAM**, CIMOKOMS, *of-CIMOKOM*, a womansname in the gen. It is so rare a compound that I have not seen it before. Possibly it is not of Scando-Gothic nationality.<sup>2</sup>

Plain is **ALHN**, ALHS, *of-ALH*. This mansname must have been very scarce in England. For the moment I cannot call to mind another example. It is equally rare in Scandinavia, probably for the same reason, the drawing back of the noble animal (the ELK) from which it would seem to have been taken. (Forstemann thinks that this name-word usually was the ALAH, ALH, *temple*.) I only know of one later-runic instance, on the Lid stone, Gausdal, Norway, one of the *very few not funeral*. It bears, as copied by Arendt in Feb. 1805: **ALHFR**: **ALFR** × **BAR** × **FI** × **Y** × **1** × **RANDN** × **Y** × **ALIF** **ALK** **BARE** *FISHES (spawn, planted out fish-spawn) IN RAUDU-SIO (RED-SEA, a small hill-lake belonging to the estate)*. But it occurs frequently (ALH-, ALC-, ALK-, ALG-, &c.) as the *first* part of olden Sc. G. compound names.

**CXIN**, COINU = QUINU, *QUENE*, *wife*. The co are indistinct, the i close on to the o. Same genitive form (N fallen away) as in the usual old Scandinavian (KUNO, KUNU). The O. S. E. had CWEN, gen. CWENE, ac. CWEN, but also CWENE, gen. CWENAN, ac. CWENAN. The O. N. E. had also slurred the -N, as we can see in the nom. pl. CUENO.

**8C**, OC, *but*. The head of the o indistinct. This O. E. particle, supposed by some philologists to be allied to EC (EKE, and, also), is found in O. E. in the forms AC, ACH, AH, AK, AUCH, AUH, AU3, OC, OK. It died out in England in the Middle-E. period. It is not confined to the Scando-Gothic tungs, but is in them Mæso-Gothic AK, Ohg. OH, O. Sax. AC. Not yet distinctly found in Scandinavia. — See EC, lower down.

**TIMF**, TIMTH, *TEEMED*, *begotten*, *born*. The T very high. This is the past part. n. fem. s. of the old English verb TIMA(N), TYMA(N), TEMA(N), so largely used in this sense of old in England, also by Cædmon the great Northumbrian poet. If once so used in Scandinavia, it must have drawn back very early. — Part of the M is dim and the P is broken below. But it is certainly P on the stone.

<sup>1</sup> Diplom. Svecanum, Vol. I, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> It will be observed that the name of the decessat lady is in the Genitive, as on the Danish Freerslev stone (p. 142 above). This *Genitive formula* is found on grave-monuments with both Old-Northern and later runes, but it is scarce. See additional instances under Freerslev and in the Chapter ARCHAIC MONUMENTS.

And the only *possible* other stave at this damaged spot would be 𐌢 (N) or 𐌶 (R), neither of which is to be seen. Any word TIMN or TMR, however, would be altogether meaningless.

f, r, IN, as before. Top scathed.

The next word I read as MEBI, ECBI<sup>1</sup>, but the lower hook of the c is faint, and the b is much damaged. The only other *possible* readings are ELBI and EICI. But I think ECBI is sure. I know of no such English place as ECBY or OAKBY, tho it is common in Scandinavia.

𐌶, o, ON, at. Damaged. Prep. gov. Dat. and Ac.

ACLIHCX, ACLIHCX<sup>1</sup>, stead-name, probably in the dat. s. f., = ACLEA, ACLEAN, ACLIEH, ACLEIA, &c. ACKLEY or OAKLEIGH, variously spelt in old monuments and found in many English counties. The less guttural S. E. LEAH is fem. The mod. E. LEA has lost even the h.

AILIC, the A with a dint across the middle, giving it a Roman look, and the AI very close, as commonly on this stone, the last i worn below; AILIC, as very frequently, with dialectic absence of the tip-h. Thus = HAILIC, HOLY, nom. sing. fem. See HÆILEG in the Word-row, p. 933, Vol. 2.

f, r, IN, into, to, as before. A large bending flaw on the stone at the top of the stave.

RAIRA: RAIRA, probably dat. s. masc. But as AILIC was = HAILIC, so here RAIRA is = HRAIRA. The central bend in each R is very faint, but neither letter can be U. If RAIRA, as I think it must be, I do not take it to be a Scandinavian form of the side-word REYR, m. RÖR, n. &c., for RAISE, RASSE, cairn, tomb, of which I have spoken Vol. 2, p. 960 under RIUSH, but rather as a N. E. form of the S. E. HRYRE, gen. HRYRES, m., *ruin, death*. (The Mid. Engl. forms are RYRE, RERE, &c. O. E. inf. HREOSAN, to RUSH, prov. E. RUSE, Scandinavian RUSA, RUSE. This verb — *to rush, fall, go to ruin* — has many side-forms and side-meanings, active and neuter; M. G. HRISIAN *to shake*, O. S. E. HRYSIAN *to cast down, shake*; M. G. RIUREI, f., *corruption, death*.) Meaning nearly the same, and the reader can choose. But there is an important difference. If the latter be the word intended, then it distinctly announces what we had expected from the whole character of the stone, that the deceased lady was a *Martyr* for her faith, had died a violent death at the hand of pagans. It also better explains the contrast with TIMP, *born*, which otherwise is as yet unheard-of on these funeral blocks, whether in Scandinavia or England, this being the only instance. I (IN) for INTO, to, is quite common in North-England as in Scandinavia and in M. Gothic, and is not unknown in O. S. Engl. I RAIRA I therefore take to be TO DEATH. In this case she suffered at a place called ACLIHCX.

P&NK, WOLK, the L, which ends the line, with a small arm; the K beginning the next line. Can scarcely be other than a N. E. form of the 3 s. p. of the verb spelt in S. E. WEALCAN, to move, turn, roll, go, (whence has sprung our modern WALK in a more specific signification), with its S. E. p. t. WEOLC. Here we have a dialectic N. E. WOLK, thus WENT. The Mid. Engl. p. t. is WELK, the Icelandic like the mod. Engl. WALKED, only weak, VÁLKADI or VÓLKADI. In most of the Scando-Gothic tungs this verb (simplest form WALLAN) usually came to mean *to full* (cloth), *to fell* (stuff), but the sense *to walk, to go* was very early developept in England. It is from this verb we have our beautiful English noun WELKIN, rolling cloud, cloud-heap, sky, heaven-vault, O. E. WOLCEN.

H&HH, with a dint on the top of the last stave, HOUH, ac. s. m., the o injured at the top, but the word plain enough. It is certainly *the HOW, her-HOW*, her grave-mound, barrow, the large tumulus thrown up over the grave-kist.<sup>2</sup> In daily use in various local shapes all over Scandia and England, but very rare on Scandian runic stones. See Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 932. It is a curious accident that it only occurs once in *vellums* in England, Kemble's Charters, Vol. 1, No. 38, date 695,

<sup>1</sup> Should the ec in ECBI and the ac in ACLIHCX both be = OAK, we are struck by the difference of the vowel. But we have thousands of instances of such things *close together* in the talk of near localities and in olden carvings and Mss., from mixture of immigrant families and other causes.

<sup>2</sup> I see from a valuable late publication (A Plea for the Old Names, by Miss Powley, in "Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society", Vol. 4, Part 1, Kendal 1879) that how is still in use in these counties for Grave-mound. She says, p. 20: "I have not been able to discover from the accounts of Canon Greenwell or Mr. Clifton Ward whether there is any distinction between those Raises and other burial mounds bearing such names as LODDEN HOW or KEMPHOW. They may be only variations of expression by the same people. KEMPE HILL is the common name of the numerous and well-recognised warrior's graves in Denmark." — Mr. Th. Edmonston (Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and Orkney Dialect, 8vo, London 1896, Philolog. Soc.) tells us that in those islands HOWIE (and HOGIE) still means "a mound, a tumulus, a knoll"; and Mr. G. Goudie, of Edinburgh, adds that he has also heard it used in those districts with the sound HEOG.

The usual words in England for grave-mound, *Grave, How, Hill, Low*, are of Scandian birth. So is *Raise, Rasse*, the stone-heap, Celtic *Carn, Cairn*. The now common *Barrow* is supposed to be also of Celtic origin. *Tump* is Latin, from *tumulus*.



a document markt doubtful and given to Erconwald, bishop of London. Here we have a place called "manentium appellatur [Ba]dorices heah". But local names in spurious charters, should this be one, would be *matters of fact*, else they would not be used as confirmatory evidence. The great mound raised over Badoric, BADORICES-HEAH, was doubtless well known.

ÐNEIT, OSCIL, a dint between the c and the i, and the top of the l damaged; a common O. E. and O. Scand. mansname, nom., short for OSCITIL (ASKITIL, ANSKITIL); found in endless shapes. Observe here and in the next word that ANS is already sunken to OS.

ÐNBIAN, both o's faint, the B large, OSBIOL, mansname, nom. I have not seen it before, but we have a similar *end-link* in RÆRÆBUL, on the heathen Sandwich stone, Vol. 1, p. 367. — As in the 2nd line BIO was local for BO, so here BIOL is local for BOL. We have a crowd of names whose *first* part is OS-.

ÐNHS, CUHL, mansname, n. s.<sup>1</sup> Very rare. I do not remember it in Scandinavian documents. We have it under king Eadmund, as the name (CUGEL) of an English moneyer. It is still used in Denmark (KUGEL).

ÐWKI, OEKI, mansname. Must be very scarce. I cannot put my finger on it elsewhere at a moment's notice. Nom.

FΛIFD, FAIDU, the F high and leaning, the D small and faint and broken. The well-known verb, 3 pl. p., FAWED, *made*, threw up, raised.<sup>2</sup> We have this verb in the 3 sing, past 10 times before in runics, and *every time* it is spelt differently, according to the age and locality of the piece on which it stands, from the oldest, FEIHIDO, to the latest, FEGDE and FADI. Here it occurs for the *first time* in the 3 pl. p. And we see that the end-N has fallen away, as usually on the Ruthwell Cross (end of 7th century), and as so early in Scandinavia in 3 pl. p. verbs.

FΛICIAΛΛ, LAICIAM; the first A straight, for the first and last time; last letter injured but plain. My-LIC-ROME, flesh-cover, body, corpse.<sup>3</sup>

ΛRPII, ALWIN, nom. s. masc., a slanting dint on the middle of the L, making it look much like F (=Æ); *the-ALL-WINE* (pronounced AL-WEEN-E), *all-friend, friend-of-all, all-loving*. I have not seen this compound before in any folk-talk. In form it is rather Seandian (which has VIN as commonly as VINR) than English, in which it was WINE in old days. It is now VÂN in Swedish, VEN in Danish. (O. Fris. WINNE, O. Sax. UINI, Ohg. WINI, but now killed in Germany by FREUND). It lives in mod. Engl. provincially as WIN, but otherwise is driven out by FRIEND (which is properly *kinsman*). It is a pity that this beautiful epithet of Our Blessed Lord should not have lived-on, side by side with the ecclesiastical HÆLEND (Healer), a translation of JESUS and *Salvator*.

<sup>1</sup> There is a slanting mark on the foot of the last letter, making it look like c. Whether this is a mere dint, as so often on this stone, we cannot know, tho it is most likely. If c, the whole word will be CUGC, possible but very improbable. And we may divide CUGC, EKI, two names, or CUGC O EKI, which would be CUGC on (of, at) EKE, = AIKE, a place. So difficult are these things.

<sup>2</sup> In later times in England the southern MADE took the place of FAWED and GARFD. Thus on a stone in Brougham Castle. Westmoreland:

THYS MADE  
ROGER.

On the pillar in St. Mary's Church, Beverley:

THIS PILLAR MADE THE MYNSTRELLS.

And there are other such. (See Canon Simpson's remarks in *Transac. of Cumb. & Westm. Ant. & Arch. Soc.*, Vol. 1, p. 65, 67).

<sup>3</sup> It is curious to follow the endless variations in this as in other vocables, even in the same folkships. In M. G. we have only the neut. LEIK. In O. S. E. is only LIC-HAMA or -HOMA, weak m., gen. -AN. In O. N. E., this -N falling away, we have g. d. ac. LIC-ROMA or -RÔME. But this oblique -N may survive in or fasten on to the nom., and then we get in the O. S. E. Gospels such variations in the nom. as LIC-HAMAN, LIC-HAMEN. In O. N. E. it is also used as a strong masc., gen. LIC-ROMÆS, &c. In Mid. N. E. it is weak. LIKAME, LERAME, LICATM, LECAM. In N. I. it is both strong, LIKAMR, gen. LIKAMS, m., and weak, LIKAMI, gen. LIKAMA, m. (the -N fallen away). So in O. Swed. LIKAMBER, gen. LIKAMS, m., and LIKAMI or LIKAMF, gen. LIKAMA, m.; in later Sw. only LEKAMEN, LEKAMENS, m., the -N either fast from the oblique cases or else the late post-article become a part of the word. But in prov. Sw. it is frequently LEGEM, neut. So in prov. Norse it is LIKOM, LEKOM, neut., and the older Danish LEGEME is now LEGEM, neut. In O. Fris. besides the weak m. LIC-HAMA, LICCOMA, LICMA, LECAM, &c., now LICHEM, we have locally (LIC treated as a weak fem.) LICN-AM. The O. Sax. has only the weak form LIC-HAMO, gen. -N. In Ohg. LIC-HAMO &c. is weak m., but also (as in O. Fris.) LICHN-AMO, &c. Hence the Mhg. LICHN-AME. The modern German has only LEICHNAM, gen. -S. — Let us now follow the crumbling of the forms in this part of North-England: Ac. s. LAIC-HAMAN, LAIC-IAMAN, LAIC-IAMA, LAIC-IAME, LAIC-IAM, identical with the mod. Scand. LEGEM, &c. Was it also locally neuter in North-England? It may have been, for it is followed by IUNG, not IUNGAN, or (the N slurred) IUNGA or IUNGE. If masc., then, as common in our old dialects especially in North-England, the adj. is used *absolutely*, without strict grammatical ending. At all events the stone has LAICIAM IUKC, whatever those words may mean.



**KRINT**, KRIST, CHRIST, nom.; much injured especially the T with its 2 side-dints, but readable.

**INKE**, IUKC = IUNC, YOUNG, *young-again, renewed*, ac. s. m. or neut. A flaw above the IU, at the end of line 9, and the c injured. Rather English than Scandian in form, the former having the older liquid sound, in E. commonly spelt GIUNG or GEONG, the latter the shortened sound, UNG.

**RWCN**, RECS. Worn and dim. 3 s. pr. REACHES (in its older meaning), *leads forth, brings*. An instance of the N. Engl. 3 s. pr. in -s, not -TH, and the oldest known to me. No 3 s. pr. occurs on our other Engl. runish remains, and therefore we cannot trace it. But in the Durham Book (Lindisfarne Gospels, about 950) the -IS or ES or AS or -S for ED, AD, in sing. & pl. (-AS sometimes in the sing. and -ES in the plural) is almost *universal*. It must therefore have commenced *centuries* earlier. As I have said, this lisp, still further weakened, became -R in Scandinavia.

**IFT**, IFT, the FT sorrowfully injured. The prep. AFTER, which has very many shorter and longer forms on the monuments.

**BRÆK**, BROK, pretty clear. Ac. s. n. BROKE, *sorrow, death*. From the great root to BREAK. Was never very common in England and is now only provincial. In Scandinavia it would seem to have been still less used. Is now only found in Sweden and Norway (BRÆK, neut.) in the weaker meaning of trouble, ado, wear-and-tear.

**8C**, OC, *but, and*, already spoken of above.

**WC**, EC, EKE, *also, truly*. The E much damaged. Apart from AFVEN (our EVEN, = also), EC (usual modern Swedish OCH, usual modern Danish OG) is now the only word of this kind familiarly used in Scandinavia, the AND having long ago died out there, outtake some traces in such things as the N. I. ENDA. On Scandinavian-runic monuments we have of course manifold local forms, A, AH, AIK, AK, AKU, AOK, AUK (the commonest), E, EK, HUK, IK, O, OAK, OG, OK (the next commonest), OUK, ØUK, UK (very common), UK. In Old-Engl., besides the usual EAC, the varieties are chiefly ÆC and EC.

**WARRDIXIA**, CEARUNGIA, gen. s. f. CARING'S, *sorrow's, anguish's*. A word English in form, not Scandinavian, but probably in old times used also in the same meaning as has been kept up in the Scandian verb KÆRA, &c., namely *accusation, dragging before a law-court*, &c. All the letters are damaged and doubtful. Observe that the NG-sound is here given by NG, not by KK, &c.

**WOP**, WOP, nom. s. m. WHOOP, outcry, clamor, lamentation, WOOP, *weeping, tears*. Whether we take CEARUNGIA WOP to mean = *Care and tears*, or as the savage cry *The Christian to the Lions*, the picture is equally affecting. The former is simpler and more likely.

**AICI**, AICI, *not, never*. Again a dint across the middle of the A, and the AI close together. As the caprices of dialectic development are well known, I need not dwell on them. We have already seen EKE and AND, both *in common* in the oldest Scando-Anglic times, but OK surviving chiefly in the one province, Scandinavia, and chiefly in the other province, England. So again with the negative particles NE and EIGL. This widely spread NE or NI was formerly universal in both Scandia and its colony. It is now nearly extinct in the high North, living on for the most in NEJ (our NAY), and in such rarities as the Icelandic NEINN, = NE EINN (our NONE, = NE ONE), &c. In England we now meet it mostly in NO and the still later NOT (NE WUBT, NE WIBT, no thing), and in such rarities as WILL HE NILL HE (NE WILL), &c. The other nay-word was originally EI (AIW, AY, AI, AYE, ever) with the negative enclitic -GI, -KI, added to various non-verbal words. Thus came EIKI, EIGHI, EIGI, EGI, EKKE, EKKI, ICKE, ÆIGH, EIGH, ÆGH, EGH, ETO, IGH, EGI, EG, AI, EJ, EY, EI, E, &c., = AYE-NOT, NEVER (NE-EVER), NO, NOT. But all this fell away in England so quickly, that no example has yet been found, at least in a form plainly recognisable. Here we have it as AICI. — So SIK (oneself, &c.) fell out so soon in England and Frisland, that no instance has yet turned up, altho we long kept its now dead adj. SIN (his, her, their), which still lives in Frisic.

We have unhappily come to the *last word partly* on the block, for nearly all the rest is fallen away. What is pretty clearly left in this 11th line is **CRWC**, but the o is almost gone. In the under-line are slight traces of 3 staves, the first apparently **λ** (A), the next as it would seem an injured **N** (S), the third the beginning of an **λλ** (M). All the rest has perisht, save that there are spores further on which doubtless are remains of an end-mark, a stop. Between the supposed M and the supposed end-mark there is room for about 7 letters. These I would suggest to fill in, as most likely what once stood, judging by the context, with ECMORE † This will give us COEC(AS mec more), followed by the Cross-mark. As to COECAS, it will of course be 3 s. pres. indic. of the verb COECA(N), in O. S. E. spelt CWECAN or CWECCAN, Mid. Engl. CWECCHEN, now to QUETCH, QUITCH, *shake, move*. As

FAIL is to FELL, LIE to LAY and such, so is QUAKE, to tremble, to QUECK = *to make to tremble or quake*, in a moral sense to *frighten or affect*. This is an excellent word here. *Sorrow or suffering shall never QUECK, QUETCH, move, alarm, torment, me more*. In any case MEC MORE, ME MORE, or some such words, must have ended the line to make the sense complete.

I have thus done my best with this remarkable inscription, as shortly and honestly as I could, twisting and inventing nothing. An error may occur here and there — for future rectification — but I think the general result will stand fast. The whole is clearly 12 lines in simple stave-rime verse, and I here recapitulate it:

IKKALACGC I BUCIAEHOM  
BECKCTO CUOMBIL-BIO  
CIMOKOMS, ALHS COINU,  
OC, TIMD I ECBI,  
O ACLIHCK  
AILIC I RAIIRA WOLK.  
HOUH OSCIL, OSBIOL,  
CUHL, OEKI FAIDU.  
LAICIAM ALWIN KRIST,  
IUKC RECS IFT BROK.  
OC EC CEARUNGIA WOP  
AICI COEC(AS Mec more).

INGALANG IN BUCKENHOME

BIGGED (*built*) this-the-CUMBLE-BOO (*grave-kist*)  
of-CIMOKOM, ALHS QUENE (*wife*);  
OK (*but*), TEEMED (*born*) IN ECBY,  
ON (*at*) ACLEIGH  
AILY (*haily, holy*) IN (*into, to*) RYRE (*ruin, destruction*) she-WALKT (*went*).  
The-HOW (*grave-mound*) OSCIL, OSBIOL,  
CUHL and-OEKI FAWED (*made*).  
My-LECAM (*body*) ALL-WENE (*the All-friend, all-loving*) CHRIST  
YOUNG-again REACHES (*brings back, shall-renew*) AFTER BROOK (*death*).  
OK EKE (*but indeed, and truly*) CARING'S WOOP (*sorrow's tear-flow*)  
NOT (*never*) shall-QUECK (*move, afflict*) (*me more*).

Whatever the date, all will admit that this remarkable block has belonged to the Grave-cross of a Christian Lady — most likely a Christian Martyr<sup>1</sup> — in *very* far-off days, and is written in a venerable and peculiar overgang Old-North-English (Westmoreland) folk-speech. — The last 4 lines are a general echo of 1 Cor. Ch. 15, Revel. 7, 17 and Ch. 21, 4.

As a proof how intensely Scandinavian this part of Westmoreland must have been at an extremely early period, I may mention that in a valuable paper by the Rev. J. F. Hodgson on "Kirkby Stephen Church" (Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiq. & Archæol. Society, 8vo. Vol. 4, Pt. 1, Kendal 1879, pp. 178 foll.), among other excellent illustrations is (pl. 2, p. 186) a photograph of one of the many stone fragments found in repairing this church also, which is only

<sup>1</sup> Christians perisbt for their faith in England in Roman times, as in other parts of the Empire, St. Alban in 304 being the first of note. He was put to death at Verulam, now St. Albans. But when the wild heathen Northmen came, the same would often take place, also as to each other, for the pirates warred against Christ as fiercely as some of the Christian princes did against Woden. And the Northmen begun to settle in Britain long before Hengist and Horsa in 428. Mr. J. Fergusson (Rude Stone Monuments, London 1872, p. 133) thus sums up the evidence workt out by Haigh in his "Conquest of Britain": "My impression is, that even before the Romans left [in 410], Jutes, Angles and Danes had not only traded with, but had settled, both on the Saxonium litus of Kent, and on the east coast of York-shire, Northumberland, and the Lothians; and that during the century that elapsed between the departure of the Romans and the time of Arthur, they were gradually pushing the British population behind the range of hills which extends from Carlisle to Derby and forms the backbone of England."

about 4 English miles from Brough. I have to thank Canon Simpson for a large lightbild of this treasure, one block out of the several which had belonged to a per-antique Church-cross or Grave Cross. It is of carboniferous sandstone, 26 inches high by 14 broad and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  thick, and has apparently stood near a wall as it has nothing on the back. On each side is carved the cable-pattern decoration. On the front, cut in relief, is the figure of a *man with Ram's horns lying on his back strongly and curiously fettered to a rock-point*. The gyves hold hands and feet hard enough. Mr. Hodgson calls it the figure of Satan, and so it is. But how is this to be understood? So exceptionally singular and rude is this piece, that it cannot be much later than the year 700. But the Early Church had no idea of a *Human Chief-Devil in its symbolisation*, much less of a BOUND man-fiend. In the oldest Christian Art the Evil One was always represented by a Serpent or Dragon, or (as on the Bewcastle and Ruthwell Crosses, see my Vol. 1) with reference to Christ's famous miracle, by a couple of Swine, on which our Lord tramples<sup>1</sup>. Therefore the block which stood *above* this one with the fettered fiend doubtless bore the figure of Christ (or of St. Michael who took the place of the heathen THU(N)R, the great foe of the heathen Lóké). The figure therefore is that of the *Scandian Devil, LOKÉ*, who was bound by the ANSES, the Gods (older ANSAS, O. Engl. ES, Icel. ÆSIR, Mod. Scand. ASAR, ASAR, ÆSER, ASER) till Ragna-rök, the Day of Doom<sup>2</sup>. This is a glaring instance of *survival*, as is that of BALDOR-CHRIST in the words on the Ruthwell Cross (see Vol. 1, p. 431). Cædmon (7th century) and our other O. E. poets, following Scandinavian traditions, always represent the man-foe as BOUND, and out of the 50 Drawings in the unique Cædmon Codex no less than 5 show the Devil as *bound*, but variously treated, lying downwards, or upwards, once with wings, once with a tail, according to the fancy of the 10th century artist.

The half-heathen Scandinavian Lóké-Devil is therefore a welcome fellow to the half-English Scandinavian Grave-slab<sup>3</sup>, and was found close by.

<sup>1</sup> The introduction of even *half-human* figures, such as Classical Centaurs and Sirens and Fauns &c., with other old local heathen beings, as helps to personify the Evil One, dates no earlier than about the 10th century. In the middle age fiends become merely and endlessly monstrous, while the Renaissance gives us Acheron, Charon, Hecate, Pluto, Cerberus and the rest. So often overcome or outwitted or mocked, the Devil at last became also a kind of Vice or Clown. I know of no work on the earliest Christian iconography of Lucifer at all worthy of the subject. One reason would be its expense; it would lose much in value unless richly illustrated. The best I have seen is that by Wessely, translated with improvements into Swedish ("Dödens och Djefvulens Gestalter i den bildande konsten, af J. E. Wessely. Svensk bearbetning af C. Eichhorn". 8vo. Stockholm 1877). — The oldest Devil-figures I have seen (only half-human and ugly enough) are a couple on remains Assyrian or Babylonian. One, a slab, is in the British Museum.

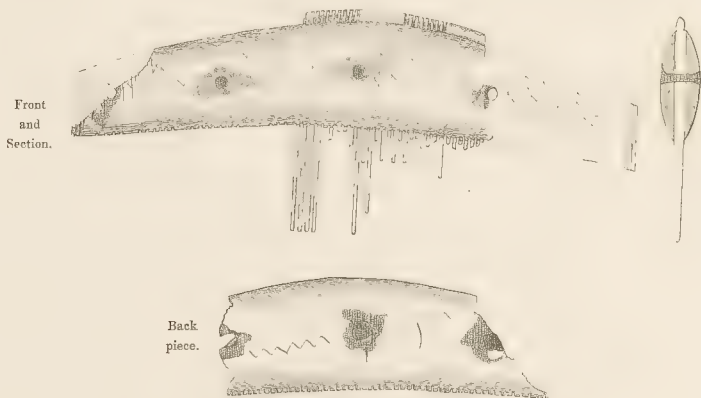
<sup>2</sup> It is wonderful how long this trow held on in Scandinavia. Saxo Grammaticus tells us, as the Danish tradition, that Outyard-Loke (*Ugarthilocus*, see Hist. Dan. Lib. 8) was bound hand and foot with immense chains; and in Sweden, in the horrible witch-burnings of the 17th century, the mad sufferers said that their master the Devil was bound with great fetters which they tried year after year to saw away, but the moment a link was nearly sawn thro an Angel came and soldered it fast again.

<sup>3</sup> As a help to this work, the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society have kindly defrayed the expenses of my Chemotype. This and my text will appear in their "Transactions" long before this volume can be issued to the public.

## WHITBY, YORKSHIRE, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D: 600—650.

*From careful drawings of the original, now in the Whitby Museum, and a Gutta Percha Cast of the runes, kindly forwarded by the Rev. DANIEL HENRY HAIGH. Photoxylograph by J. F. ROSENSTAND, full size.*



My excellent forthfare friend Mr. Haigh communicated this BONE COMB to me in January 1868, and I have to thank him for all the information about it which I here give. It was found in the spring of 1867 on the shore of Whitby, in a kitchen-midding. This very old midding consisted of bird- and beast-bones, with limpet shells. Twenty years ago almost the whole was carted away for manure. Mr. William Dotchson, of Whitby, passing by the remains of the mound, saw the Comb sticking out, and got up all he could. Mr. Haigh urged further search, but nothing more turned up, outtake a small iron tool or fitting. All that could be obtained was therefore the front and back pieces, and three bits of the middle. This was entrusted to Mr. Haigh for his inspection. He made the drawings and took the gutta-percha impression most carefully, but found the whole to be so fragile that he mounted it in a frame under glass, and sent it back to the owner, who gave it to the Whitby Museum. As far as Mr. Haigh could see, the material is — back and front the legbone of a deer, middle a portion of walrus-tooth, the whole fastened by 5 rivets of iron.

In England we have kitchen-middens (refuse-heaps) of all ages. prehistoric, Keltic, Roman, Old-English and Middle-age, not to speak of later "dust-heaps". We need not therefore be surprised at thus meeting with a piece from Anglie times.

But in order to understand this particular lafe we must remember that the Anglie population of Northumbria was largely heathen down to the end of the 6th century and the first years of the 7th, and that even after that period Christianity spread only slowly. Various efforts however were made to convert the folk, and here and there Christian families would multiply. Some of the early missionaries were anchorites or monks or mynchens. These would influence small circles round about them. Saint Hilda did not found her monastery at Strenæshalch (Whitby) till about 657, but there might have been already some infant settlement there, either establist by herself or some pious lady or monk. Saint Hilda's friend and sister in Christ the famous Saint Begu (or Heiu) had planted religious houses at Hartlepool, Hackness, and Healaugh (Heeley near Lancaster), before the close of 650. Now the runic carving here before us is *Christian*, and yet is so *excessively old in its North-English speech* that it must



date *very far back indeed*. It therefore cannot well be later than the first half of the 7th year-hundred. The peculiar wording points back to a Christian *family*, doubtless the small monastic house established at Whitby<sup>1</sup>.

I will not endeavor to make anything of the runic scratches and remains of letters purposely rubbed out which are still visible on the back. All is too far gone. But the letters on the front are clearly and elegantly cut, tho here and there dimmed by the stains of the iron rivets. The marks at the one end of the front flake enable us by measurement from the centre to restore the whole comb in its full shape, and we can thus see pretty well how many letters are lost. The sense of the whole is so clear, that we are also able to complete with some certainty what is gone. All this has been done by Mr. Haigh. But the added parts and letters are given *only in outline*, the *shaded part* being what remains. Mr. Haigh was also good enough to communicate to me his translation:

(go)DU SMÆ US. GOD ALUWALUDO HELIPE CYN(niæss usses).

*May God look upon us. May the good all-wielder help our race.*

And he would fix the date at A. D. 630 or soon after. There can be no doubt that the above version is substantially the meaning. But, for linguistical reasons, my own division and wending would be as follows:

(GO)D USMÆ US! GOD ALUWALUDO HELIPE CUN(niæss ussæss)!

*May-GOD ON-SMÆE (look on, regard, bless) US! May-GOD ALL-WALD (Almighty) HELP KIN  
(family, house) our!*

There are 3 binds, MÆ, DO and HEL, ~~MF~~ carved in a tie, like as ~~MF~~ and ~~NMF~~. Characteristic of the Old-Northumbrian — which tended to cast away N and change the foregoing o into u — is USMÆ; in O. S. E. this would have been ON-SMÆ. The "grand forms", as they are aptly termed by Mr. Haigh, ALUWALUDO and HELIPE, for the later ALWALD and HELPE, remind us of the same richness of endings and of vowels which we find on the like old monuments of the Scandian main.

<sup>1</sup> Not only are Combs often found in heathen and Christian graves, as having been set great store by while the owner lived, but they were also long preserved in Churches or Religious Houses. They were sometimes of wood, more commonly of ivory. Several can yet be seen which have belonged to famous Saints. In olden times they were often a part of the Church-furniture, that the priest might reverently comb himself ere he began his holy functions. Some of these antique looms are very large, double-combs, and a few are highly carved or otherwise decorated, now and then inscribed, sometimes being set with stones. The Comb was also one of the *very few* things looked upon as needful to Monks and Mynchens, ere the cloister-folk became rich and riotous. Orm says in the Ormulum, date about 1215, (ed. by R. M. White, Vol. 1, 8vo, Oxford 1852, l. 6334, foll., p. 219), speaking of the Monk:

Forr himm birrþ beon full elene mann,  
And all wiþþutenn ahhite,  
Buttan þatt mann himm findenn shall  
Unnorne mete and wæde.  
And tærr iss all þatt eorþliþ þing  
þatt minnstremann birrþ aþhenn  
Wiþþutenn cnif and sþæpe and camb,  
And nedle, jiff he't ȝeorneþþ.  
And all þiss shall mann findenn himm.  
And wel himm birrþ itt ȝemenn;  
Forr birrþ himm nowwþerr don þæroff,  
Ne ȝifenn itt, ne sellenn.

*For him it birth (behooveth) to-be a-full clean (pure) man.  
And all without ahts (owings, goods),  
But that man (one) to him find shall  
Un-orn (simple) meat and weed (raiment).  
And there (this) is all that earthly thing  
That minster-man (a monk) ought to-own  
Without (except) Knife and Sheath and comb,  
And Needle, if he-it yearneth (greatly desires).  
And all this shall man (people) find him  
And well him it-birth (needs) to yene (take care of it);  
For it-birth (behooves) him neither to-do there-of (to do it away, lose it),  
Nor give it, nor sell-it.*

Two elegant and interesting "Liturgical Combs", to which Class the Whitby specimen belongs, are in the Museum at Brussels, found at Stavelot; both engraved by E. Reusens (Éléments d'Archéologie Chrétienne, Vol. I, Louvain 1872, 8vo, p. 439, 440). The smaller one bears on one side: QVISQVIS EX ME SVVM PLANARIT QVOQ. CAPVT, on the other: VIVAT FELIX FELICITER SEMPER ANNIS.

In his letter communicating this piece<sup>1</sup>, Mr. Haigh said: "I think you will regard this as a very precious addition to our English runic treasures". It is so indeed, but we also look upon it as another proof of the devotion and land-love and care of our late noble rune-smith Mr. Haigh, without whose aid and tact this piece would probably have been lost to runic science!

Since the above was made ready for the press has appeared Mr. Haigh's treatise on "Yorkshire Runic Monuments", in the Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 1872, which reached me in October 1872. At p. 28 Mr. Haigh handles this lufe, illustrated by engravings. Here the name of the finder is given as Dotchon, and Mr. Haigh remarks: "A couple of border lines incised at each end, and an occasional serration of the upper edge of the tooth-plate, are the only ornaments. The teeth are cut with great regularity, much closer and finer than those of any combs found in barrows; indeed little inferior to modern work. — — — For my part, when I compare the beautiful regularity of the saw-cut teeth, with those of the best examples from Kentish graves, and the very similar ones from the cemetery at Nordendorf, and note the superiority of its workmanship, and the absence of the ornamentation which characterises them, I cannot help thinking of the "pectinem eboneum inauratum", which Pope Boniface sent to Queen Æthelburg, A. D. 625. No trace of gilding now appears: but, perhaps it would be carefully rubbed off, before the broken, and so useless, comb was thrown away. The superior execution of the comb seems to require the supposition that some extraneous ornamentation is lost."

I cannot understand how the gilding can have been in any way "rubbed off", without at the same time destroying the delicate runes; nor is it likely that a gift from the Pope to a Queen would have been so soon "thrown away", even tho it had been somewhat "broken". On the contrary, the plain and simple style of this piece would seem to show that, tho of superior workmanship, it was not a papal present.

At p. 29 Mr. Haigh prints his translation<sup>2</sup>, as given above, but he now prefers to fill in the broken end with *INGÆS ÆDWINÆS*, instead of *NLÆS USSÆS*, and therefore now gives:

“(Go)du smæc us. God aþwataldo helipæ cyn(ingæs Ædwinæ).”

May God regard us. May good All-wielder help King Ædwin!

On the same page Mr. Haigh now fixes the date of this piece at about A. D. 625, and adds: "It must be remembered that Whitby was royal demesne, and as such was granted by King Oswiu to S. Hild for the foundation of her monastery. A. D. 658; that Ædwin was already buried there, and Oswiu twelve years later; and that Æthelæd, daughter of Ædwin and wife of Oswiu, the first baptised of the Northumbrian nation, chose it for the retirement of her widowhood and her last repose. Thus a comb which had belonged to this family, might well have been lost at Whitby. Did it belong to Queen Æthelburg? Have we here the expression of her anxiety for her husband's conversion?"

I should say, certainly not, nor is a comb a likely place for such "anxiety". I prefer my learned friend's first filling-in, the simple and natural *CYN(nlæc ussæc)* to his later *CYN(ingæs Ædwinæ)*, of which we have not the shadow of proof or reason, and adhere to my reading as given above.

<sup>1</sup> See the similar *SOWHULA* and *PÆRES* of the Bewcastle Cross; the *RICHÆ* of the Ruthwell Cross; the *ROWWALDS* and *RECHWALDS* and *WELIF* and *GIUPEASU* of the Franks Casket; the *SULFUR* of the Coquet Island Ring.

<sup>2</sup> This had already been made public June 7, 1872, for in the Athenæum for June 15, 1872, I find: — "Archæological Institute, June 7. Mr. Greaves read 'Remarks upon a Runic Comb, Jet and Glass Beads, Arrow Heads, and other objects of Flint, lately found near Whitby', which were exhibited by him. The inscription on the comb had been deciphered by Dr. Haigh, and was of the seventh century. It had, perhaps, belonged to Ethelburga, the wife of Edwin, the first Christian king of Northumberland, to whom Pope Boniface sent a silver mirror and a gilt ivory comb." — Thus other things have been since found in the kitchen-midden. — In 1879 our learned Scandinavian scholar the Rev. J. C. Atkinson, of Dauby in Yorkshire, says (Cartularium Abbatie de Whiteby, Surtees Society, 8vo, London 1879, p. XV): "The great 'kitchen-midding' which is known to exist in so many places at the foot of the bank above which slopes the 'Almary Field', is quite sufficient as an index to the site of the domestic buildings of the elder monastery; and, indeed, a very cursory glance at the brae of the said bank, even without the remembrance of the runed Anglo-Saxon comb found there (and now in the local museum) would go very far towards enforcing the same conclusion; it is full of the matters which go to constitute what is understood by a kitchen-midding."

## NORTHUMBRIA, ENGLAND.

NETHI'S CASKET. — ABOUT 620—650.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 378 and foll., and 865.*

Several critics have surmised that this Casket cannot be called *Keltic*-Northumbrian, and that its date must be *several centuries* later than that given by me.

My conclusions were formed from the Runes and their contents — which are conclusive if my reading be correct —, and from the general work and style and distinctive ornamentation as compared with that of other olden Keltic remains then known to me, and from Northumbrian remains largely impregnated with Keltic influences, including the Lindisfarne Ms. of about the year 700.

But I have just (Jan. 1875) received Part 3 of the Facsimiles published by the Palæographical Society of London. This contains, *inter alia*, specimens from the costly codex called St. Chad's Gospels, date — as the learned editor says — "about A.D. 700". See especially No. 35, the charming picture-leaf. Its prevailing type is "birds and lacertine animals", and its general effect *strikingly* reminds us of the Casket which I have called Keltic-Northumbrian, and which I have attributed to the 7th century. My date therefore remains unshaken<sup>1</sup>.

Mr. Haigh reads and translates the inscription very differently. See his "Runic Monuments of Kent", p. 179. In this work he handles many other of the pieces in my volumes, but his interpretations are seldom mine. I cannot go into details. The reader must consult the work for himself.

## COLLINGHAM, YORKSHIRE, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 651.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 390.*

In his paper on "The Runic Monuments of Northumbria", 1870, pp. 21—28 (and plate behind), Mr. Haigh says he has obtained fresh casts from Mr. Denny, but admits that "the traces of letters are not nearly so plain on the casts of 1870 as on those of 1855, for the surface of the stone has suffered from the exposure during this interval." Yet he thinks he can restore the inscription. Altering his former guess of *ÆDILBLÆD* into *ÆONBLÆD*, he would suggest:

(æonblæd þis settæ	"Æonblæd this set
ÆFTER (gisibæ	After (her) cousin
ymb) AÐSWINI CŪ(ning	After Oswini (the) king
gicægæþ þær sawle).	Pray for the soul."

All this does not alter my opinion (p. 391).

<sup>1</sup> In June 1880 appeared the valuable and richly illustrated essay by Dr. Sophus Müller: "Dyreornamentiken i Norden", Svo, Kjøbenhavn. Here the oldest English pieces, in stone, bone, metal, &c. are "interpreted away", brought down several hundred years, by a theory in my opinion altogether erroneous. In short, without speaking of the acknowledged contact of the Gothic North with the flourishing Greek Colonies in "Scythia" many hundred years before Christ, whence *probably* came the Old-Northern Runes, *certainly* some Classical Art-motives and *perhaps* some elements of Mythological tradition — also the *post-Christian facts* SHALL NOT ONCE *date the ornamentation*. The OLDEN RUNES with their linguistic archaisms and their *plain historical statements*, the early influence of Roman Art in Roman Britain, the *immense* intercourse with Rome and Italy in the oldest Anglo-Christian times, the *existing proofs* of Roman and early Romance decorative types in Britain centuries *before* the desolating stream of the Wiking invasions, — are all quietly ignored. And this, to make Charlemagne the *inventor* of an art-school which he chiefly *imported from England*.

## KIRKDALE, YORKSHIRE, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 660.

Many years ago, in work done at the ancient Church of Kirkdale, part of a coffin-slab came to light on which was cut a Latin Cross Quadrate, with the top and two limbs also Quadrate. On the 4 ends of this Cross were Old-English runes, slightly carved. The slab was examined by the late Mr. Haigh, and also by the Rev. Jos. Th. Fowler, F.S.A., of Durham. Mr. Haigh thought the 4 groups of letters were:

W A T I

CYN I

X X B I

NGOD I

I P P F I

LWAL

M F X

DÆG

and assumed it to mark the grave of King *ÆDLWALD* of Deira (Yorkshire), A. D. 651—660. Mr. Fowler, however, tho fully admitting that runes *were* there, could not make anything out of them, and could not support Mr. Haigh. At this moment the slab is very much worse than it was then, and gives not one distinct stave. I therefore abandon this monument as illegible.

In the summer of 1880, when this church was restored, among other pieces. was found part of what *may* have been a Runic Cross. But it bears *no runes*, only some of the usual knot-work ornament.

## BAKEWELL, DERBYSHIRE, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600—700.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 373.*

## LANCASTER, LANCASHIRE, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600—700.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 375.*

I now agree with the last suggestion of Mr. Haigh, that at the close the letter is an *h*, half gone, that next came a *t*, of which there is only a trace, and that the rune for *ing* is quite broken away. I now so think from an examination (in 1875) of *the stone itself*, which, thanks to the zeal of Mr. Franks, is now in the British Museum. And this substantially coincides with our great Kemble's idea, in my eyes an additional proof. I therefore read:

GI-BIDÆD FORÆ CUNIBALD CUTHBÆREHTING).

*BID (pray ye) FOR CUNIBALD CUTHBÆREHTING (= CUTHBERT-SON)*

## NORTHUMBRIA, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600—700.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 386.*



## CROWLE, LINCOLNSHIRE, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 650—750.

*From Casts, Rubbings and Light-bilds kindly forwarded by the Rev. JOSEPH THOMAS FOWLER, M. A., F. S. A.*

For our knowledge of this interesting shaft as a *runic* monument — thus adding a fresh English shire to our runic field, a fresh English Runic Cross to our scanty store — we have to thank the enlightened zeal and open purse of our English old-Jorist the Rev. Joseph Thomas Fowler, of Winterton in Lincolnshire, (now Vice-Principal of Hatfield College, Durham). That gentleman first got

light-bilds made from his own drawings, and gave one copy to Canon William Greenwell of Durham, who kindly forwarded it to me, thus bringing me into direct auspicious correspondence with Mr. Fowler. But Mr. Fowler also gladdened the late Rev. D. H. Haigh, of Erdington, with a cast of the runes, and that great rune-smith favored me with an excellent drawing of the same, 'full size. But, about a year after his find, Mr. Fowler redd some notes on the subject to the Society of Antiquaries of London, at their sitting December 17, 1868, and these remarks were printed in their "Proceedings", 8vo, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 187-191, where also is given a small woodcut of the shaft, showing the two broad sides<sup>1</sup>, and another of the runes separately. I beg to copy the following extract from this paper:

"The remains of what are called 'Runic Crosses' are allowed to be among the most interesting of the memorials yet remaining to us of early Christianity in Britain. Many of these have been thoroughly examined and described; but the one I am about to bring before your notice has received but little attention, and until quite recently a considerable portion of it has been, as one side still is, concealed in masonry about seven hundred and fifty years old. It serves as a lintel in the Norman doorway leading from the tower to the nave in the church of St. Oswald, at Crowle, in the county of Lincoln. There is a slight notice of it in Stonehouse's History of the Isle of Axholme, illustrated by woodcuts which give but a very poor idea of what they are intended to represent.

"It does not appear to have been understood at this time, what is now perfectly evident from the tapering form of the stone as well as from the position of the figures, that it was not originally intended for its present situation, but was meant to stand upright and isolated. The portion now remaining is just 7 feet long, 18 inches across at the wider and 14 at the narrower end; the thickness is about 7 or 8 inches. On the west side there has been some cutting and bevelling, in order to adapt it to the form of the arch and tympanum, but this has not materially interfered with the sculptured portion of the stone. When I particularly examined it about a year ago it was encrusted by many coats of wash, and it was doubtless in a similar condition when Stonehouse's drawings were made. Setting to work with brush, pail of water, and wooden scraper, I succeeded in thoroughly cleaning the surface, and clearly making out the figure of a man riding upon an ass. I also, to my great delight, discovered some Runic characters in what had been the lower part of the stone, and saw reason to believe that there were others concealed in the wall. At the opposite end there was evidently more sculpture built over, but it was not then possible to examine further. Since this time some stones have been removed so as to expose the whole length of what is now the eastern surface, that side namely, on which the human figures and the inscription are. The result is that two more letters have been brought to light at the one end, and at the other all the part which has been above the heads of the pair of human figures shown by Stonehouse. The stone, however, which is a sandstone brought from a distance, is so much disintegrated that it is not easy to determine what the two figures under the large circular device are intended for.

"It will be seen in the drawing that a cable-moulding runs along each angle, represented as if tied in a knot on either side. The opposite face of the stone is almost wholly occupied by interlaced work similar to what is seen on Roman pavements and on other Runic crosses, but the pattern has apparently been blundered by the workman. At the upper end is a horned serpent. . . . There are some faint traces of an interlaced pattern on what is now the under side of the stone. The upper side, which may possibly bear a long inscription, cannot be exposed without pulling to pieces the whole of the arch and tympanum which it supports."

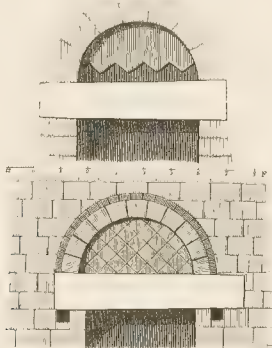
So far Mr. Fowler in 1868<sup>2</sup> as to this precious fragment from Crowle (pronounce Crool!). I here show it as it rested by one edge on the jambs of the door, while with the other it supported the masonry above. For the lightbilds taken on the spot, and here engraved, I have to thank Mr. Fowler.

<sup>1</sup> This view has been repeated in the Reliquary (London, 8vo, July 1869), as illustration to an article ("Observations on the lintel of a doorway at Crowle Church, Lincolnshire") by the Rev. George Dodds, D.D. Dr. Dodds looks on the stone as having formed part of a Druidical Temple, the figures as signifying Noah and the Ark, &c., and the runes as being in Dano-Saxon to the effect "BESTOW A PRAYER ON LIN A NUN" ("NUNLIN-BONCNE"). Such speculations only show want of acquaintance with our own Northern folklore.

<sup>2</sup> In 1869 Mr. Fowler made another communication to the Society of Antiquaries, after he had temporarily removed the stone and carefully examined it, &c. See Proceedings of the Soc. of Ant. of London. Vol. 4. London 1870, p. 373, under date Nov. 18, 1869.

## POSITION OF CROWLE STONE.

*Upper* drawing, section of wall at East face of stone; *Lower* drawing, West face of Doorway.



This was originally an outer entrance, as the tower was built long after the lower portion of the nave, and the doorway is of the same date as the fine Early-English (vulgarly "Norman") arch forming the southern doorway of the nave. "This is evident" — says (? Mr. Fowler in) "The Retford, Worksop, Isle of Axholme and Gainsburgh News" for August 28, 1869 — "from the architectural character of the work, which is known by its general features and by the closeness of its joints to be of the later Norman period. In the *tympanum* or filling-up of the arch, the stones were so closely set that it was thought by an experienced builder to be all in one piece. This reminds us of Roger de Caen, Bishop of Salisbury A. D. 1107—1139, one of the greatest builders of his day, who is said by an old chronicler to have first built "with such close joints that the whole fabric seemed of one stone".

But Mr. Fowler was not content with what he had already done. With a noble enthusiasm he determined to have the stone taken out and examined. Having gotten the ready leave of the Vicar and Churchwardens, he effected this on the 17th of August 1869, and on the following days were made the Casts, Rubbings and Lightbids which he so generously sent me for my work. On the 21st of August the shaft was returned to its place and the arch and tympanum rebuilt, but the two chief (broad) sides, that is the front and back of the Runic Cross, may still be seen even better than before.

Thus it is to Mr. Fowler that we and our aftercomers owe our compleat scientific knowledge and mastery of this costly Old-English Runic lave.

Mr. Fowler's letter to me announcing his having sent off the case of Casts and Rubbings, &c., is dated Sept. 13, 1869. Among other things he says: "I wish I could have sent you casts of all the four sides for the Runic Hall, but this was not practicable. I believe the casts of the runes are as good as can be obtained. Some of the casts were taken before the whitewash was removed, and accordingly do not show the grain of the stone. I send them in order that you and your accomplished artist may the better understand the exact kind of relief in which the figures and patterns are cut. I wish to direct your attention particularly to the cast (and photograph from cast) of the object behind the head of the rider, for in certain lights it seems to me to bear traces of human features. It shows very well too the chopping and hacking to which all that side of the stone has been subjected, apparently in order to deface the figures. The specimen of stone I send [a wee bit of red sandstone] was broken off accidentally. I take it to be millstone grit from near Leeds, whence it might easily have come by water. Some parts of the stone are softer than the specimen, and so much perished that little hard spots of ironstone stand up from the general surface  $\frac{1}{10}$  of an inch or more. I send also a specimen of some brown dust which I found in the hollows of the chain or knot-work on the walled up side. Microscopic examination shows it to consist of decayed moss, probably *Tortula Muralis*, the common wall screw-moss, which was doubtless growing on the stone previous to its being placed where it now again is. The two ends of the stone have been cut off, but not I think to any great extent. There are no traces of tenons or mortises. You will observe on the narrow sides the places



where *the arms of the cross*, or perhaps the enclosing circle, have been broken off. The side which looks so indistinct has been *more chipped down* than the rest: it seems to have borne a chain-pattern. There is a notion among the Crowle people that the two central figures are "Adam and Eve", and some go so far as to claim for their town the honor of being the burial-place of our first parents."

To all this information, so trustworthy and exact, I have little to add. The outcome of the whole is, that about the year 1150, when the oldest part of this Crowle Church was raised, one of the large stones used as building-stuff was this Runic Grave-cross, then a *sule* (single pillar) perhaps about 10 feet long, which was standing or more likely lying (long since overturned and the arms smasht) in the old church-yard over the forgotten grave-mound of some one whose kin had many years ago died out or flitted to some other shire. The hungry sexton got a handsome something for it as a perquisite (just as they do now!), and the Master of the Works thought it "capital" as a lintel. The mason then chipt and chiseled away here and there, to suit his convenience, and thus so much of the surface has been nearly skinned off. That the grave-beacon is hundreds of years older than the date of its being thus made use of, is self-evident. It is proved by the very antique style of the wicker-work the knot-twists and the worm-winds, by the wonderfully helpless conventional and "barbaric" treatment of the figures, and by the runes themselves — which, in this folkland, so early and so largely "Danish" have had time to become *Old-English*. Not the primitive *Old-Northern Runes* brought in by the first Danish settlers.

The ornamentation speaks for itself, and needs no comment. One of its most striking morsels is the head of the snake biting its own tail.

We cannot certainly say what the raised bilds mean; they are too rudely cut, too much damaged, and have not one word of explanatory text. The lower one is a figure riding on an ass or a horse. Is this person a man or a woman? Is the roughness on the chin a beard? Should we decide for the latter, it can scarcely be other than *Christ riding into Jerusalem*, the head behind symbolizing the on-following crowd. But should we say it is a woman, perhaps the lower part of the face muffled up with a kerchief, it will then be the usual picture of *the Flight into Egypt*, the head behind meaning Joseph. This very subject is carved in the same way at the bottom of the Ruthwell Cross, East side, my p. 414, under G.

The upper group is doubtless *the joyful meeting of the Hermit-saints Antony and Paul in the wilderness*, a well-known theme for early Christian art. Commonly they are shown breaking the loaf so strangely brought them by a Raven, and this would seem to be the case here in spite of this part being so much defaced. The same legendary subject is carved on the Ruthwell Cross, East side. See my remarks thereon p. 413, under letter F. Curiously enough, the two hallows on the Ruthwell Cross are *beardless*, tho the loaf in their hands and the Latin words around plainly tell us that it is PAUL AND ANTONY BREAKING THEIR LOAF IN THE DESERT, and these two saints were, as we know, right venerable oldings. On the other hand, the Crowle Cross shows them plainly *bearded*.

Lastly, the rune-rising. Most of this has been cut away by the workman's chisel and other mishaps. Only what would seem to be *the middle* of the grave-formula is left. In my reading I agree fully with Mr. Haigh. With him, I believe that the first partly legible stave was  $\mathfrak{F}$  (A), the next  $\mathfrak{L}$  (P). The others are clear as far as B. Next came, tho now so dim and defaced,  $\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{T}$  (CAFTLE). Thus the first 3 marks, the  $\mathfrak{AP}\mathfrak{E}$ , are a mansname with that ending. The last 5 characters are BEAFTLE, the following R now quite gone, thus BEAFTLE(R), the same in meaning as the usual AFTER (= AFTER, TO, in memory of). The middle and distinctly readable word is the compound LIC-BÆCUN. We have before had the word BEACON in England, and also in Gotland, for a *funeral block*. (See BECUN in my Wordrow, p. 912). But here is prefixt LIC (pronounce LEEK, now sounded LEEK and LICH), a dead body, thus making *corpse-beacon*, *burial-pillar*, *grave-stone*. This LIC-BÆCUN is here found for the first time in Old-English, and has not been seen in any other Scando-Gothic folk-talk.

Thus the whole has been:

.....  $\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{B}(\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{T})$  .....

..... (AP)E LIC-BÆCUN B(CAFTLE)P .....

(Set ...)  $\mathfrak{AP}\mathfrak{E}$  this-LIC-BEACON (grave-shaft) AFTER .....

It will be observed that there are no marks of division in the above rising.



## HARTLEPOOL, DURHAM, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 650—700.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 392, 396, 865.*

## BEWCASTLE, CUMBERLAND, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 670.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 398.*

See a paper on Bewcastle and its Cross, by W. Nanson, B. A., in Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Ant. and Arch. Soc., Vol. 3, p. 215, Kendal 1878, 8vo.

## RUTHWELL, NORTHUMBRIA, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 680.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 405—448, 865.*

P. 435. — J. Zupitza, who has examined the venerable Cambridge Beda codex, agrees entirely with Haigh except in one word. He reads *fold\** (= *foldu*), not *foldan*. (Über den Hymnus Cædmons), Zeitschr. f. deutsches Alt. Bd. 22, 8vo, Berlin 1878, p. 214. — (August 1879. This leaf has since been issued in facsimile by the English Palæographical Society, and we see at once that Prof. Zupitza is correct.)

## YARM, YORKSHIRE, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 684—700.

*Phototypograph by J. F. ROSENSTAND from light-bilds kindly forwarded by the Rev. J. T. FOWLER, F. S. A., Vice-Principal of Hatfield Hall, Durham.*

This piece is not in runes. But it claims a place here as inestimable in itself, and as being in a very old North-English dialect, like so many of the English runics. It is all that is left of a tall grave-cross, of sandstone, and was found by our famous English digger Canon Greenwell of Durham and his friends, at a meeting of the Durham Archæological Society in 1877. The bit before us is 2 feet 2 inches high, 1 foot  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch wide, and  $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches thick. As both the narrow sides are alike in pattern, only one is given here. It was first made known to me by my departed friend the Rev. D. H. Haigh, who at once sent me an excellent tracing of the inscription, and whose sharp eye

discovered the damaged PR in the broken top line. Various hindrances have as yet delayed its publication by Mr. Fowler in the *Journal of the Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Association*<sup>1</sup>; but in the meantime, as a contribution to this my 3rd volume, that zealous old-lorist has most courteously favored me (Nov. 1879) with sun-pictures, and with the following communication:

"The inscribed stone about which you enquire is a portion of a shaft of an early monumental cross, which for many years served as a weight in a mangle at Yarm in Yorkshire, a place on the south bank of the Tees, which river here divides between that county and Durham. Nothing is known



of the previous history of the stone, the photographs sufficiently shew what its present appearance is. It is now preserved in the Durham Chapter Library. The late Rev. D. H. Haigh read the inscription thus: - - - - PRB - - - | MBEREHC T + SAC + ALLA + SIG | NUMAEFTER HISBREODERA YSETAE + He considered that PRB stood for *presbyter*, and SAC for *sacerdos*, and, assuming that a portion had been broken away from the top, proposed to render it: (*N.*) to the priest (*Trum*)berecht (and) to the bishop Alla, in memory of his brothers, set up (this) cross (signum).

"Professor Earle of Oxford has had paper casts, and suggests the following: (P)BO (HE) RIBEREHC | T + SAC + | ALLA + SIGN | UMAEFTER | HISBREODERA (Y)SETAE + For *Hereberht* priest (or, For *H.* sacred(?) Alla erected this cross in memory of his brother.

"I may add that the letters in the top line are very indistinct even on the stone itself, that to Canon Greenwell and myself the first letter in the second line has always looked like *n*, and that the first in the last line is very doubtful, and quite as much like *s* as *y*. Prof. Earle too says, "I wish, I could see the *y* more distinctly."

"It has occurred to me that there may have been ORATE in a line now quite gone, and that it may have been: + Pray for *Tuniberecht* + bishop (or priest) + Alla set up (this) cross "after" his brother.

"This is all I can tell you about it; you will doubtless state your own views for yourself."

First, as usual, the woodcuts being ready (March 1, 1880), we must try sharply to fix the staves themselves. And in doing this we must remember that at this early time minne-stones in the

<sup>1</sup> This active Society has munificently paid the cost of my 3 woodcuts, and will give this my paper thereon a place in their *Journal*, where it will appear *before* the printing of this volume is ended.

West to princes of the Church or to officers or members thereof were written in the language of the Church — Latin, (very rarely in Greek, or Latin with Greek letters). Only in the Scando-Anglic lands do we find the stubborn mother-tung employed, wholly or in part, whether the staves were Runish or Roman. (In heathen days, of course, only the local dialect and the local Runes were carved.) So here. The prayer-bidding and the technical Church-term SIGNUM (= BECUN) were in *Latin*, the rest in the local *Old-North-English* speech. For, having regard to the formula, there can be no doubt in my mind that my learned brother Fowler is quite right, and that the lost line at the top began with the usual ORATE. I think it is also clear that Prof. Earle has happily redd the 3 letters in the top line, PRO. Sufficient is left of them to make this nearly certain, and they belong to this particular and very common word-fall. In the 2nd line I believe that Mr. Haigh identified the first letter correctly as M, the usual minuscule, tho worn above. I believe it cannot possibly be any other stave. The dash, or contraction-mark over the minuscule a in SAC is plain. The only remaining twayly mark is the 1st in the last line. But here also I agree with Haigh, and read  $\mathfrak{S}$ ,  $\mathfrak{Y}$ , that antique half-runic vowel which afterwards became  $\mathfrak{Y}$ , then  $\mathfrak{Y}$ , and of which I have spoken in my Vol. 1, p. 158. As we can date this stone, the shapes of the letters are most valuable to students of Palæography. We have also the common mingling of minuscules and majuscules, variations, and letters cut small for want of room. The *dated* and *localized* decorations are also precious to the archæologist. Everything is Old-Northumbrian with a touch of Keltic, in one word — Kelto-Northumbrian. My own reading therefore will be:

[\* orate  
PRO tru]  
MBEREHC  
1 + SAC +  
ALLA + SIGN  
UMAEFTER  
HISBREODERA  
YSETAE +

[\* pray-ye] | [FOR tru] | MBEREHC + | BISHOP + | ALLA this-MEMORIAL AFTER HIS BROTHER SET +

It is clear that the key to the whole is the name, by Haigh and myself taken as TRUMBERRT, and his title of SACERDOS. On the Cross, SAC is a contraction for SACERDOTI. Sure it is, that the name ends in -BERHT, and that he was a SACERDOS. Now it is well known that in the early Church the epithet SACERDOS had a very distinctive meaning. It signified *Bishop*, like as SACERDOTIUM was used for *Episcopate* and as a word of respectful address, like our *Right Reverend*; while, on the other hand, the word for *Priest* was PRESBYTER. Therefore this -BERHT, whoever he was, was a *Bishop*. And indeed it is unreasonable to suppose that so large and costly and ornamental a pillar as this must have been when first raised, beautiful and complete, — should have been put up to a simple Priest. The style and language go back to about the 7th century or so. Now what Bishops ruled in England at about this time, whose name ended in -BERCHT? W. Stubbs, in his solid "Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum" (Oxford 1858, sm. 4to) will tell us. We begin with the *very first* in England in -BERT:

AGILBERT,	Bishop of	Dorchester,	consecrated	650.
TRUMBERT,	"	"	Hexham,	" 681.
CUTHBERT,	"	"	Lindisfarne,	" 685.
EADBERT,	"	"	"	" 688.
SUIDBERT,	"	"	Friesland,	" 693.
NOTHBERT,	"	"	Elmham,	" 693 X 706.
EADBERT,	"	"	Selsey,	" 709.
KINBERT,	"	"	Lindsey,	" 706 X 731.
EGBERT,	"	"	York,	" 734.
FRITHBERT,	"	"	Hexham,	" 734.
CUTHBERT,	"	"	Hereford,	" 736.
EADBERT,	"	"	Leicester,	" 764.
ALUBERT,	"	"	Selsey,	" 746 X 765.



JAENBERT,	Bishop of Canterbury,	consecrated	766.
ETHELBERT,	" " York,	"	767.
ALDBERT,	" " London,	"	767.
ALDBERT,	" " Hereford,	"	777.
ETHELBERT,	" " Whithern,	"	777.
ALDBERT,	" " Dunwich,	"	766 × 778.
HIGBERT,	" " Lichfield,	"	779.
TILBERT,	" " Hexham,	"	781.
KINBERT,	" " Winchester,	"	781 × 785.
HEATHROBERT,	" " London,	"	794.
DENEBERT,	" " Worcester,	"	798.
WIGBERT,	" " Sherborn,	"	796 × 801.
EANBERT,	" " Hexham,	"	800.

We surely need not go further, into the 9th and 10th centuries. The shape of the letters alone would forbid this. The only other defensible reading of what stands before the -BEREHT hitherto proposed is RI. But in *all* the above long list there is *no name* beginning with -- RIBERT. If not RI, the mark can only be M, in its usual minuscule form. And in the above roll there is *only one* Bishop whose name begins with -- MBERT, and that is TRUMBERT, Bishop of Hexham, West of Newcastle. This prelate's name is as usual variously spelt, according as it was variously slurred in the pronunciation, or as the copyists were more or less careful. In the O. E. Chronicle it is TRUMBYRHT, TRUMBRIHT, in Beda TUNBERT and so (TUNBERHT) in Florence of Worcester, but in his English version of Beda King Alfred gives it as TRUMBYRHT. But all these are late forms compared with the sametime pillar<sup>1</sup>. Comparing Beda (4. 12), Florence of Worcester (681) and the O. E. Chron. (681. 685), we see that this Anglian Missionary succeeded EATA as Bishop of "Hagustaldes-ham" (= Hexham) in 681, but was driven away by the revolted Picts in 684, and in the following year at the synod of Twyford EATA was restored in the see, CUTHBERT, the elected, preferring Lindisfarne. When TRUMBERHT died we are not told. He may have lived to the end of the century, 16 years. I have therefore dated the stone between 684 and 700. The fragment was found at Yarm, some 50 English miles from Hexham, and he may have retired to that village and died there. Or the stone itself may have wandered.

But, from a linguistic point of view, the costliest vocable on this piece is of course the BREODERA. It occurs here for the first time on these forn monuments in England as dat. sing. Our next oldest Old-English things containing it are probably the Durham or Lindisfarne Gospels, from about 950. I have noted the following examples from this skinbook of its use in the dat. sing. Where the South-English text has BREDER in the dat. s. and the Rushworth N. E. Gloss BRODER, the Lindisfarne N. E. has, (*besides* ðæm BRODER in *Prolog. Mt. Cambridge ed. p. 10, l. 12*):

- Mat. 5, 22: BRODERE his.  
 " " " BRODERE his.  
 " " 24: BRODERE ðinum.  
 " 22, 24: BRODERE his *vel* his BROEDRE.  
 " " 25: BROEDER his.  
 Mark 12, 19: BROEDRE his.  
 Luke 12, 13: BRODERE minum.  
 " 20, 28: BRODERE his.

Thus in the Lindisfarne-Ms. dialect BRODER usually makes its dat. sing. by a vowel-ending, BRODERE, commonly shortened to BRODER; but *instead* of this it mostly has the broken in-vowel, thus BROEDER. In our Northern English codices OE and EO often seem used promiscuously to express the same sound.

<sup>1</sup> On the about contemporaneous stone, with its beautifully carved Cross and decorations in the Keltic style, at Tullylease, Duhallow, County Cork, Ireland, is inscribed in elegant minuscules: "qui cum quæ hunc titulum legerit orat pro berechtwine." Here, on a same-time slab, the BERECHT is as old in form as the BERECHT of the Yarm Cross. Saint Berchtwine came from the north of England, lived long in Ireland, and died at Tullylease. — See W. Reeves, *Ulster Journ. of Archaeol.*, vol. 6, and M. Stokes, *Christian Inscriptions*, 4to, Pt. 5, in both which works it is engraved. — About 50 years later is a stone at Wensley in Yorkshire bearing a floriated cross and, in raised majuscules (with 1 minuscule), EATBERHT ET ARDUM. Here the guttural is already softened. See this curious slab engraved (from a drawing by the late Rev. D. H. Haigh) in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 6, 1880. Mr. Haigh points out that the contemporary coins of King Eadberht bear EAT-, EAD-, EOT-BEREHTS.



In the oldest Scandinavian parchments *BRODIR* makes its dat. s. *BRODIR* or *BROBOR*; but also, breaking the in-vowel, *BROER* or *BROEDER*. There is *one* instance, in a codex of the Vestmanna Law (Sweden) of the end-vowel, its nom. *BRODIR* making dat. s. *BRODIRI*, where *i*, in the usual way, represents an older *e*, and this an older *æ* and *a*. On Scandian runish stones no dat. s. has yet turned up.

In O. Frisic there are 2 instances of the end-vowel, *BROTHERE* and *BRODERE*.

In all the other Scando-Gothic talks the nom. and dat. are the same, save that in M. Goth. *BROPAR* has dat. *BROPR*. None have the end-vowel.

Thus the *BRODERA* of the Hexham stone is the oldest dative yet known to us, and as to antiquity of form can only be compared with the Sanscrit *BHRATAR*: dat. *BHRÁTRE*, instrum. *BHRÁTRÁ*<sup>1</sup>.

And here we have another example to the endless crowd, of the excessive caprice of language, and of the folly of the theoretical systems octroyed by the modern mechanical philological school. Like the engineer who lays down roads, over a country *he has never seen* by drawing straight lines *on the Map*, and thus often, unwittingly, over large lakes and high hills and bottomless bogs, — so the modern philologist ignores countless variations old and new. Here, in the Scando-Anglic group alone, we have the striking gradation *-a*, *-e*, *-i* within the space of only 650 years<sup>2</sup>, *besides* no case-ending at all, and *besides* the in-vowel change. But in the orthodox Latin dialect 1500 years *before* the Vestmanna-lag, we have already the “modern” *-i* (*FRATRI*), while the “per-antique” Mæso-Gothic of about A. D. 350 has the bald and vulgar *latest* form dat. s. *BROPR*! So much for *facts* on the one side and *theories* on the other.

But we know that *really* much of this modern speculation is *illusory*. If we had *hundreds* of other local monuments and documents of various ages, we should find (by whatever name we call them, *leaping* dialects or *lagging* or *mixt* clan-talks) many examples of such an *-a* or *-e* or *-i* or what else, where we had least expected it. And so it is at this day. Every *living* tung is full of exceptions and archaisms and neologisms and anomalies, AND ALWAYS WILL BE.

April 1880. — Since the above was penned I have received the interesting paper “On an Inscribed Stone found at Yarm. By the late Rev. D. H. Haigh. Communicated and annotated by the Rev. J. T. Fowler, M. A., F. S. A.”, publisht in Vol. 6 of the Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Journal, 1880, and accompanied by an Autotype plate of the written side of the block. Its principal contents had already been kindly communicated by Mr. Fowler, and may be redd above. Mr. Haigh gives excellent examples of the use of *SACERDOS* for *Bishop* in the Early Church, beginning with the Catacombs (366 to 384), and showing how it continued till and after the time of Venerable Bæda, when “*Episcopus*” began to make its way. Mr. Fowler adds the “*Ecce Sacerdos magnus*”, applied in Missals and Breviaries to none but Bishops.

## LINDISFARNE, THEREAFTER DURHAM, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 698.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 449.*

<sup>1</sup> Of course I do not mean that the Hexham form is a lineal descendant of the Sanscrit, but merely that both show olden endings. The Scando-Gothic tungs have practically no Instrumental case.

<sup>2</sup> Hexham stone about A. D. 690; Vestmanna law Ms. about A. D. 1350.

## FALSTONE, NORTHUMBERLAND, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 456.*

## BINGLEY, YORKSHIRE, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 768—770.

*From a Cast, Rubbings and Photographs kindly forwarded by the Rev. JOS. TH. FOWLER, F. S. A.,  
Vice-Principal of Hatfield Hall, Durham, England.*

If my reader will kindly go back to my Vol. 1, p. 486, he will see what was then known about this runish lave. He will perceive that Mr. Haigh had done what he could, but that the times were unpropitious. Since then, circumstances have altered. Fresh materials have been placed at my service. The same energies and opportunities which have enabled my noble countryman Mr. Fowler to restore to us the Crowle Runic Cross have also permitted him to do what can be done for the Bingley Font. *To do what can be done* — for this precious relic, hundreds of years neglected, is now so shattered and worn as almost to make us despair. The staves are so faint and broken, the stone has so many false jags and cruel scratches, that the risting is almost unreadable. The best men may differ, and widely differ, as to its meaning.

And this difficulty is largely increased because it is not yet commonly agreed what this piece was intended for. I look upon it as a FONT, Mr. Haigh thought it the SOCKET OF A CROSS.

But to understand this better let us describe it, using the details kindly given me by Mr. Fowler and Mr. Haigh. This piece, years ago, was found turned upside down, doing duty as a step to the entrance of the Grammar School at Bingley, a markettown 32 miles W. by S. of York, with a population of about 10,000 souls. When the said school was rebuilt this stone was taken to the Churchyard, where it was for nobody knows how long. I now follow Mr. Fowler: "*Material.* The ordinary strong gritstone of the district. *General Form.* Irregularly foursided, the inscribed side being longer than the opposite side. The under-part is quite rough, as if it had never been worked. The sides are very thick, and the cavity accordingly small in proportion, especially at the bottom. *Dimensions.* About 2½ feet square by 1¼ high and 10 inches deep. *Details.* The ornamentation is confined to the four sides. These appear to have had a cable-moulding running all round the upper margin, which may perhaps have been continuous with the interlaced patterns on the sides. These are different on all the three sides which bear them, and are rude and irregular in character. The runic inscription is in three lines occupying what appears to have been the front side. There is a shallow rebate all round the brim of the cavity as if for the reception of a cover, but there are no traces of fastenings. The aperture is roughly made in one corner, and the stone is much broken away from it all round on the outside, as if driven off from within at some later period. *Present condition.* The under-part is very rough as above stated, and perhaps it has never been otherwise. This condition may however be the result of the action of frost or of mechanical violence. It is so much weathered all over that none of the original surface remains, and little hard points stand up, having resisted corrosion longer than the rest. It must have been in the open air for a long time, but of late years it has been kept in the church. *Similar remains in neighbourhood.* UNSCRIBED runic stones have often been found in South Yorkshire and in North Lincolnshire, as shewn by my brother and myself in Proc. Soc. Ant."

The hole or aperture above spoken of is cut horizontally in the corner as described.

This being so, and without reference to the inscription, what would this piece seem to have been made for? I think undoubtedly for a church FONT. And this for three reasons, its general appearance, the "rebate all round the brim of the cavity as if for the reception of a cover", and *the hole* — to let out the water. Certainly it is large enough, for the hollow basin is about 1 foot 9 inches square at top and about 10 inches deep, besides which baptism *by sprinkling* was not uncommon from the *very oldest* times.

But general objections — smallness of the water-cavity, barbarism of the work, &c. — are quite inapplicable here. What do we know about Baptismal Fonts anywhere in the 8th century? How many have we left to us from that early date? In a rude neighborhood and a half-heathen period we must expect helpless workmanship. And this piece is very rude indeed. Perhaps its want of proportion was partly owing to the shape of the original block, while its unfinished base was to spare labor. But both its rough ornamentation and its careless runes show the hand of an unskilled workman. True. And how many *skilled* workmen — carvers of stone — should we expect to find in a small, poor, out-of-the-way hamlet in Yorkshire even now? And a thousand years back, I trow *none*. We know that all the earliest 'skilled' workmen in whatever was not *wood* were brought over by the early Christian clergy about this time from the Continent, chiefly from Italy. *Native* village stone-cutting from the 8th year-hundred is scarce enough, and barbarous enough. A Font so old I have never seen. But I have examined, particularly in Scandinavia, some *very old native-cut* Fonts, as old as the 11th and 12th and 13th centuries, and I can testify that several of these are *as rude* and helplessly fashioned — tho not perhaps so much ruined by time and brutality, which is quite another thing — as this piece at Bingley. And several of them have a Water-basin *even much smaller* than the Bingley. In plans and drawings of Fonts, sizes of top and bowl &c. (measured inside from rim to rim and the depth) are seldom given, else it would be easy to refer to scores of published instances<sup>1</sup>. And *many* of these oldest Fonts have the drain (water hole) not in the middle, but, as at Bingley, *at one corner* below, while others have no drain at all! These old Fonts are often square, as well as round, and this applies to the Bowl also.

If we now turn to the runes, we shall see that — apart from all wearing and damage — they have never been so even and regular as on many other laves. It is also clear that the staves in the lowest line have been purposely spread, partly to fill up the space and partly perhaps from the stone being unsmooth at parts.

At p. 486 in Vol. 1 of this work Mr. Haigh tells us that the first line began

† HIXM — — —

that the second ended

— — — — — † R H

and that the third commenced with

FMMFXM

(SIGEB . . . . . NUS ODEONGEN).

In 1869—70 Mr. Fowler generously and enthusiastically rusht into the field. At great expense both of time and money he lavisht favor on favor upon me — details of every kind, drawings, rubbings, photographs, and at last a cast of the runic side. For all this labor of love I and the whole Republic of Letters offer him our hearty thanks. At this time a letter reacht me from Mr. Haigh, dated 9th March 1870, which contained the passage: "I have thought that the first line may be

† YHBMRNHTKRIIX"

E A D B E R H T C U N I N G.

As my materials came in I began to work upon them, and at last — after some few gradual ameliorations — have come to my present text. Should I be right in this, of course *we are sure* that the stone trough was made for a Font.

<sup>1</sup> One such, from Great Britain, where measurements are given, I have at hand. Chapel of St. Malruhe, Lochacineart, Skye, Scotland. Font. "The basin-shaped cavity is 13½ inches in diameter, and 7½ inches deep." Hornblend gneiss. No mention of hole for water, nor of the age: but the style of ornamentation, as described, shows great antiquity. — Proceedings of Soc. of Ant. of Scotland, 4to, Vol. 8, pt 2. Edinburgh 1871, p. 237.

Mr. Haigh has come to a different conclusion. He rejects both my opinion that it was a Font and also my reading of the runes. He insists that it was the Socket of a Cross, and has gradually decided that the stone bears (*besides at least one other line*):

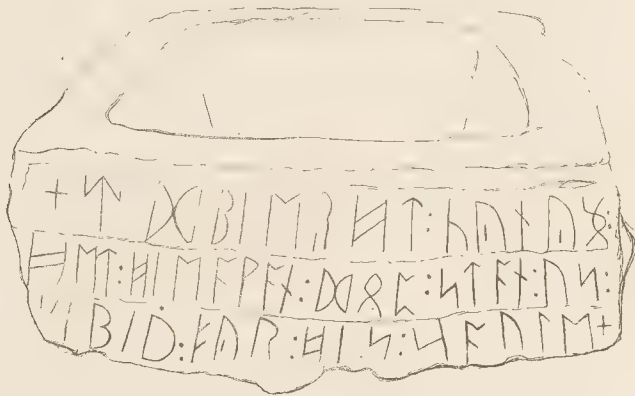
"EADBERHT EATTING KY-  
KING REHTE GIBAN GESTE, NYS-  
ODE ONGEN BINGALEAHES."

This he translates: "*Eadberht Eatting, King, publisht a good ban, visited again Bingley.*"<sup>1</sup>

To this I answer that — however much the stone has suffered, still enough is left for us to see (at least in my opinion) that the above runes *have never been there*. Minor points, as to the strangeness of some things in the words as given and the — to say the least — unlikely and meaningless character of this whole inscription on a public monument, we can pass by.

I now come to my own reading, to which men able to judge will perhaps object as strongly as I have done to that of my learned friend. After numberless and patient examinations of all my materials, in all lights, and guided by the faint traces still left, and avoiding what I conceive to be accidental dints and jags, and partly helped by the dividing dots which I think here and there exist, I make out that the letters were as below, *complete in 3 lines*, no more. *My* fancy may have misled me as I think *his* has misled Mr. Haigh, but still I submit my text for comparison. The reader will then judge for himself.

(Font as I see it, from cast and lightbild, &c. Runes as I see them, some more or less plain, others partly or nearly worn away. As the whole surface has suffered so much, it was impossible to engrave it otherwise. No Photograph could bring out the details of so excessively worn a stone; besides which, to give a *Sumbild* in every copy of this work would have been very expensive, and no artist can engrave such a Photograph without *himself* FIXING THE SHAPE OF EVERY LETTER.)



In the last line (in the word GIBID) parts of only 2 of the 3 *upper* strokes of the G (✱) are left. All the rest is *broken away*. Thus my reading and version will be:

EADBERHT CUNUNG  
HET HIEAWAN DEOP-STAN US.  
GIBID FÜR HIS SAULE.

EADBERHT, KING,

HOTE (ordered) to-BEW this-DIP-STONE (baptismal stone, font) for-US.

BID (pray-thou) FOR HIS SOUL!

<sup>1</sup> In "The Runic Monuments of Northumbria" (1870), p. 29, my late accomplice friend has modified this to:

"EADBERHT EATTING CYNING REHTE GEBAN GESTE NYSODE ONGEN BINGALEAHES. Eadberht, son of Eatta, King, uttered a gracious ban, visited again Bingley." But the appended plate gives GIBAN, as before.



I need not remark that the longer and oftener we look at the light-bild of the runes, the more will the at first so indistinct staves gather shape and look into our eyes.

Should the above reading be accepted as substantially correct, the next question is the age of this Font. Putting together, in short, the notices of EADBERT EATING (Eata's-son) KING OF NORTHUMBERLAND given in the Old-English Chronicle, the Addition to Bede, Florence of Worcester, Simeon of Durham, &c., we find that in 737 Ceolwulf, in the 9th year of his reign takes St. Peter's tonsure (became a monk) at Lindisfarn (Holy Island), and gives up his sceptre to Eadbert<sup>4</sup>, "fæderan sunu", his uncle's son. In 740 Eadbert wars against the Picts. In 750, he adds the district of Cyil, in Ayrshire, to his dominions. In 756 he fights against the Britons, and loses most part of his army. In 757 he takes St. Peter's tonsure (is shorn as a clerk), gives up his kingdom to his son Oswulf, and becomes a Canon in York under his brother Archbishop Ecgbert. In 768, on the 20th of August, Eadbert dies at York, after 10 years of private life, and he and the Archbishop both rest entombed in the same porch in the city of York.

Eadbert may have ordered this Font for the church in Bingley while yet king, but the prayer for his soul makes it more likely that he did this when *near death*, in the usual way, by his oral or written *Will*, by which doubtless many pious gifts were made to monasteries and churches near him for the good of his soul. A year or two would be sufficient for so simple a Font, and therefore its date will probably be between 768 and 770. Perhaps the church at Bingley was first built or restored in his reign, or a *stone* church may have been raised instead of a ruined *wooden* one.

Bingley is *nowhere* spoken of in our *oldest* books, and must have been in the 8th century an obscure hamlet with some scores or perhaps a *hundred* souls!<sup>2</sup> Even now it has only one church. So much the more extraordinary would it have been, to raise a monument with a formal inscription to commemorate a first or second casual visit thither of a local king. — See the *WORD-ROW*, and the *Bridekirk* Font, p. 489, and the *Bårse* Font, p. 655.

Anxious to do full justice to this valuable relic, and wishful to give every view respecting it fair play, I now add that I have just (October 1872) received my deceased friend's paper on "Yorkshire Runic Monuments". Mr. Haigh here partly abandons his former readings, and gives a third or fourth as follows, (pp. 3, 4, and Plate):

"During the course of the past winter, I took up the photograph of this inscription one day, and was very much surprised to find that the sixth rune in the third line, which I had read E, was certainly U, and that it was followed by S, not by N. This discovery, most unexpected, throws new light upon the whole. I had identified *Ouama* or *Ouoma*, the place whence Eadberht led his army to the aid of Oengus, King of the Picts, A. D. 756, with Hewenden near Bingley, and supposed that the assembling of his forces there might be the occasion of Eadberht's visit. The identification is now confirmed: the army really assembled at Hewenden; but the person, whose visit to Bingley is recorded, was not Eadberht, but his ally *Oengus*, whose name is here spelled *Angus* or *Ongus*, (for *ac* and *os* differ but in a single stroke, and I cannot be sure which letter is here).

"I give a tracing from the photograph (by Mr. Holgate, of Bingley, see Plate, fig. 1), collated with the cast." — [Here Photoxylograph from Mr. Haigh's Plate by Hr. Rosenstand.] — "My reading now is:

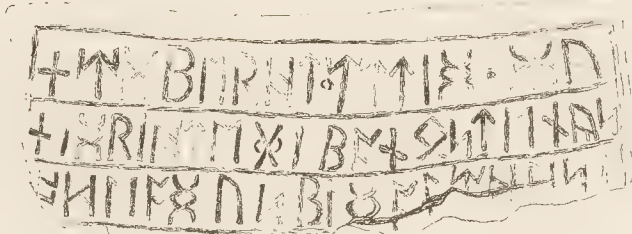
“+ EADBERHTÆATINGCY  
NINRIHTGIBANÆSTENYS  
ODEONGUSBINGALEAHES!

*Eadberht Eatting Cyning rihte giban æste. Nysode Ongus Bīngaleahes.*

“+ “Eadberht, son of Eatta, King, uttered a gracious ban. Ongus visited Bingley.”

<sup>1</sup> Spelt in the skinbooks EADBERHT, EADBERT, EADBERTH, EADBRHT, EADBRHT, EATBERT, EATBERT, EDBERT, &c.

<sup>2</sup> So late as in 1284, the 'Bingeley' of the Domesday Book and the 'Byngeley', 'Bingeley', 'Byngley' of Kirkby was but a single manor, of 14 carucates of land, making only 1 knight's fee. It was then held in capite by the lady Milisent de Monte Alto, but part of the property was let out to others. — *The Survey of the County of York*, taken by John de Kirkby, commonly called Kirkby's Inquest. &c. &c. Durham 1867, 8vo, p. 42. (Surtees Society).



"It is but part of a longer record. The "gracious ban" no doubt resulted in the alliance between Eadberht and Oengus, previously enemies; and at Bingley, we may believe, that alliance was cemented."

With these words Mr. Haigh passes to the Franks Casket. — Thus for  
the last: KYNING, REHTE, ONGEN, BINGALEHES  
we have now: CYNING, RIHTE, ONGUS, BINGALEAHESI.

I can as little see *this* inscription on the stone as Mr. Haigh's former ones, and look upon the "gracious ban" and "Ongus" as equally improbable on a Runic Cross at Bingley with the "good ban" and "the again". At all events these frequent *alterations* show — what we must, all admit — that the block is too much damaged to justify us in looking for any historical names whatsoever other than the first plain EADBERHT. Whether the reader agrees generally with Mr. Haigh or with myself, he will equally remember that he has to thank the indomitable zeal of Mr. Haigh for first drawing attention to this piece, and the noble labors of Mr. Fowler for the careful materials and trustworthy information here laid before him.

We can now proceed to show the other sides of the Font, which I here give Photoxylograph by Herr Rosenstand, but on a very reduced scale, from Mr. Fowler's excellent Rubbings, taken by him in February 1870.

As has been said, the Runish side is the longest. The opposite or *back* is the shortest:



The *right* side is still more simply ornamented. We can here see the water-hole in the right corner below:

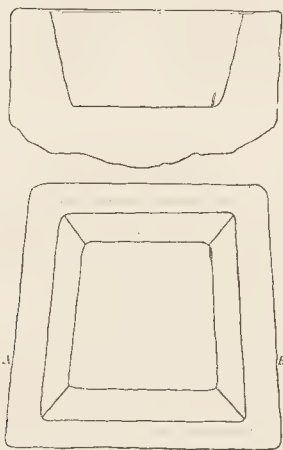


The *left* is the most graceful of them all:



This rude and undeveloped and *backward* decoration not only points to an early date — for art was not so low and helpless as this in the 8th century either in Great Britain and Ireland or on the Continent, still less in Scandinavia, (of course I here speak of Barbarian Art) — but conclusively suggests a poor village in an outlandish part of the country, and no workman at hand but the honest stone-smith of the hamlet.

Lastly I give, in the same way reduced from Mr. Fowler's very large outlines, a view of the Font as seen in section and as it appears when looked at from above.



### ÆTHRED'S FINGER-RING, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700—800.

*Obl-N. R. Mon. p. 463.*

## DEWSBURY, YORKSHIRE, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700—800.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 464.*

The stone has DAER, not DER, as ascertained by the Rev. J. T. Fowler, who has carefully examined it. And he has also supplied the faint traces of 3 letters on the upper edge of the fragment. "The two last of these (says Mr. Haigh, "On Runic Inscriptions at Thornhill", p. 4) "would, of course, be BE; then, at a distance which would allow of rather more than two, but scarcely three, letters intervening, there was possibly E. DIL seems better to fill the space than any other restoration I can suggest." I also follow Mr. Haigh in translating BEORNAE by BERN, *chief*. Thus the restoration proposed by Mr. Haigh would be:

[..... ðis settae	[..... this set
aefter EDILBE]RHTAE.	aefter EDILBE]RHT.
BECUN AEFTER BEORNAE.	a-BEACON AFTER the-BERN ( <i>prince</i> ).
GIBIDDAD DAER SAULE	BID-ye ( <i>pray</i> ) for-THE SOUL!

## DOVER, KENT, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700—800.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 465, 865.*

## IRTON, CUMBERLAND, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700—800.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 469.*

In 1880 the following communication from J. Romilly Allen, Esq. F. S. A. Scot., Civil Engineer, was kindly forwarded to me: "On one side of the cross there is a blank left in one of the panels, unornamented and perfectly smooth, and there is *absolutely no trace of letters of any kind*. The cross is well illustrated in Lyson's *Magna Britannia*."

## NORTHUMBRIA, ENGLAND;

BUT BOUGHT IN AUZON, BRIONDE, HAUTE-LOIRE, FRANCE.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700—800.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. LXLX, 470.*

P. LXLX. — In a paper publisht in *Archæologia Scotica*, Vol. 5, Part 1, 4to, Edinburgh 1874, pp. 249—60, "On a Runic Door from Iceland", I have given a list of all the works of art then known



to me illustrating our oldest Northern Myths and Legends. Among them were several connected with the Volsung and Sigurd Saga. Others have since been discovered. One of these (see my notice in the Danish "Illustreret Tidende" for 17 May 1877 of the Dräffe runic stone, Upland, Sweden, from about the middle of the 11th century) I have shown to bear not only Sigurd killing the Worm but even ANDVARE THE DWARF HOLDING THE FATAL RING, and thus by implication the ANSES themselves, (W)odin, Loke and Hæner!

P. 470. — In the newly publisht (Oct. 1872) Yorkshire Archæological Journal, the late Rev. D. H. Haigh has treated at some length, in his article "Yorkshire Runic Monuments", this precious old-læve, illustrating his text by beautiful reduced engravings (apparently photolithographd from my Chemitypes) of all the pieces now left. He here defends his original idea that the left compartment of the MÆGI panel represents the beheading of S. John the Baptist, not the legend of Weland as had been suggested by Prof. Bugge and adopted by myself. He says (p. 6): "It has hitherto seemed to me most natural to identify the two women with Herodias and her daughter. Another explanation of this part of the scene now occurs to me. Gregory of Tours (P. lxi.) has preserved a legend to the effect, that when S. John the Baptist was in prison, a Gallic matron was on a visit to Jerusalem. "Audivit autem quod beatus Johannes decollaretur: cursu illuc rapido tendit, datisque muneribus supplicat percussori, ut eam sanguinem defluentem colligere permitteret. Illo autem percutiente, matrona concham argenteam præparat, truncatoque martyris capite, cruorem devotè suscepit; quem, diligenter in ampulla positum, patriam detulit, et apud Vasatensem urbem, ædificata in ejus honore ecclesia, in sancto altari collocavit. (*Gloria Martyrum*, iii. 12)." It may be that this scene is intended here. The first woman has evidently given to the executioner the cup which he holds in his hand; he perhaps is holding the head so that the blood may be collected by her; and the second woman, her attendant, holds an ampul suspended by a cord. If my view, (to be developed in the sequel), that this casket was made for Queen Gailesuinth, be correct, the motive which dictated the choice of this scene will at once appear; for Bazas (*Vasatensis urbs*) is surrounded by the group of *civitates* (Bordeaux, Cahors, Lescar, Limoges, and Tarbes), which were conferred on Gailesuinth for dowry or "morning gift" (*morganegiba*) (Hist. Franc. IX. 20)." — — — "Does then the casket picture represent this story? Should there not be two bodies, not merely one? Is it not essential that Beadohild should visit Weland alone? Is it conceivable, that Weland should receive Beadohild's jewel in one hand, whilst he holds with the other her brother's head, and the corpse lies on the ground before them? It was a ring, and nothing else, that she brought to him; and her brothers' bodies were buried, and their skulls, eyes, and teeth disposed of, before her visit, (at least according to the Edda). Does the group, of the man, his victim, and the two women, convey the idea of two immediately consecutive incidents — his receiving from them a cup of drink after he has cut off the head — or a series of incidents such as those above related? The man with the birds is turned in a direction opposite to that of the women, and so we may well understand a different incident here; but should not the birds be flying, and he have a bow and arrow, if he is to be taken for Egil?"

I cannot see that this obscure local *Franco-Keltic* tale has anything to do with the subject on the *Scando-Anglic* Casket, and the presence of many scenes from the same legend *all exhibited at once* is *very common* on works of art everywhere from the earliest times.

At p. 9 and 20 Mr. Haigh accepts the suggestion of the Rev. J. T. Fowler, that FISC-FLODU is the nominative to the verb AHOF, and that FERGEN-BERIG (BERIG = BRIG, bridge, causeway, quay) is Hill-bridge, a place he would identify as Filey-bridge; he then translates GAS-RIGG as Dusky-back, and gives the whole as:

"Whale's bone fish-flood  
above on hill-bridge.  
Dusky-back was vanquished  
where he ashore swam."

He adds (p. 9): "*Fisc-floðu* is the "wave" or "tide" of the sea. The early Northumbrian MSS. present several parallel examples of nouns ending in *u*, or an equivalent *o*, (the former earlier than the latter). Thus, as I have elsewhere maintained, the personal names, *Begu* and *Heiu*, in Ven. Bæda's "Historia Ecclesiastica", represent the words *bég* (*beág, bæðh, bêh*), "a bracelet" or "ring", and *hege* (*hæge*), "an enclosure", of southern dialects. *Foldu* in the earliest version of Cædmon's hymn is in the

accusative; so are *eorthu* in the Leyden Ms. version of one of the riddles of the Codex Exoniensis, and *galgu* in the Ruthwell inscriptions; but their nominatives must have had the same forms. In the Epinal glosses we have several, *hægu*, "hedge", *scamu*, "shame", *slægu*, "sloe", *teru*, "tar" &c.; and others in the Durham Ritual, and the Lindisfarne and Harewood Gospels, *ego*, "eye", *eorthu* (or *eortho*), "earth", *meo*, "friend", *witgu*, "prophet", &c.; all in the nominative. There is therefore ample authority for regarding *flodu* as an early Northumbrian form of *flōd*, "flood". — And at p. 20: "It would seem, then, that the whale came too near the shore, was stranded by the ebbing tide, so perished, and was devoured by sea-fowls, until tide or storm washed his bones up on Filey bridge. To the northward of this bridge, between it and Scarborough, there is little access from the cliffs to the shore; and as it is probable that there was but scanty population there in the sixth century, the gradual destruction and decomposition of the whale on that coast might well pass unnoticed. Hence, then, came the material of the casket, and hereabout most probably dwelt Domgisl, before he went to France."

This proposal to take *FISC-FLODU* as the nominative<sup>1</sup> to *AHOF* is reasonable enough. It is as good as the version given by myself, perhaps better. The *BERIG* = *BRIG* is possible, not likely. I know of no authority for translating *GAS* by *Dusky*.

At p. 11, speaking of the Romulus and Remus myth, Mr. Haigh says: "In England it appears as the type of one of the early sceattas, probably of the seventh century, and of the unique penny of Ethilberht of East Anglia, towards the close of the eighth."

At p. 15 our learned author argues that the *ÆGLI* and the fragmentary *DRYGYÐ SWI(C)* of the casket refer to a king *AGLA* in Spain, who was slain in 554, at Cordova, and succeeded by Athanagild. — "Then, as these last [scenes from the history of the Visigoths] would have an especial interest only for the family of Athanagild, (and his successor was of another family, Liuva, governor of Narbonne), I think this casket must have been made, either for his queen, or for one of his daughters, Galesuinth or Brunichild, the wives respectively of Chilperic, King of Soissons, and Sigibert, King of Austrasia; and most probably for Galesuinth. For, having found *Ægih*, I do not hesitate in identifying the artist, *Domgisl*, with *Domgiselus*, who was sent by Chilperic to Spain, A. D. 582, to inspect the dowry, which Reccared, son of Liuvigild, had offered, proposing marriage with Chilperic's daughter Rigunth; who two years later, when all arrangements were completed, escorted the princess on her way to Spain, (which however she never reached); and who, two years later still, after Chilperic's death, appears to have been governor of Angers. Thus the casket, worthy even to have been a wedding present from Chilperic to Galesuinth, would be made about A. D. 567, for that was the date of her marriage, and in the following year she was murdered; and thus it had not travelled far from its original home, when it rested at Anzon."

All this is very ingenious. But I think it a mere fanciful combination. It is more than doubtful that the two different words *DOM* and *GISL* are the one name *DOMGISL* at all. And I look upon the date 567 as 200 years too high. Certainly A. D. 567, or anything like it, is inadmissible. If so old, I believe that the *Runic Letters*, the *Roman Letters* and the *Old-English words* would all have a character much more archaic. Nay, I think that even the *architecture* is of a type too decidedly "Gothic" to have been cut by a shrine-smith who lived in the 6th yearhundred after Christ.

Since writing the above I have obtained a copy of Prof. Hofmann's article on this Casket in "Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. und hist. Classe der k. k. Ak. der Wiss. zu München", 1871, Heft. VI, pp. 665—676. His transcript of the inscriptions has some errors, but he interprets the heathen scenes as belonging to the Saga of *WELAND* and *ÆGLI*, in the same manner as myself and Prof. Bugge, tho' he omits any mention of the long note hereon by Bugge and myself at my p. LXXIX, LXX, which he had perhaps never seen. He differs from me in his translations of several words. In some of these I cannot follow him, and pass them over. But a couple have more value. Thus at the very beginning, instead of taking *ODLEUN NEG*, as Haigh and I have done, to mean *OUT-LAY NIGH* (= *were exposed-to-perish near-to-each-other*), he suggests *ODLE UNNEG*, *their-OTHEL UNNIGH* (= *far-from their homeland, birth-place*). The words are not divided by stops or spaces, and I think this new version very likely indeed.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. S. Bugge suggested this as early as 1870. See his Runic article in *Aarb. f. Nord. Oldk.* 1870, p. 208.

Again, instead of Haigh's and my GIBRODÆA FEDDÆ, he would read GIBRODÆA AFEDDÆ. The meaning is the same in either case, and there are no divisions, so we may group the letters as we like. But I cannot see any reason for altering my reading. Of BRODOR, BRODER, &c. we have such Old-North-Engl. nom. plurals as BRODRO (as well as gebrodor, gibrodor), and such O. S. E. as gebrodra, gebroðru (as well as brodor), such O. Fris. as BROTHERA, BROTHERE, BRODERE (as well as brother, &c.), such Ohg. as BRUODERA, PRUADRA (as well as bruoder, gibruoder). Therefore GIBRODÆA is *more likely* in England as being *more antique* on so *very old* a monument.

As in O. Engl. dialects we have many instances of both FEDAN and AFEDAN in exactly the same meaning, it is quite immaterial which form we adopt. Both signify *to feed, give suck to, suckle*.

Adopting as probable a couple of these hints, I would thus amend the two longer O. English carvings:

ODLÆ UNNEG ROMWALUS AND REUMWALUS, TWÆGEN GIBRODÆA; FEDDE HLE WULF IN ROMÆCÆSTRĪ.

*Their-OTHEL (home-land, birth-place) UN-NIGH (far away from) were-ROMWALUS (= ROMULUS) AND REUMWALUS (REMUS), TWAIN (two) BROTHERS; FED (nourisht, suckled) HI (them) a-WYLF (she-wolf) IN ROMECAS-TER (Rome-city).*

HRONÆS BAN FISC-FLODU

A-HOF ON FERGEN-BERIG:

WARD GASRIC GRORN,

DER HE ON GREUT GI-SWOM.

*Of-the-Hrone (= Whale) the-bones the-fishes'-flood (= the Sea) hove (lifted, raised) on Fergen-berg (Fergen-hill, on the coast of Durham); worth (became, was-he) gas-rich (playing, gamboling) groren (crusht, pasht to pieces, killed) there (there-where, where) he on the-gril (shingles, shore, coast) swam. — i. e.*

THE WHALE'S BONES THE FISHES' FLOOD

LIFTED ON FERGEN-HILL:

HE WAS GASHT TO DEATH IN HIS GAMBOLS,

AS A-GROUND HE SWAM IN THE SHALLOWS.

In 1741 various antiquities, graves, &c. of Roman origin and from the Early Iron Age, chiefly as it would seem from the 2nd to the 5th century after Christ, were found at Knonau near Zürich in Switzerland. See an interesting and careful account hereof in a 4to pamphlet by J. J. Breiting and J. G. Sulzer (*Zuverlässige Nachricht und Untersuchung von dem Alterthum der Stadt Zurich, Zürich 1741*), with plates. One of these objects is a Bronze Helmet (fig. G, plate p. 8 in second part), which has a distinct NASAL. This is the oldest Nasal I remember to have seen of Western Classical origin.

An earlier copy of the poem *Stacions of Rome*, date about 1335, has just been given (May 1879) in *Notes and Queries* for March 1879, p. 184, by Mr. Furnivall. Here we have REMULUS, not ROMULON:

þe duchesse of troye þat somtyme was

To rome he [= heo, she] cam with grete pres

Offe her cam Remulus and romulus

Offe wom [whom] rome is cleped [called] þusse [thus, so].

See the Wordrow, Vol. 2, p. 959.

With regard to the left under-panel of the Back I am now inclined to suggest whether this DOM may not mean THE DOOM OF CHRIST, whence the destruction of Jerusalem sprang: "His blood be on us, and on our children", Mat. 27, 25. Should this be so, we have *left*: a man smiting our Saviour; *centre*: a servant coming with the basin and towel, and, beneath, offering them to the Roman governor; *right*: Pilate "took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it", Mat. 27, 24.

Dec. 21, 1880. — The Chamberlain Worsaae has favored me with his ideas on the WELAND compartment, where the runes give us the name of his brother ÆGIL, in connection with his proposed explanation of the figures on the Golden Horns, &c., of which I speak further on, under GALLEHUS. In Worsaae's *ipsissima verba*, with which he has kindly replied to my request for his opinion: "I believe that the figure behind Egil represents Odin the Old, sitting on his throne, with a sceptre or a sword in his hand. Under his feet lie his wolves Gere and Freke, and over his head the ravens Hugin and

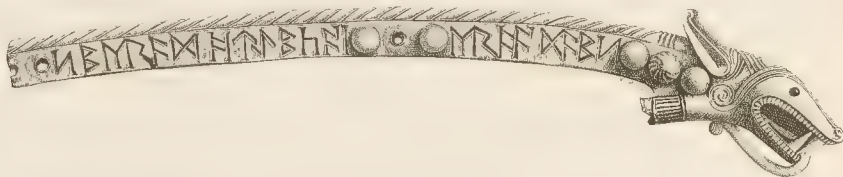


Munin are stretching out their beaks. Above the chair or throne, which bears triangular ornaments, is seen the holy mark of Odin, the Triskele, which also appears on the corner of the building itself. The presence of Odin indicates, as I suppose, either that Egil in his battle is supported by Odin, or that he already has been taken up into Odin's hall. In this latter case, we see this most excellent and famous bowman fighting alone with his bow in Walhall against the other Einheries."

## THAMES FITTING, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700—800.

*From a Gutta-percha cast of the original, most obligingly forwarded to me by AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS, Esq., Director of the British Museum. Drawn and Chemityped full size by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN, of Cheapinghaven.*



The first mention of this costly fragment met my eye in an article by Prof. Fr. Dietrich of Marburg ("Fünf Northumbrische Runensprüche", pp. 104—123 of "Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum, herausg. v. M. Haupt", N. S., Vol. 2, 8vo, Berlin 1867), where this piece is handled under No. 4, pp. 115—118. It is there stated to have been found in the Thames near Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire in 1864, and he thanks Dr. Grotefend of Hannover for his copy of the runes. Always suspicious of mere transcripts, I immediately wrote to the learned Doctor for further information, and in his reply dated March 7th 1868 Dr. Grotefend explained that the copy which he had given to Prof. Dietrich was one he had received from Dr. William Bell of London. Further enquiries in London brought to my assistance our illustrious Mr. Franks and the distinguished art-kennner H. Syer Cuming, Esq., Vice-President of the British Archæological Association. The latter gentleman informed me, in a letter dated April 25, 1868, that he had communicated to Dr. Bell the tracing of the inscription, who had transferred it without his permission to Dr. Grotefend. Time went on, and in June 1868 appeared a part of "The Journal of the British Archæological Association", containing at pp. 179—182 a paper by Mr. Cuming on this old-lave ("On a Runic Epigraph found in the Thames"), together with a plate containing an excellent full-sized picture of the object, and, in further illustration, a drawing of a nearly as old piece, also a fragment, found near London Bridge. Of this latter Mr. Cuming says: "It is made of copper bronze, and for form may be likened to a spur, or better, perhaps, to the fork of a musket rest; but that it is neither the one nor the other is plain enough. Both branches terminate with a dragon's head of the short type; the ovate eyes have round pupils; and the open jaws, thickly set with teeth, shew the remains of tongues. On the throats of these monsters flow beards, and through the neck of each is a triangular hole. The occiputs of both heads are socketed, as if to receive a transverse bar, from which, some think, an ornament or jewel depended, and swung between the curved branches; others, that to it was secured a pin, the object being wrought for a fibula. At the base of the fork is a portion of a stem, which may have finished with a knob, if the thing be a fibula; or else a point to fix into something. But if so, what were the form and character of that something? Here we are as



much at fault as we are in respect to the other item from the Thames, and conjecture is equally busy with the one as with the other. A portion of horse-furniture (head gear or neck pendant), the adornment of the apex of a crown or helmet, and the head of a sceptre or official staff, are some of the notions which have been advanced regarding it." I do not engrave this piece, as it has nothing in common with the runic lave save that both end in dragon-heads.

Much nearer in general character, altho far younger and clearly intended for a very different purpose, is an object found in harbor-digging at Ystad, Skåne, South Sweden, in 1868—9, whose results have added one more to the many proofs that in the north of Scandinavia the land has long been gradually rising, but that in Skåne it slowly sinks. The above-mentioned harbor-works showed first sand and rotted sea-plants with many artificial objects, but nothing over 500 years of age, then lower down a peat-bog with branches and trunks of trees, but nothing made by human hand, and still lower a layer of shingles, sand, clay, boulders, &c., with many articles from the stone and bronze age, and still later. Among these last was a Knife-haft of bone, in two slices, about 5 inches long, which must have been dropt while the moss was at the level of the sea. This is the clearer as all the carving is still sharp, not sand- or water-worn. This interesting object is probably not later than the 12th century. I here copy it (Chemityped by Prof. Petersen) from the plate of Rector N. G. Bruzelius, who has printed a valuable article on this subject ("Om Fynden i Ystads hamn 1868—69", pp. 50—77 of "Samlingar till Skånes historia, fornrunskap och beskrifning", Part 4, 8vo, Lund 1871), with 3 plates. This Knife-handle is Pl. 3, fig. 12, and is engraved full size.



But let us return to our runish scrap. It was found in 1866, being then dredged from the gravel of the Thames near Westminster Bridge, and came into the hands of Mr. T. Gunston, of Upper Street, Islington, London, by whom it was lent to Mr. H. Syer Cuming. It is of not very thin whitish metal or reddish bronze, bears traces of gilding, which may have holpen to preserve it, ends in a dragon's-head with round eyes of blue glass, and has served as the lap or border or rim or hold-fast of some article to which it has been fastened with rivets. Its original length we do not know; it still bears 5 of these large rivets or knobs, while 3 others have fallen away. The knobs go right thro. The letters have been cut or stampd before it was mounted on the wood. "Conjecture is rife" (says Mr. Cuming, p. 181) "respecting the original purpose of this inscribed piece of metal. Can it have bound the crest of a helmet, or border of a pelta-shaped shield? was it mounted on the butt of a whip or back of a large knife? are among the many queries offered. Mr. Carr asks if it adorned a purse, or the bow of a portable harp or *cithara*. The nearest approach in form to the fragment in question, that I can refer to, are two dracontine ornaments which rise from the gable-ends of the crested roof of a *feretrum* of the twelfth century, given in Worsaae's *Afbildninger*, pl. 110, fig. 399." (This is No. 525 of the 2nd edition, and is engraved at my p. 476 B, Vol. 1.)

As we know, an object of a certain particular shape may have been intended now for one purpose now for another. Sometimes we can only give a guess at one or two among many. But should there be a readable inscription, we can usually decide much more sharply. So here. This piece is a rune-bearer. Can we decipher the staves? If we cannot, the risting will not help us to identify what this bit belonged to. If we can, it may more or less help us.

As yet I have only met with two translations. The first is by Prof. Dietrich, *Haupts Zeitschrift* p. 115. His copy of the runes is pretty good, save that the last letter but one of the first group is given by him as N instead of F, thus s instead of a. He also, strangely enough, takes M to be ea instead of e. He transliterates the whole risting and divides as follows (giving P for the plain B):

"SPEARÆDH TE BUSI EARBÆ DÆPS.

d. h. es spart zu emsig ein geiziger dickwaunst."

SPEARÆTH TOO BUSILY A MISERLY BIGBELLY

I think we may at once pass over to No. 2. This is the version of Mr. Ralph Carr, of Hedgeley, Alnwick, Northumberland, as communicated by him to Mr. Cuming (p. 180). Mr. Carr there states that the runes are mixt with "debased Roman characters"; he does not explain what the letters are or how he groups them into words, but he determines that the whole legend signifies:

"IT BELONGETH TO IBNE (or IBHE), YOUR SISTER-IN-LAW".

I can see no "debased Roman characters" in the carving, and nothing which can in any way be tortured into the above.

The runes are so large and plain that there can be no doubt at all about them. The difficulty lies in how we are to read them. They are, as a child can see, (with nails before the first word and after the last):

SBERÆDHTYOBUI (3 knobs) ERHAEBS.

Here we have the *end* of the sentence but *not* the *beginning*, and how much wants we cannot tell. The bronze may have been *double* as long, there may have had an answering piece on the *left* hand. The missing bit must at least have borne *the nominative* to the verb SBERÆDH. — The rune M is clearly a variation of M, E, and occurs *twice* for E on the Mörbylånga stone (p. 243). The ER in both groups is a bind (E and R written close). In the second group we have two other such monograms, H and A tied together and D and F and B written close. As elsewhere so here, the M may stand for M (D) or M (M), but the context shows that it must be D. — SBERÆDH for SPERÆD reminds us that we have examples of this DH for D in many other places also. — As it is not likely that a letter belonging to a following word would stand *before* a group of intervening knobs, it is pretty sure that the S (or SB) belongs to SBERÆDH, and not to some foregoing word.

Being quite as well aware as anybody else of the many shades of sound which written letters may sometimes veil, I could quite as easily — to suit my own real or supposed convenience — *alter* the standard values of the runes. But this I never do, and will not do so here; for nothing is more unjustifiable or dangerous, often destructive to *everything* on olden monuments. A may be dialectically drawn over to E or I or O or what not. But if an inscription bears the word HAND *we have no right* to alter the word to HEND or HIND or HOND, &c. We do not know how the words may have been locally sounded. We can only with iron consistency insist on giving each letter as it stands. Here B may have been sounded as P (tho the rune for P is common enough), or it may have been a local pronunciation for P. But the bronze bears B, and B we give. So of J: this is organically yo, so I give it as yo, not as E or any other vowel, tho it *may* locally have had such a sound.

As I have said, the first word would seem to be SBERÆDH, and this has every look of a verb in the 3rd person singular. The next word is apparently tyo, either a mere preposition or used before a following infinitive (TO, TE). Next I would take BUA, possibly a noun in the dative, (BOO, house, home), but more likely a verb in the infinitive after tyo. So comes I, the prep., followed by ERHA in the dat. s., and this by DEBS, gen. s. — Should all this be so, the above will be in an old Midland-English folk-talk.

But the first word may be taken in two ways. It may be = the O. N. E. SPÆRA, SPERA, gesPÆRA; O. S. E. SPÆRIAN, to SPARE, *save, grudge, hold back*, as it has been understood by Prof. Dietrich, or = O. E. SPERIAN, SPIRIAN, SPYRIAN, SPORIAN, &c. to SPER, SPERE, SPAR, SPEIR, SPORE, to ask, enquire, search, try, trace, track, &c. (a third verb, to SPER, SPAR, shut, bolt, close, is not likely here). All such words have and have had at various times and in various dialects, even in the *same land*, varying shades of meaning. Thus King Alfred uses this verb SPYRIAN (to ask) in the sense of to FOLLOW, go after, something plainly seen. See the Word-roll for this and the other words. I here take SBERÆDH not in the sense of SPARE but SPERE, SPEIR, and this not as to enquire, desire information about a thing, which has now become the commonest meaning of this word both at home and in Scandinavia, but in the old sense of to ask as a favor, to demand, request, pray for.

Taking the words quite simply as I have divided them, we get

— — — — — SBERÆDH TYO BUA I ERHA DEBS.

— — — — — SPEIRETH (asketh, desires, demands) TO BOO (dwell, abide) IN the-ERG (wave-rush, trough) of-the-DEEP.

Now to what can this refer? In old legends, sacred or secular, commonly known in England somewhere about the 8th year-hundred, does any popular chief ask to be cast into the depths of the sea? I am aware of one, and only one, THE PROPHET JONAH.

Should the words undoubtedly point to some such meaning, and should JONAH be the person here referred to, we shall be led to conclude that the fragment has belonged to a shrine for relics or a costly box for a copy of the Gospels. Such Shrines are best known in the many yet extant *chasses* of Limoges work. Many of the oldest of these pieces, or their prototypes, may have been imitations in miniature of early churches. They are usually narrow, with a high-pitched roof. See a most interesting example, from a drawing in the Book of Kells, Ireland, figured at p. 139 of the *Archæologia*, 4to, Vol. 43, London 1871, p. 139. This is one of the many fine illustrations to the paper by Miss Stokes "On two Ancient Irish Works of Art known as the Breac Moedog, or Shrine of St. Moedoc of Ferns, and the Soiscel Molaise, or Gospel of St. Molaise of Devenish." Other old Shrines and Caskets will be found Vol. 1, p. 378, 470—476 D, and in various other publications. A very striking specimen, cast in brass, of the 11th century, is given on Plate 12 (p. 12) of "Katalog der in germanischen Museum befindlichen Kirchlichen Einrichtungsgegenstände und Geräthschaften", 8vo, Nürnberg 1871. Below are engraved figures showing the soldiers watching the grave of Christ. Above this is the entombment of Christ, in open work, an Angel sitting at each end. From the top of the grave spring two horns or branches, one on each side, very like the piece here before us tho plain, on which stands a rude Cross with figures, Christ taken down from the Rood. See a somewhat similar Reliquary, tho far later and more elegant, in Worsaae's *Nordiske Oldsager*, 2nd ed., No. 521.

Now let us call to mind the immense frequency in olden times of all sorts of objects bearing Christian symbols, the multitudes of these which referred to Our Lord Christ, the great numbers which especially handled his Uprising from the dead, and the very many which bring together on the same work or which separately treat other scenes lookt upon as emblematical of the same, such as Samson carrying the gates of Gaza, and especially pictures from the life of JONAH THE GREAT PROPHET. Our Lord Himself has said (S. Matthew, Ch. 12, v. 39, 40): — "But he answered and said to them, An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign, and there shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas. For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly: so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth."<sup>1</sup>

The story of Jonah we all know. But let us remember the words, Book of Jonah Ch. 1, v. 12: "And he said unto them, *Take me up, and cast me forth into the sea: so shall the sea be calm unto you: for I know that for my sake this great tempest is upon you.*" And again in Ch. 2, v. 3, he says: "For thou hadst cast me *into the deep, in the midst (or heart) of the seas*", exactly the same as the I ERHA DÆBS here before us.

The glorious doctrine of the Uprising was of course often applied to the decoration of Christian grave-monuments, and no where more frequently than in the Catacombs of Rome, where Jonah and his whale appear again and again. But particularly in the Cemetery of St. Agnes was a marble sarcophagus, not later than the 5th century, bearing in relief scenes from the life of Christ, &c. Among these is again that great symbol and compendium of the Resurrection and Immortality — the punishment of Jonah. But not only have we here 3 acts in that drama (Jonah praying to be thrown overboard, Jonah swallowed by the whale, Jonah cast ashore by the fish) *all shown at one and the same time*, but the first subject, Jonah asking to be cast into the sea, is rarely found. I therefore here re-engrave this part of the tomb (from Ant. Bosio, Roma Sotteranea, large folio, Roma 1632, p. 431), chemityped by Prof. Petersen.

<sup>1</sup> See a valuable note on the artistic use of the Raising of Lazarus, Jonah in the Whale's belly, Daniel saved in the den of Lions, and other such symbols of the Resurrection in *Le Blant*, *Inscriptions Chrétienues de la Gaule, antérieures au 8me siècle*, 4to, Vol. 2, Paris 1865, p. 165. — Consult also the engravings and remarks of Jos. Anderson, Keeper of the Scottish Museum, in the sections "Daniel in the Den of Lions" and "Jonah and the Whale" of his important essay "Notes on the survival of Pagan Customs in Christian Burial", *Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Vol. 11, Part 2, Edinburgh 1876, pp. 363—406. — On an ivory Pyx supposed by Hahn to be late 6th century work, we have two episodes from the Jonah-Saga, his sleeping under the Gourd, and his being cast into the Sea. (Fünf Elfenbein-gefässe des frühesten Mittelalters. Herausg. v. Fr. Hahn. 4to, Hannover 1862. Pl. 2. Pyx No. 5.)





Nothing is easier than to suppose that we have had a Reliquary, of wood or some kind of bone, bearing rude carvings of scenes connected with the life, death and resurrection of Christ, with other answering type-pictures from the Old Testament, in the way so well known to us, certain compartments or the whole held together by metal frame-work, and the subject of each pointed out in the *vulgar tung*, as on the Franks Casket and elsewhere; here — the date being so early — in *English Runes*, as on the Franks and the Northumberland Boxes (see Vol. 1, p. 378, 470). These short sentences may have been in prose, or perhaps in rude verse, parallel, for instance, to

THIS IS GABRIEL AND MARIA, WHO . . . . .

HERE RESTS MARIA, WHO BORE HER CHILD . . . . .

THIS IS THE THREE KINGS, WHO . . . . .

HERE RODE THEY AWAY, . . . . .

THEN TOOK THEY OUR LORD, . . . . .

HERE NAIL THE JEWS CHRIST TO THE CROSS, . . . . .

Sentences, beginning thus, *actually stand* on the very old (? 13th century) *Runic Font* of stone, richly carved with Biblical scenes and runic ristings in the Gotlandic dialect, and thus made in Gotland, now standing in the old Åkirkeby Church in the island of Bornholm, Denmark. Some such headings may have been cut over the answering carvings on our Old-English Shrine. If in prose, perhaps this particular passage may have been:

[HIR IONAS] SBERÆDTH TYO BUA I ERHA DÆBS.

The HIR IONAS now broken away. If in verse, possibly, for instance,

[HIR IONAS EORLA] SBERÆDTH

TYO BUA I ERHA DÆBS.

HERE JONAH *of-the-EARLS (men)* SPEIRETH (*asks*)

TO BOO (*bide, be cast*) IN the-ARG (*waves*) of-the-DEEP.

If, even in Latin, we cannot expect to find on such things the *exact* words of Scripture, either from the Old-Italic, or Old-Vulgate, still less can we in a "barbarous" version. We all know how loosely such things were handled, how the meaning not the word was given (especially if in any kind of verse), how the general idea only was seized by the writers and workers of the early and middle ages. We abundantly trace this in art-things, tho they seldom bear scripture or half-scripture mottoes. Thus on the magnificent Shrine of the Three Kings at Cologne (date about 1198) we have — amid a crowd of other figures and sentences — the bild of the *Prophet Jonah*, with the words: "Si propter me orta est hæc tempestas, mittite me in mare." — But the Vulgate says (Ch. 1, v. 12): "Tollite me, et mittite in mare, et cessabit mare a vobis: scio enim ego quoniam propter me tempestas hæc grandis venit super vos." — When the meaning is given in the mother-tung, we are usually at the mere mercy of the carver.

Supposing, then, this to be a bit of a Shrine, how came it at the bottom of the Thames? Perhaps in the same way as many other things — lost or thrown in as useless. And this particularly at one period, the close of the 8th and all the 9th century, and long after, when the Scandinavian Wikings harried the lands of the Christian West, specially of Great Britain and Ireland. Running up the rivers in their galleys, and loading these with booty, they would often on the voyage out to sea find time to break open in search of treasure lots of boxes and 'arks' which they had hurriedly taken on



board. Tearing off all precious stones and metals, and possessing themselves of any real valuables, mere relics and parchments and the bits of the broken materials — wood, bone, bronze, &c., would usually be thrown overboard. And in this manner may this runed fragment have been lying in the Thames for a thousand years.

Among the endless instances in the old chroniclers of the devastations and spoilings of churches and monasteries thus perpetrated by *heathen* barbarians and even by *Christian*, at least in name, I will only quote one, more than usually applicable here. In the *Annals of Ireland* by the Four Masters (original Irish, and English translation by Dr. J. O'Donovan, 2nd ed., 4to, Vol. 1, 1856), at p. 401, ad annum 798, we read: — "Inis-Padraig was burned by foreigners [= Danish and other Scandinavian pirates], and they bore away the shrine of *Dochonna*." The *Cod. Clarend.*, tom. 49, has the variation, "*the breaking of Dochonna's shrine*", and the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* "*they took the relics of St. Dochonna*." They carried off this chest not for the sake of its bones, but for its costly fittings or other decorations, and they took it to their ships that they might rifle it at leisure. All that was not "money's worth" they would throw into the sea.

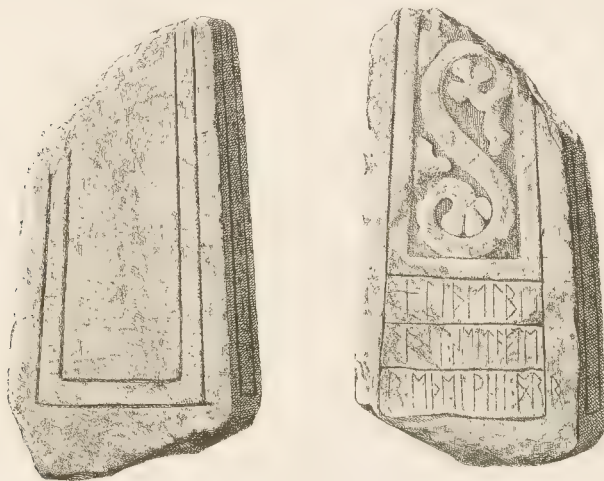
Prof. Sophus Bugge, to whom I submitted an outline of this my explanation, on the whole approved of it. Understanding *ERHA* as rather a Dative than an Accusative, in which I follow him, he compares this word with the Old-English Dative *FELDA*. But we have many other such olden Scando-Anglic datives.

## THORNHILL, YORKSHIRE, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700—800.

*Chemityped by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN from Casts and Rubbings kindly forwarded by the Rev.*

*JOS. TH. FOWLER, F. S. A., Vice-Principal of Hatfield Hall, Durham. Scale 1—5th.*



For all my material with regard to these Thornhill stones I have to thank the unwearied kindness of the Rev. J. T. Fowler and the Rev. D. H. Haigh. By continual correspondence they have kept me informed of every circumstance, and the latter has since published a learned and interesting

paper on the subject, with engravings, ("On Runic Inscriptions discovered at Thornhill"), in the Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal for 1877, Part 16, pp. 416 and foll. But I must of course be here as brief as possible.

At the close of 1875 and the beginning of 1876 various repairs were going on at the old church of Thornhill, a village 9 miles from Leeds and 2 miles south-east of Dewsbury. When the nave was taken down many interesting fragments of various dates were found amongst the masonry and as fillings, several of them pieces of ancient sepulchral Crosses. The rune-bearers were in the west wall of the north aisle, which was built in 1777. The rector, the Rev. J. Ingham Brooke, M. A., carefully looked out and preserved every carved stone. They are of the local hard sandstone. Mr. Haigh gives engravings of 5 of these pieces decorated with interesting interlaced work in the olden style, and other ornaments, but with no inscription.

All these fragments, doubtless only a few out of very many which have been, seem to show that the old church at Thornhill, which existed as early as the Domesday Survey, was the seat of some religious establishment dependent on the mother church of Dewsbury at least as early as the 8th century.

The piece before us is part of the shaft of a Grave-Cross, in the usual Old-English style. The whole inscription is left, and, tho it has suffered much, only a letter or two is really doubtful. Interesting is the *reading twice* of the æ in SETTÆFTER (= SETTÆÆFTER) in the usual runic manner, to save space and trouble. We have also an uncommon bind-rune at the end of line 3, where D, E and R are carved in one monogram. Still there was not room to end the word, and the workman has added I and NGÆ beyond the line. But the NG is partly and the æ quite gone.

Grouping the whole, the risting is, in what may be stave-rime verse or perhaps only prose:

† EDELBERHT SETTÆ

ÆFTER EDELWINI DERING(Æ).

ETHELBERHT SET-up-this-cross

AFTER (in memory of) ETHELWINI DERING.

The epithet DERING (= DER-SON, or OF THE DER FAMILY) may already have become fixt as a second name, for double names are found, tho scarce, in very old days. This DERING (DYRING, DEORING, DEARING, DEERING &c.) is a common name in England now as then. — Mr. Haigh would read EDELBERCHT, and takes the last word as DREING, or DERING as = DRING, a DRENG, warrior, chief. — As the names are so usual, we shall probably never be able to identify the persons intended.

## THORNHILL, YORKSHIRE, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700—800.

*Chemityped by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN, from Casts and Rubbings as before. Scale about 1—5th.*

Found at the same place and time. Sandstone. Shaft of a funeral Cross. After a Calvary-cross we have, again in stave-rime or in prose:

EADRED SETE ÆFTE EATEYONNE.

EADRED SET-up-this AFTER the-lady-EATEYONNE

We shall probably never know more of these persons also. Mr. Haigh reads ÆFTE EATE INNE, and translates *after Eata a Hermit*. I cannot follow him in this, in spite of the instructive learning with which he tries to support his idea. I see not how, in this old North-English dialect, the dat. of EATA could be EATE; we should have expected -AN or -O or U or Æ. But passing this, I never heard

of such a word in O. N. or O. S. Engl. as *INNA* for *Hermil*. Nor was it likely, if found, to be an official title on a grave-stone.<sup>1</sup> Then *ſ* was *yo*; certainly it never was *i*.

EATEYONNE is "regular" O. N. E. in another way. This old dialect in certain substantives had a tendency to "break" the in-vowel and to give strong declensions a weak or weak declensions a strong



ending. I take it to be so here; the word is then simply a Northumbrian twist for dat. sing. of EATEYA.<sup>2</sup> — There is a very short stroke under the *s* in SETE. This I look on as merely a divisional mark. Mr. Haigh thinks it is *i*, and reads ISETE. — The word for AFTER had endless forms in our olden talks. This particular one (*ÆFTE*) is here found for the first time in England.

## WYCLIFFE, NORTHUMBRIA, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700—800.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 476, E.*

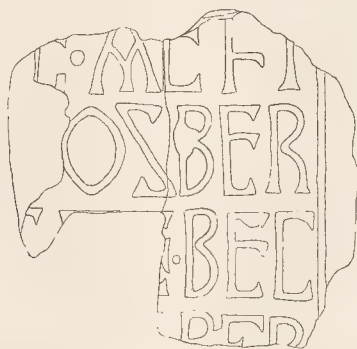
<sup>1</sup> See an excellent popular account of Hermits and Hermitesses, especially in England, in "Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages." By the Rev. E. L. Cutts. Sm. 4to. London 1872. This work is richly illustrated. I refer especially to the chapter "The Hermits and Recluses of the Middle Ages", pp. 93—156.

<sup>2</sup> The masc. is EATA. The feminine form (here I believe found in English for the first time) is EATEYA. Strictly speaking, the usual gen. dative would be — masc. EATAN, fem. EATEYAN, the original masc. having been EATAN, the original feminine EATEYAN, in the nominative. Hence the tendency here and there to discriminate between the cases. So in O. Ger. we have masc. ATTO, ATO, &c. fem. ATTA, ATA, &c., gen. ATTAN, ATONAF, ATANAL.

## THORNHILL, YORKSHIRE, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 867.

*Heliotyped by PACHT from the engraving in the Rev. D. H. HAIGH'S Thornhill Inscriptions, p. 4, plate, No. VII.  
Scale not given.*



Found in two pieces, rest gone. Same time and place. Sandstone. Only a small part of the center remains. The whole has probably been in 9 lines. I agree with Mr. Haigh that it was in stave-rime, and that the *raiser* was Ecgbrecht. I would propose:

(† ecgbe  
rcht . ðis  
set)E . AEFT  
(er.) OSBER  
(ch)TAE . BEC  
(un . o)SBER  
(chtaes . ge  
biddað . ða  
er . saule.)

This will give us 4 lines of regular stave-rime verse:

ECGBERCHT DIS SETE		ECGBERCHT THIS SET
AEFTER OSBERCHTAE,		AFTER OSBERCHT,
BECUN OSBERCHTAES.		the-BEACON of-OSBERCHT.
GEÞIDDAD ÐAER SAULE.		BID (pray-ye) for-THE SOUL.

If Mr. Haigh's combination be correct, of which I have not the least doubt, OSBERCHT fell in the year 867 (21st March), fighting against the Danish army in the great battle at York, and was succeeded by EGBERCHT in his Northumbrian kingdom.

The above is not in runes, but is in the vulgar tung and therefore of equal linguistic and historical value. By proportion of size, it must have been a lofty and noble monument.



## CHERTSEY, SURREY, ENGLAND.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 482.*

In "Archæologia", Vol. 44, Pt. 1, London 1873, 4to, p. 63, is a paper on this dish by W. R. S. Ralston, Esq., redd June 8, 1871. At p. 64 he closes his remarks as follows:

"A short time ago I sent a rubbing from the inscription to St. Petersburg, and Professor Sreznevsky, of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, has favoured me with a very simple solution of the mysterious words of which it is composed. They are in all probability, he says, modern Greek, reading *ΧΑΤΖΗ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΟ*, or *Χατζη Παρασκο* = The Pilgrim Parasco's. The word *Χατζης*, gen. *Χατζης*, is a modern word for a pilgrim, taken from the Turkish Hadji, and forming a title borne by such pious Greeks as have visited Jerusalem. The name Parasco is one of Græco-Italian or Græco-Roumanian form, like Bergamasco and many others. It seems likely, therefore, that at some not very distant time a pilgrim named Parasco had his name and his title cut upon the dish in question, which was afterwards brought to Chertsey by some traveller in the Levant."

All this seems very likely, and this piece therefore *goes out*, as not Runic.

## COQUET ISLAND, NORTHUMBERLAND, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 800 -900.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 480.*

## ENGLAND; BUT UNKNOWN WHERE.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 800—900.

*From "Finger-Ring Lore, Historical, Legendary, Anecdotal. By WILLIAM JONES, F. S. A."*  
8vo, London 1877, p. 421.



I give this Ring as I find it above. The engraving was lent to Mr. Jones for his work by one of the English learned Societies. But unhappily no note was made of it, and he cannot say whence it came or where it is published and described. Several learned correspondents in England have also endeavored to trace the whereabouts of this piece, but as yet in vain. So I cannot say what it is made of or whence it came or where it is, nor whether the setting is as old as the Ring.

All we can see or say is, that it bears, in the usual Old-English runes, the common olden mansname

OWI.

As we know nothing of the original, the date can only be an approximative guess.

## HODDUM, NORTHUMBRIA, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 800—900.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 483.*

## KIRKDALE, YORKSHIRE, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 800—900.

All that I know of the ruined *Runic Cross* at Kirkdale is the statement in a note from the Rev. J. T. Fowler, M.A., dated Winterton, Brigg, June 21, 1870. He says: "Mr. Haigh and I, when in Yorkshire lately together, got some casts of traces of a Runic Inscription on a Cross at *Kirkdale*, where that famous Dial is, bearing the risting in Old-English about Orm making the Church new 'from grunde', when it was all 'tobrocán and tofalan' in Eadward's days king, and in Tosti's days Earl. — The staves are I fear hopelessly gone, only just enough is left to see that there *were* runes; one is ǣ".

## MAESHOWE, STENNES, MAINLAND, ORKNEYS.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 800—900.

*Old-N. R. Mon. Vol. 1, p. 485.*

Two scribbles probably by the same hand: the second has the O. N. runic stave for o:

DORNR SÆRD. — HÆLHI RÆISTO.

THORN (or *Javelin*) SORETH (wounds). HÆLHI RISTED (carved this).

## MONK-WEARMOUTH, DURHAM, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 822.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 477.*

## LEEDS, YORKSHIRE, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 872.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 487.*

In "The Runic Monuments of Northumbria", (1870), p. 37, Mr. Haigh decides that this ANLAF was the ANLAF or OLAF, the son of a king of Denmark, who with his brothers Sitric and Ivar went to Ireland in 853, invaded Britain in 866—7 and probably died there in 872. "Now, we are expressly informed, that all the monasteries of Northumbria, without exception, were destroyed, (this, therefore, at Leeds, amongst the rest), by Halfdene and his followers in 874, and none restored till after the Norman conquest. There was no revolution but this which could have destroyed so many sepulchral crosses and an altar, and converted them into mere building materials; and, satisfied for my own part that their destruction must be referred to the time of Halfdene, I can only regard the inscription on this fragment as a memorial of the first Olaf."

## HACKNESS, YORKSHIRE, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 850—950.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 467.*

Since my text was printed, I have received as a gift from the Rev. D. H. Haigh his interesting "Notes on the History of S. Begu & S. Hild", 8vo, Hartlepool, (no date). I see by this, p. 35, that "the other side [of this block] has, above the head of a female figure, BYGGA VIRGO", whom Mr. Haigh thinks may have been that HEABURGA surnamed BUGGA who was the daughter of CANEGYTH, a correspondent of her countryman St. Boniface, somewhere about 730.

However this may be, it is evident that this stone is a palimpsest, has been used before and long neglected or thrown aside. It may well originally have been the central slab of a grave-cross.

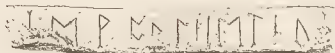
It is also clear that the dialect is Scandinavian of the Wiking period. And yet the newcomers have had time to become pious Christians.

I therefore now place its date in the last half of the 9th century or the first half of the 10th.

## CRAMOND, EDINBURGHSHIRE, NORTHUMBRIA.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 900—1000.

*Full size of the original, now in the Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh. From a sun-picture, together with an impression of the runes, kindly forwarded by JOSEPH ANDERSON, Esq., Keeper of the Museum. Drawn and Chemityped by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN.*



Another Runic Ring from our old English Northumbria, this time from that corner of it now yeleft Edinburghshire, in Scotland. My attention was first drawn to this piece by Robert Ferguson, Esq., of Carlisle, and I instantly took steps to get further help from the learned Keeper of the Museum to which it had been given. Mr. Anderson did all in his power to oblige me, and has thus enabled me to lay this old-lave before my readers. He was also good enough to add the following information, in a note dated June 29, 1871.

"The Ring is a plain hoop of Bronze, quite flat inside, but having the edges worn and rounded on the outside. A small part is broken on one side, and a slight corrosion is beside the broken part. The metal is not thicker than an English sixpence. The breadth of the band is  $\frac{3}{8}$  of an inch, and the diameter of the ring  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch. The ring was found in the Churchyard of Cramond, near Edinburgh, about 18 months ago. It was found three feet below the surface, near the oldest part of the church, when the grave-digger was digging a grave there. He happened recently to mention to the minister of the parish, the Rev. Dr. Colvin, that he had found a ring, and Dr. Colvin immediately secured it and presented it to the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland."

I leave it to the ingenious reader to decipher this piece. As Mr. Anderson remarks in a previous letter, "the Runes are very faintly cut, and the beginning of the inscription is not indicated. It may begin anywhere." On this account, and as in several parts it has suffered so much that divers of the staves are doubtful, we are at a loss what to make of it. The writing is plainly in Old-English Runes, but I, for my part, cannot say whether they are intended to spell some name, or are words contracted, or are a resting cabalistic or amuletic. In connection with this uncertainty, my loose attribution of the age of this object is more than usually a mere approximative guess.

(The above remarks first appeared in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, sm. 4to, Edinburgh 1873. p. 458, 9.)

## ALNMOUTH, NORTHUMBERLAND, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 913.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 461, 865.*

## AMULET RINGS, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1000—1100.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 492.*

P. 493. — In "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London", 2nd Series, 8vo, Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 125, is mentioned another of these Rings, exhibited by George Manners, Esq., F. S. A.



It is of gold, and was found near Triangular Lodge, parish of Rushton, county of Northampton. The  
risting is:

† BAK . A . BAK . GUT . GUT . ANE . BAK .

Archivary Herbst kindly informs me that the Danish Museum has lately obtained a silver Finger-ring, found in a turf in Jutland, Denmark. The letters were once filled-in with blueish enamel (niello). Inscription, Outside: † GVTIATEBLEGV, Inside: † VGATGYGYYG

In 1875 was found at Cimbrishamn in Sweden a ring inscribed: Outside: GOT X GVT X MEL X  
GABEL X, Inside: DAVI X HABER X HEBR X HABI X

In 1879 the Swedish Museum obtained a plain golden ring bearing the words: BURO, BERTO, BERIORA. On the other side was the figure of Our Lady with the child Jesus. *Månadsbladet*, Stockholm, July—Oct. 1879, p. 154.

No. II. P. 497. — In his "Yorkshire Runic Monuments" (printed in the "Yorkshire Archaeological Journal", 8vo, 1872), our indefatigable D. H. Haigh has re-engraved this Annulus, plate 1, fig. 3, 4. At p. 30 he gives the following additional information: — "In Drake's "Eboracum", on a plate at p. 101, a ring is engraved, which the author says had been found on or near Bramham Moor, about two years before the publication of his work, (therefore about the year 1734), and was then in the possession of Mr. T. Gill, of York." I could not communicate this, for I have never been able to see a copy of Drake's work. In my presentation copy of his essay, Mr. Haigh adds in the margin, citing the Annual Register, that this ring sold for £ 15 at the sale of Mr. Gill's collection in June, 1762.

P. 498. At the bottom. — *For* the Stockholm Museum *read* the Wisby Museum, to which it was given by Prof. Carl Sæve.

P. 499. No. IV.

## WEST OF ENGLAND.

*From Archæologia, 4to. London. Vol. 44, Part 2, 1876, p. 481.*



\* \* M R A I N F . W E T . A R I . A R I . D E N . T M . T M . G E T M . A E T

ERŪ , RI , UF , DOL , URI , URI , THOL , WLES , TE , POTE , NOL .

Our great old-Iorist Augustus W. Franks, Esq. has fortunately been able to spore, and to present to the British Museum, this lost roundlet. He has made it public in the *Archæologia*, whence I copy the above drawing and facsimile of the runes. We now see that the old transcript in *Archæologia* for 1827 was not quite correct. I beg to add the following remarks by Mr. Franks in the volume cited above:

<sup>14</sup>The ring then belonged to George Cumberland, Esq., of Bristol, and by means of Notes and Queries I was able to trace it into the possession of the late Mr. Loscombe, of Clifton, at whose sale it passed into the collection of Mr. Purnell, and at the sale of the latter I was fortunate enough to become possessed of it.

"Before placing it in the British Museum, I have thought that the Society might like to have an opportunity of seeing once more the original, which I beg to exhibit.

"It has been described as of jasper, but it appears rather to be of a pinkish agate with streaks of a darkish colour; its diameter is  $1\frac{1}{10}$  in. and width  $\frac{6}{10}$  in. The inscription is neatly cut in a band along the centre of the ring, which is somewhat convex in section. It has at some time been unfortunately broken into several pieces, none of which are however missing.

"In the *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. the inscription is given, but no representation of the ring, and the letters are not quite accurately figured, the sign, something like a c, which precedes the inscription being omitted. It is therefore desirable that a fresh engraving should be given."



Here, by dint of taking the sign of the Cross and the divisional marks as runes, and by other curious means, he says the reading is:

"JAR (or AR), CHRIUF, EL, CHRIURIDON GLAS, TACON TOL."

or also: "GÆR CRIUF EL CRIURITHON GLÆS TÆCON TOL."

His first decipherment he translated as:

"*Ar, Hriuf, and El (or war, rapine, and the grave) have vanquished Glas (or glory) taken tribute.*"

His new version is:

"*Time, rapine, force, have conquered glory, taken tribute.*"

I adhere, more firmly than ever, to my old reading, and to my opinion that the whole formula is — an abracadabra, *meaningless magical gibberish*, possibly in connection with certain "illuminati" or some other secret society, — or also as Charms against some Sickness, or Amulets in general.

Mr. Haigh adds, p. 36: — „I regard these rings as belonging to the period when Angles, Franks, Frisians, Jutes, Saxons, and other Teutonic tribes, were engaged in the conquest of Britain." Supposing him to mean, more or less, about anno 400, I take the date to be at least 600 years *too early*.

## ENGLISH (? OR NORWEGIAN) RUNIC CALENDAR.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1000—1100.

*Old-N. R. Mon. Vol. 2, p. 866.*

P. 872. — It is said that this stratagem was employed by Josephus to save his life, when he was in the cave with 40 fanatical Jews, dreading the severity of Vespasian. — And again its use has been claimed for Ibn Ezra (the learned Rabbinic commentator Rabbi Abraham ben Ezra, of Toledo, A. D. 1092—1167), of whom we read: "Ibn Ezra has placed on record, in some verses, that he did not prosper in business: "Were I a shroudseller men would not die all my days . . . . were candles my merchandize the sun would not set till my death"; and yet surely he must have been a practical man, for "It is said that once when he was on board a vessel with some of his pupils, a raging storm compelled the captain to throw every ninth man of the passengers overboard; by means of an algebraical formula, which his mathematical knowledge had discovered, he placed himself and his party in such a position that the fatal number never reached one of them; but neither the plan of the captain, nor the counterplot of Ibn Ezra is sufficiently known!"

But I have since met with an old reference to this story in Sweden also, namely, in Peder Swart's "Gustaf I's Krönika", a fragment ending with the year 1533, published by G. E. Klemming, Stockholm 1870, 8vo, p. 7: — "Nemlige att spele Sancte Peders leek medh the Swenske, thet war mōnstra them, så att minste parten skulle bliffue igen." (*Namely, to play St. Peter's game with the Swedes, that was, so to fix them that the least part of them should be left.*)

Several articles have appeared in Notes and Queries, London, showing a similar game among the herd-boys of Kent and Aberdeenshire, and mentioning their cutting the marks on their whip-handles. See particularly the number for Sept. 21, 1878, p. 235, "Herd-boy lore", and the references there given.

There is also a Danish variation, which I have found in a chap-book bearing the title: "Aller-nyeste Hexe- og Konstbog eller naturlige Magie", &c., 8vo, 4th ed, Kjøbenhavn 1815. No. 78 of this collection of tricks and magic (p. 55) is "Lodkastningen om Liv og Død", where the tale is told of an Algerine Corsair who had 30 prisoners, half of whom were girls, whom he wisht to save. This "Reck-oning-trick" is in later editions of this work, and doubtless in earlier also.

<sup>1</sup> The Academy, London, Dec. 1, 1873, p. 451, in a review of "The Commentary of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah, ed. by M. Friedländer". See also Dan. Schwenter, *Deliciae Physico-Mathematicæ, oder Mathemat. vnd Philosophische Erquickstunden*, 4to, Nürnberg 1636, p. 79.

In a Dutch Card-player's Conjuring-book, no date, but about 1820—1830 (*Het Tooverboek van een Kaartspeler*, of 126 *Kunstjes met de Kaart*. Leiden, 16mo), I have found, at p. 68, this St. Peter's Lake described under the title "De joden en de christenen". But the number is here 32, and each 12th man is taken out. The order is: xx xx x | xxx xxxxx | xx | xx. The story is told under the form of a ship-master and a storm. No Saint is spoken of.

I may here mention another proof of the popular persistence of Runes and especially of the Runic Calendar in Sweden, in the remarkable fact that when the well-known Dutch Brass Tobacco-boxes were manufactured in Holland, and afterwards imitated elsewhere, their fabrication was also carried out in Sweden in the 18th and 19th centuries. Two types of these Swedish Brass Tobacco-boxes bear the Runic Calendar, but with Latin letters instead of Runes ("Runstafwen Förswenskad"); both are made in Stockholm; one of them is dated 1787, the other 1812. I have also seen a Brass Swedish Ell-Measure, from about the end of the 18th century, bearing the Runic Calendar. And in my own Museum is a Fan, of about the year 1800, a unique impression of 2 copper plates, one for each side, colored, showing the Runic Calendar, with several sentences also in Runes. When I was in Stockholm in July 1877, Herr Bukowski, the esteemed dealer in Antiquities, showed me impressions (of course not colored) from copper plates he had bought at an auction, intended for a Fan, and bearing the Runic Calendar. On examination, these proved to be the same as the one I had, colored and mounted as a Fan. Engraved Fans apparently first spring up in France in the 16th and 17th centuries. Some were plain, others colored. They were imitated in Stockholm in the 18th century. But such things as Runic Tobacco-boxes and Fans presuppose a large public behind, who demanded and used them.

P. 872, note. — Jens Wolff. *Runakeffi le Runic Rim-stock ou Calendrier Runique*. 8vo. Paris 1820. At p. 52 is lithograph of a Norse Rune-stock full size. At p. 37 the author says: "Un de mes amis en Norwège m'assura qu'il rencontra un jour un fermier dans le Gulbrandsdahl, ou vallée du Gulbrand, qui faisait régulièrement usage d'un de ces calendriers pour ses occupations journalières, et quoiqu'il eût un almanach chez lui, il donna la préférence à son vieux Rimstock qu'il connaissait depuis longtemps presque par cœur, ainsi que les lettres runiques." — Dr. E. D. Clarke. *Travels in various countries of Scandinavia*, 4to, Vol. 1, London 1838, pp. 552—9, and the engravings at p. 538. — Prof. P. A. Munch. *Om Kalenderens Indhold, Indretning og Brug*. (In *Norsk Folke-Kalender*. 1859. Christiania 1858. 8vo. Pp. III and fol.) — "Some Account of Runic Calendars and Staffordshire Clogg Almanacks. Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by J. Barnard Davis, Esq. M.D. F.R.S. F.S.A." 4to, London 1868, pp. 26. (Overprint from the *Archæologia*, Vol. 41). — A large and elegantly illustrated work in 4to, in Russian, published in St. Petersburg in 1874, *The Northern Carved Calendar, an historical and ethnographical enquiry by Vjatcheslaf-Sresnefski*. — A remarkable treatise by Eiríkr Magnússon, M.A.: — On a Runic Calendar found in Lapland in 1866. (From the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications, Vol. 4, No. 1, 8vo, Cambridge, 1877.) With an Autotype. — Also, by the same: Description of a Norwegian Clog-Calendar. With an autotype. (From the same, Vol. 4, No. 2, Cambridge 1879, 8vo.) — The oldest Liturgical and Bible books for service and popular use in Scandinavia, to which Printing had not then or had scarcely come, were executed in Germany. In the same way was produced in Leipzig, near the close of the 15th century, a Perpetual Calendar, with rude colored woodcuts, arranged very much in the same way as the Scandinavian, only with ornamental additions and NO RUNES. F. D. Gräter has copied one page (for January) in his *Idunna*, 4to, 1816, No. 1.



## BRIDEKIRK, CUMBERLAND, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1100—1200.

*Old-N. R. Mon. Vol. 1, p. 489.*

P. 491. — I believe I have now found who the Master RICHARD was that sculptured the striking Bridekirk Runic Font. If so, I was right in assigning, on other grounds, its date to the 12th century rather than to the 13th.

Lately again looking thro the excellent edition of the Boldon Buke<sup>1</sup> by my learned correspondent the Rev. W. Greenwell, M. A., I was struck at p. 2 and 43 by the following passage:

"Willelmus quondam Abbas de Burgo tenet  
Newtonam juxta Dunolm de accommodatione et  
elemosina Domini Episcopi, et reddit pro me-  
diate domini. quam Ricardus ingeniator tenuit  
j. marcam."

"William, sometime Abbot of Peterborough, holds  
Newton near Durham, by the accommodation and  
alms of the Lord Bishop, and renders, for the  
moiety of the demesne which Richard, the architect,  
held, one marc."

Mr. Greenwell adds in a note: "Richard was a man of some note in his profession; he was employed by Bishop Pudsey about the repair of Norham Castle. Reginald, in his *Life of St. Cuthbert* (Surtees Soc.), Ch. 47, 54, tells an interesting story about him, and says 'Cunctis regionis hujus incolis arte et nomine notissimus est.' He and his heir, Thomas, granted land in Wolveston to the Prior and Convent of Durham in exchange for a carucate of land in Pitlington."

What was this "interesting story"? It is told diffusively by Reginald in his ch. 47, shorter, with some variations, in ch. 54. The substance is: a pious layman, who showed his faith by his works, like many other simple people carried about him some amulets, half-Christian Charms and Spells, with verses of Scripture, &c. A familiar friend, a monk of St. Cuthbert, who also bore on his person a kind of amulet, a little manuscript life of the saint, and, hidden in the binding-boards a morsel of the chasuble which had lain by his body, showed Richard this last treasure. But its sight excited holy and eager longings, and at last, overcome by his prayers, the monk gave the layman a bit of the costly fragment. For this and his other talismans Richard procured a rich silken case or bag, and constantly went with them on his person. One of the first fruits of this devotion was, that Bishop Pudsey made him his Master of the Works for the improvements at Norham Castle, and here Richard was always boasting of his precious safeguards. A certain ecclesiastic at Norham, a Frenchman, heard often of this hidden belt, and one day, when Richard had gone to Berwick and in his haste had forgotten it, he happened to find it. Quickly tearing it open, to see what jewels were therein, imagine his disappointment to find that the chief treasure was — a tiny lave of whitish cloth! Angry and disgusted, the Frenchman threw the halidom into the fire, where it remained for a couple of hours. But it took no harm, would not burn, and so the thief lifted the wondrous morsel from the coals, humbly restored it to the returning Richard, and announced the token to all the bystanders.

Reginald says that he himself had seen the bit of cloth, and that it was whiter and brighter after its fire-bath than the robe whence it had been cut: — all which only shows that it was woven of *Amianthus* or Earth-flax, a kind of Asbestos, which for thousands of years has been used for making incombustible stuffs.

And this reminds us of the equally "unburning" hair of St. Cuthbert, evidently fabricated of gold-wire a few years before by that cunning and impudent relic-stealer Elfred Westow. See Symeon of Durham, ch. 42; Reginald, ch. 26; and the Rev. James Raine's valuable "Saint Cuthbert", 4to. Durham 1828, p. 59.

As we have seen, it was while Richard was superintending the works at Norham that the "miracle" in question took place, that is to say about the year 1171. Reginald wrote his book about

<sup>1</sup> Boldon Buke, a Survey of the Possessions of the See of Durham, made by order of Bishop Hugh Pudsey, in the year 1183. With a translation . . . . . By the Rev. W. Greenwell, M. A. Durham 1852. (Surtees Society).

1172, and in his chapters on Richard that craftsman is still living ("cognominatus EST", "notissimus EST", not FUIT). But he was dead before 1183, for this is the date of the Boldon Buke, when Abbot William had followed him (how long before we do not know) as tenant of Newton. The works at Norham were too extensive to have been finished in one year (1171), and while engaged thereon Richard would probably neither have time nor wish to descend to simple stone-cutting with his own hands. He doubtless therefore carved the Font either *before* his elevation to the post of Master-builder at Norham (that is, say, some time between 1150—1170), or else *after* his finishing those works and his death (say about 1172—1180). The *former* is the more likely, as handiwork would better suit a clever journeyman than a renowned architect.

After praising his simplicity and piety, Reginald adds about him (ch. 47), "*artificiosus fuisset opere, et prudens architectus in omni structurâ artis forissecm*", *that he was most skilful in his work, and a careful architect (talented constructor) in all kinds of outdoor building*; and (ch. 54), "*Vir iste Ricardus Ingeniator dictus cognominatus est, qui Dunelmensis civis effectus, cunctis regionis hujus incolis arte et nomine notissimus est*", *This man Richard is well known by his title of the Engineer (Architect), and, having become a burgher of Durham, is celebrated both by name and fame to all the men of this region, —* that is, at least in the counties of Durham, Westmoreland, Cumberland and Northumberland.

Thus, according to all testimony, he was a worthy highly-respected artist, pious beyond the average, and distinguished as a gifted craftsman long before the favor shown to him by Bishop Pudsey. It is also evident that he became a man of substance. That he was a native Northumbrian is plain, for otherwise the contrary would have been pointed out by Reginald, in the same way as he is careful to tell us that the clerk who seized his belt was "Francigena", a Frenchman. When Richard was born and died, I do not know. The dates will be something like A. D. 1120—1180.

Thus the figure below the rune-line on the front of the Font is probably, in some degree, a *portrait* of the carver, RICHARD THE ARCHITECT, of Durham. He here, with his own hand, has shown himself at work on the Font, say somewhere about the year 1160.

RICHARD HE ME I-WROUGHT

has now fresh interest for us, for we know something of the personal history of the artist.

BRACTEATES, &c.

CHRISTIAN JÜRGENSEN THOMSEN.

1788—1865.

IN MEMORIAM.



In connection with my remarks Vol. 1, p. 515—519, and as the foolish talk about that mare's-nest "German Runes" still continues, especially in Germany, I here bring together a few extracts on which I have stumbled, from various authors, many of them Germans, admitting or asserting that the whole thing is a snare and delusion, too often even political claptrap.

Loccenius, who was himself a Saxon (born at Itzehoe in Holstein), and who believed that the first home of "the Goths" was the sweep of Gothland territory in Sweden, says that the Runic Alphabet was invented by the Goths in Sweden before the birth of Christ: "At nostrates eruditi Runas jam dudum à Gothis indigenis inventas, inter paganos ante natum Christum exstitisse, ex non unis veterum monumentis, & Saxis Runicis, quæ hic in Svecia, Dania & Islandia a Clariss. Viris Johanne Bureo, Olao Wormio, Arngrimo Jonæ, Brunolpho Svenonis, Olao Verelio atque aliis collecta & in lucem edita sunt, probatum eunt." — *Johannis Loccenii Antiquitatum Sveo-Gothicarum Libri Tres. Ed. 3. 8vo. Upsalæ 1670, p. 101.*

"Mit diesen Buchstaben oder Runen haben die nordischen Völker ihre Sprache geschrieben: jedoch nicht in ganzen Büchern . . . . . Bestehen demnach die Runen nicht in einer besondern Sprache; sondern sind nichts, als alte schwedische Buchstaben." — *J. P. v. Ludewig. Einleitung zu dem deutschen Münzwesen mittlerer Zeiten mit Anmerkungen herausgegeben v. J. J. Moser. 8vo. Ulm 1752. p. 204.*

"Enhver maae dog tilstaae, at nu omstunder findes ingen Stene for sig eller paa Heje i Tydskland med Rune Bogstaver eller nogen Skrift paa, og ej heller har været i nogle hundrede Aar, da derimod saa mange findes her i Norden." — *P. F. Suhm. Critisk Historie af Danmark, 1 Bind, Kjøbenhavn 1774, p. 161.*

"Man hielt die Runen für die uralte und eigenthümliche Schrift von Skandinavien, und glaubte, dass sie nicht allein auf Steinen und zu Kalendern, sondern auch zu ganzen Büchern gebraucht worden. . . . . Thomas Bartholin, und fast alle ehemalige Schriftsteller über die Nordischen Alterthümer haben folgende Meynung. Die Runenschrift sey dem heidnischen Norden eigen, und steige wenigstens bis zum Othin hinauf." — *Joh. H. Schlegel, Sammlung zur Dänischen Geschichte, Münzkennntniss, Oekonomie und Sprache. Vol. 2. 8vo, Kopenhagen 1774. (Ueber die Runemünzen, pp. 17, 19).*

"Da man i Tydskland finder hverken Penge eller Stene nu omstunder med Runer paa, endskjønt der ere Gravhoie og Stene nok, saa og Ligstene med Latinske Inscriptioner fra det 11 Sæculo, saa beviser dette for mig at Runerne ere Nordens eiendommelige gamle Bogstaver." — *Historie af Danmark. Ved P. F. Suhm. T. 4. 4to. Kjøbenhavn 1790. p. 567.*

"Marcomannorum in Germania litteras, a Rhabano Mauro Archiepiscopo Moguntino, qui vixit Seculo VIII<sup>vo</sup>, allatas, [a modification of the Anglo-Runic alphabet, arranged in the Latin A.B.C. order, foisted into the Ms. about A.D. 950 by some monk. See my Vol. 1, pp. 104—106; Vol. 2, pp. 517, 518,] qua nomina atque figuras, proxime ad Runas nostras accedere constat; si vero ex Germania in Sveciam illatæ, qui fieret, ut nulla earum in natali solo vestigia restarent?" — *Er. M. Fant (E. N. Bill) Diss. de Antiquitatis in Svecia Reliquis. 4to. Upsalæ 1791, p. 11, 12.*

"Einige Gelehrte haben bey den alten Germanen schon eine Buchstabenschrift angenommen. Einige gaben ihnen die Runen. Allein diese gehören nach Norden, wo sie sich nach Verell und auch neuerlich nach den Suhmischen Untersuchungen nicht ableugnen lassen, sie sind warscheinlich mit in das alte Gothische Alphabet aufgenommen." — *Die Alterthümer der Deutschen. Von K. G. Rössig. 2te Aufl. Leipzig 1801, p. 425.*

"In Germania stricte sic dicta nulli sunt lapides Runici." — *N. H. Sjöborg (C. S. Collnér). Diss. de Monumentis Runicis extra Scandinaviam. Pars 1. 4to. Londini Gothorum 1805, p. 9.*

When Sjöborg wrote people believed in the forged "Wendish runes", and other such things. He therefore thought that the "Germans" had runes, but he says they must undoubtedly have gotten them from Scandinavia. So: "Nos autem apertum esse arbitramur, runas Scandinaviæ antiquiores esse, Germanosque suas a nobis accepisse. Runæ re ipsa tam parum cum Alemannorum vel Marcomannorum lingua quam cum nostra conveniunt. Svecia adhuc 1260 habet lapides runis inscriptis, Dania 47, Norvegia 48, Germania vero nullas. Vetus itaque apud Scandinavos est memoria, quod etiam ab Historicis & Poetis Islandicis commemoratur, Odinum circa an. 100 ante Christum natum, Runas in Sveciam intulisse." — *Nic. Henr. Sjöborg. Litteræ Gothicæ ab Asia oriundæ. 4to. Londini Gothorum. 1805, p. 5.*

"Für jeden teutschen Forscher und Freund der Runenschrift, dieser merkwürdigen Erscheinung des skandinavischen Alterthums." — *F. D. Gröter. Idunna und Hermode. 4to. 1814. s. 108.*

"Auf diese Betrachtungen gestützt, könnte man der Meinung geneigt seyn, die Deutschen hätten erst durch die Angelsachsen die Runen kennen gelernt; die Angelsachsen aber sie aus dem Norden erhalten." — *Wilh. C. Grimm. Ueber deutsche Runen. 8vo. Göttingen 1821, p. 135.*

"Nach Verhältniss der mehr oder minderen Entfernung von Upland finden sich auch mehr oder minder Runensteine. Norwegen, Dänemark und dessen kleineren Inseln, Island &c., besitzen nur wenige, und im Herzogthume Schleswig, wo in *Louisenlund* noch zwei derselben stehen, hören sie ganz auf, denn in den angrenzenden Ländern, wie z. B. in *Mecklenburg-Schwerin* und in *Pommern* und *Rügen* fand man bis jetzt [the gross and impudent Runic Forgeries called "the Neustrelitz Slavic Gods and Runestones"] keine Spur davon.

"Auch in England, besonders auf der Insel *Man*, finden sich zwar Runensteine, welche jedoch, den Inschriften zufolge, von dänischen Colonisten errichtet sind. Ebenfalls fand man dergleichen in *Spanien*, welche warscheinlich gleichfalls nordischen Reisenden angehören [Celt-Iberian staves, NOT runes]. *Strahlenberg* wollte ähnliche Denkmäler in Russland entdeckt haben; der Collegienrath *Müller* suchte auf seiner Reise nach denselben, fand sie aber nicht, wie er dies an den Prof. *Ihre* selbst schrieb." — *Friedr. von Hagenow. Beschreibung der auf der Grossh. Biblioth. zu Neustrelitz befindlichen Runensteine. 4to. Loitz 1826, p. 2.*

"Runen sind die ältesten Schriftzüge der Völker des germanischen Nordens; es kömmt diese Benennung mithin nur denjenigen Schriftzügen zu, welche sich unmittelbar im Norden erzeugt haben, oder deren sonstiger nordischer Ursprung entweder durch Zeugnisse erwiesen oder durch Schlüsse glaubwürdig gemacht werden kann." . . . .

"Nach allen diesem aber ist soviel auch gewiss, dass wir bis jetzt noch kein unbezweifeltes Denkmal mit Teutschen Runen in Teutschland selbst entdeckt haben." — *G. T. Legis. Die Runen und ihre Denkmäler. 8vo. Leipzig 1829, pp. 4, 46.*

"The Runic alphabet consists properly of sixteen letters, which are Phenician in their origin. The Northern traditions, sagas, and songs, attribute their introduction to Odin. They were probably brought by him into Scandinavia, but they have no resemblance to any of the alphabets of central Asia." — *Henry Wheaton. History of the Northmen. 8vo. London 1831. p. 61.*

"La Scandinavie avoit, il est vrai, ses runes, dont elle attribuoit l'invention à Odin, mais elle en avoit peu tiré parti pour ses compositions littéraires." — *Ch. M. de Sourdeval, Études Gothiques. 8vo. Tours 1839. p. 16.*

"Demnach wird man sich der Behauptung nicht entziehen dürfen, dass die ganze Annahme specifisch deutscher Runen wegfallen muss, und das hrabanische Alphabet Nichts ist, als eine von der gewöhnlichen Art etwas verschiedene Umsetzung des ags. Futhorks." — *R. v. Liliencron und K. Müllenhoff, Zur Runenlehre. 8vo. Halle 1852, p. 16.*

"Die sogenannten markomannischen oder althochdeutschen runenzeichen so gut als namen lediglich aus einem angelsächsischen alphabete entsprungen sind." — *Dr. A. Kirchhoff. Das Gothische Runenalphabet. 8vo. 2te Aufl. Berlin 1854, p. 36.*

"Benævnelser tydske Runer er mindre rigtig, da der neppe i hele Tydskland findes en eneste Runeindskrift af dette Slags." — *Prof. P. A. Munch. Runestene fra Tine. Roy. 8vo. Christiania 1857, p. 4.*

*Nos. 1, 2. O. N. R. M. p. 519, 520.*

Most likely meaningless, apparently mere blind imitations of Roman epigraphs. — Nov. 1880. When, in connection with his treatise on the Golden Horns, the Chamberlain Worsaae publishes his proposed identification of the Holy Marks and some of the figures on the Bracteates, fresh light may be thrown on these costly little ornaments

*Nos. 3, 4, 5. O. N. R. M. p. 520, 521.*

No. 4, found in 1817, I now think bears only the mansname: RUTHU. In No. 5 I take the mansname, ECMU, as a nominative.

*No. 6. O. N. R. M. p. 522.*

? SEHS-CUNÆ EOAHÆE

*To-the-SIGE-KEEN (triumph-daring, victorious) HORSEMAN (perhaps a mansname).*

*No. 7. O. N. R. M. p. 523.*

? GAL GLYOEU-GIAUYOU.

*GAL to-the-lady-GLYOEU-GIAUYOA.*

GLEE-GIFT or GLEE-GIVERESS is a very fine womans-name. — Many things, also grave-stones, bearing 2 words, I have redd as a *nominative* and a *dative*. Memorial, Keepsake, Betrothal and Love-rings &c. are common from the earliest ages down to our own time. Sometimes *these also* bear 2 names, a nominative and a dative. Thus in W. Jones's Finger-ring Lore (8vo, London 1877, p. 41) we have one engraved with two claspt hands, and PROTEROS to-UGIA ("PROTEROS UGLE").

*No. 8. O. N. R. M. p. 524.*

Doubtful or barbarized. Possibly, considering this a careless copy of a better original, we may read:

TO AULIYOÆ DAM TILLE.

*TO AULIYO THE TILL (good).*

*No. 9. O. N. R. M. p. 524.*

I would now read the staves from below upwards, taking the TA as a clear bind. This gives us the mansname: TALLWE.

*Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13. O. N. R. M. p. 525, 6.*

Meaningless.

*No. 14. O. N. R. M. p. 527.*

Found in 1827. I now take this as the mansname: FOSLÆU.

*Nos. 15, 16. O. N. R. M. p. 528.*

See No. 18:— No. 15 found before 1817, No. 16 before 1852. Both bear the same mansname: ÆLU.

*No. 17. O. N. R. M. p. 529.*

Doubtless barbarous.

*No. 18. O. N. R. M. p. 529.*

See Nos. 15 and 16, and 71. As remarkt by Prof. Bugge (Aarb. 1871, p. 183) the R in ÆRU was my woodcutter's error for L (thus ÆLU). Accordingly it is here rectified.



I also agree with him (p. 199) in taking the 4th rune in 2nd word as a bind, c and æ. I therefore now read (nom. masc. and dat. masc.):

ÆLU LÆUCÆA.

ÆLU to-LÆUCÆ.

*No. 19. O. N. R. M. p. 530.*

Found about 1840. Bugge, *Om Runeindskr. på Guldbrak*. p. 199, says rightly that the 8th rune is a bind, c and æ. The 2nd stave in next word has doubtless the same value. So I now read (Dat. masc and Nom. masc.):

LÆWULOUCEA GÆFCALLU.

To- or for-LÆWULOUCE GÆÆCALLU (*gave or made*).

*No. 20. O. N. R. M. p. 531.*

Found in 1845.

*No. 21. O. N. R. M. p. 532.*

Found in 1822. Whether a name, a word, a contraction, we cannot say. Only 3 letters. Probably the mansname: GLÆ.



## No. 22. O. N. R. M. p. 533.

A 4th metallic Runic Alphabet, has just (Jan. 1876) been found, a Silver Communion Cup. The runes are on the rim of the Chalice. See it under Denmark. — Dr. O. Montelius informs us, in his "Statens Historiska Museum", 8vo, Stockholm 1872, p. 36, that this costly Bracteate was about to be cast into the melting-pot of a goldsmith, when it was rescued by the Rev. P. Kylander.

Over the great door of the old Forshem Church, in West Gotland, Sweden, is a semicircular stone bas-relief. On its border below is the Latin alphabet, headed by the sign of the Cross. — See P. A. Sæve, in *Antiqvarisk Tidskrift för Sverige*, 8vo, Vol. 2, Stöckholm 1869, p. 154. — A grave-block at Kilmalkedar, in the barony of Corkaguiny, county Kerry, Ireland, bears the word *DN* and the whole Latin Alphabet. See Plate 5, fig. 9, of *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*; chiefly collected and drawn by George Petrie, LL.D. Edited by M. Stokes. Part 4, Dublin 1873, 4to. Miss Stokes says (p. 7): "This is the second pillar-stone we have met with in Ireland, inscribed with the invocation 'Domine'. It is the first that has other characters in addition, and appears a well preserved and most interesting example of the whole alphabet in the Roman character of the sixth or seventh century, upon which Dr. Petrie remarks — 'As to the object of this inscription I can of course offer only a conjecture, namely, that it was an *abecedarium*, cut by one of the early Christian settlers in this place, — either a foreigner, or a native who had received a foreign education, — for instructing his followers in the rudiments of the Latin language; for that it was the practise of the first teachers of Christianity in Ireland to furnish their disciples with the *abecedarium*, or Roman alphabet, appears quite clear from Nennius, and the most ancient Lives of St. Patrick, as may be seen by reference to Harris's Ware, Irish Writers, Book ii, c. 1."

Sept. 1878. — A couple of months ago I saw in Vesterås, in the Museum there (Vestmanland, Sweden), a lately discovered Hand-quern, or small stone mill for grinding corn, probably from the 12th century. Round the flat rim was a damaged inscription. At last I made out that it was the Runic Alphabet &c. — Shortly afterwards Baron Djurklou, the Swedish Antiquary, told me that he had seen a large watermill stone, perhaps from the 13th century, at Ulleröd in Vermland, also bearing the Runic Futhork. — These two pieces are another striking proof that the Runes were originally the popular alphabet, not magical, for grinding at the mill was the duty of the unfree or the lowest laborers. — In 1880 two other such quern-stones bearing the runish stave-row have been found in Sweden. — Two Alphabet-Bells, from Warwickshire, are noticed in "Notes and Queries" for April 3, 1875, p. 266. One, dated 1591, ends with s. The other, made in 1640, goes on to x. — In 1872 there was found in the Rhine district a handsome Urn on which is inscribed the Roman Alphabet. It is now in the Maynz Museum. See Dr. Lindenschmit, *Verein für Rheinische Geschichte und Alterthümer, Jahresbericht für 1872—3*, 4to, p. 2. — See one of the English Alphabet-tiles admirably copied (printed in colors) in *The Reliquary*, 8vo, Jan. 1871, (London), p. 129, Plate 16. The text ("Mediæval Paving Tiles at Wirksworth, Derbyshire") is by Mr. Llewellynn Jewitt; see particularly pp. 131, 132. — "The Academy" for June 24, 1876, p. 600, mentions that Leicestershire alone has "several" alphabet bells, and that a Norman Fout at Severn-stoke in Warwickshire is inscribed with the ABC. — In March 1877 was found in Rome a marble gambling board, probably of the 14th century. Some words in Latin were cut round the rim, followed by the Roman alphabet from A to X. See the *Athenæum*, London, March 31, 1877, p. 424. — In Norway only one runish staverow was known, on a Church-bell at Akershus near Christiania (Nicolaysen, *Norske Fornlevninger*, p. 27). But Prof. Ol. Rygh has just informed me (Oct. 1879) that a second has turned up at Erga in Stavanger Amt, of a singular kind. It is cut on a very small Ox-horn now in the Stavanger Museum, and is thus the oldest "Hornbook" in Europe. Date about 12th or 13th century.

## No. 23. O. N. R. M. p. 537.

Apparently barbarous.

## No. 24. O. N. R. M. p. 538.

As I have said, this piece (found early in the 17th century) was engraved by Bartholin in his *Ant. Dan.*, 1689. I have seen a letter from the Danish poet Georg Sorterup, dated "Lyderslou d. 27 Janv. 1711", from which we learn that the Bracteate was then in the possession of Christian Worm (Ol. Worm's grand-son), Bishop of Sealand. My former translation was a failure. But I think that this and the fellow-brink No. 55 are too carefully and elegantly cut to be merely "barbarous". We know the *many* variants of the NG-rune. Late finds (Bracteate No. 78 and the Kovel Spear-head) have enabled me to add an important one (in 2 shapes) to the number. Here, I believe, we have a further variety of the 2 last, the same in type but ornamentally differenced. In the same way I think the curious ¶ above may be merely a modification of the *many* O. N. variants of the γ-rune. For the moment *assuming* all this, I see no reason why the inscription should not be regular. Both Nos. 28 and 55 are then apparently in the same dialect (a tendency to the æ-sound for A, and to intercalate the γ), and both *may* have been struck for the same person. Bugge, *Om Run. på Guldbr.* p. 199, says the 3rd rune is more like þ than w, and I agree with him. I therefore now propose:

NEDUYENG UYÆYLIL ÆNN HOUÆA.

UYÆYLIL of-the-NÆTHUYENG-family ANN (gives-this) to-HOUÆA.

## No. 25. O. N. R. M. p. 538.

Treated at large under No. 75, which see. The place, some say, should be spelt Kōrkō, not Tjörkō, but both are pronounced in the same way.

## No. 26. O. N. R. M. p. 539.

Found about 1840. Perhaps the mansname: FUVU (or FUDU).

## No. 27. O. N. R. M. p. 540.

May be taken in many ways. Had we a thousand more such monuments, our doubts would be the fewer. I now prefer:

TEWON ÆDODU.

TEWON-made-this for-the-lady-ÆTHODA

## No. 28. O. N. R. M. p. 540.

Found in 1848. May be barbarous, and comparatively late in date.

## No. 29. O. N. R. M. p. 541.

See WANDERERS; now placed under Sweden. Cörlin is said to be more correct than Cöslin.

## No. 30. O. N. R. M. p. 542.

Probably as meaningless and comparatively late in date as No. 28.

*No. 31. O. N. R. M. p. 543.*

Blind-runes or contractions.

*No. 32. O. N. R. M. p. 543.*

Found in the first half of this year-hundred. I would now prefer:

TWÆD TIWILE.

TWÆD to-TIWIT.

*Nos. 33, 34. O. N. R. M. p. 544.*

Both found early in this century. No. 33 in 1817, with No. 25, which see.

*Nos. 35-41, b. O. N. R. M. p. 544.*

See Nos. 83, 84.

*No. 42. O. N. R. M. p. 547.*

Not known when found.

*Nos. 43-46. O. N. R. M. p. 547.*

The large blink, to the top left, No. 43, found in Sweden, but not known when. No. 44, the top right, found in Gotland in 1843; and the Swedish No. 45, find-tide unknown, all agree in what I now read as the mansname: ELTIL. See Nos. 85, 86, 87. — No. 46 was found long ago in Denmark, date not markt. It reads, a mansname: TIL.

*No. 47. O. N. R. M. p. 548.*

Only the mansname: ELWU.

*No. 48. O. N. R. M. p. 549.*

Accidentally misredd at p. 549. As the staves are reverst, the word must begin from below. The mansname: ENOENE.

*Nos. 49, 49, b. O. N. R. M. p. 549, 875.*

Both these pieces have the small errors common to careless die-cutters, but the two texts agree in nearly every particular. The *l* in FIMEDU is hidden by the triangular ornament under the loop. No. 49 is more correct than 49, b. The common text, by comparison of both, is:

HHLEEDU-UIGE ALTE-ULÆA FIMEDU.

HLÆDWIG for-ALTE-ULÆ FAWED (*made this*).

HLÆDU-WIGE means LADE-WIGG, *Packhorse, Carrying-nag, Sumpter-horse*. The design in the center is therefore the Goldsmith's Sign or Rebus-play<sup>1</sup> on his own name. No other Bracteate, with or without runes, bears the above type. These blinks, however, are often excessively barbarous. On some the Helm or Cap, on others the Head, on others the Neck, on others the Horse, almost or entirely disappears. We may therefore say that the Rebus is "not proven". But this will not alter the reading, which is so simple and plain and grammatically correct that it remains unshaken.

No. 50. O. N. R. M. p. 550.

Apparently blind-runes or contractions.

Nos. 51, 52. O. N. R. M. p. 550.

No. 51 was found in 1852 with No. 56; No. 52 in 1860. Comparing the two, I now propose to read:

OWÆ-ALUT EÆDLÆUA.

OWÆ-ALUT made (or gave) -this to EÆTHLÆU.

No. 53. O. N. R. M. p. 551.

Found in 1841. Perhaps only barbarous or contractions.

No. 54. O. N. R. M. p. 552.

Found in 1848. Only the mansname: LAOKU.

<sup>1</sup> Our forefathers continually employed the Rebus, and it is found on our oldest Coins. In connection herewith Le Blant remarks, on a Christian slab in Gaul dated A. C. 466: — "Je ne puis considérer ni comme purement ornementales, ni comme symboliques au point de vue chrétien, les aigles gravées sur cette épitaphe; je ne pense pas non plus qu'elles figurent ici comme accompagnant le nom du consul empereur, bien qu'elles apparaissent sur quelques monnaies de l'époque, type nouveau, dit Banduri, dans la numismatique romaine.

"Elles me semblent plutôt avoir été l'emblème du nom d'*Aquilus*, qu'aurait porté le défunt, et dont les quatre dernières lettres sont encore reconnaissables au début de l'épitaphe.

"Ces sortes d'armes parlantes avaient été, comme on le sait, employées longtemps avant notre ère; les monnaies de Rhodes portent une rose, celles d'Agrigente, un crabe, allusion au nom grec de ces villes. Les Romains, du temps même de la République, se plaisaient à ces emblèmes, ainsi que l'on peut s'en assurer dans Buonarrotti; leurs marbres en offrent plusieurs exemples, dont Fabretti a réuni les principaux.

"Le goût de ces jeux d'esprit, qui rappellent les *conceits* dont j'ai déjà parlé, se retrouve encore à l'époque chrétienne. Dans le recueil de Boldetti, le nom de NABIRA est accompagné d'une figure de navire; celui de PORCELLA, d'une laie; celui de DRACONTIS, d'un serpent; un onagre est gravé sur la tombe d'ONAGER; un tonneau, *dolium*, sur un titulus qui porte la mention PATER DOLIENS, probablement écrit pour DOLENS; à Anagni, une chèvre est figurée sur l'épitaphe d'une chrétienne nommée CAPRIOLA.

"Peut-être l'aigle était-elle de même représentée sur l'inscription suivante [Boldetti, p. 397]: AQUILINA QVE VIXIT ANNIS X.L.V. CESQVET IN PACE, à la droite de laquelle est figuré un oiseau volant." — *Le Blant*, Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Vol. 1, Paris 1856, p. 158, 4to.

As an example how long-lived such things are, I may mention that the *smallest* clay pipe in the late T. C. Croker's large and curious collection was one of great fineness and beauty dredged up from the bed of the Thames near Kingston. It is supposed to have been made in the first half of the 17th century. The edge of the bowl has a milled or indented pattern round it, but the heel is very broad for the pipe to rest on, and is stamped with the figure of an open GAUNTLET or glove. But this "Potter's mark" (GAUNTLET) was the maker's name. See this pipe engraved in Fairholt's interesting "Tobacco", 8vo, London 1876, p. 162.



## No. 55. O. N. R. M. p. 552.

See my remarks on the fellow bracteate No. 24. Found in 1852 with Nos. 6 and 39, — I now explain the simplified M and the N with the side-stroke on the right, as caused by the extremely narrow space, and propose:

SIHMYWNT ENN HO(uæ)A.

SIHMYWNT (= SIGMUND) ANN (*gives-this*) to-HOUÆ

## No. 56. O. N. R. M. p. 553.

Found in 1852. May be barbarous.

## No. 57. O. N. R. M. p. 554.

This costly golden blink was dug up in Sealand, Denmark, in 1852. Unique type, a War-chief spear in hand. I now agree with Bugge that the 13th rune is c, not l, and read:

HÆ TIU,

HÆ HÆTIOÆ,

FÆUÆ, UISÆ! —

GIB UELYÆ (TIU)!

*Wage thy-battle,*

*publish thy-war-ban,*

*O-Fæwa our-Wisa (Leader, Captain)! —*

*Give weal (success) (O God TIU)!*

BATTLE STOUTLY,

BAN THY FOE,

O-FÆUA OUR LEADER! —

GIVE LUCK (O TIU)!

Should this be so, we have here the only Bracteate on which I have found stave-rime verse. — An echo of such an old Northern HAITING meets us in the Hervarar Saga Ch. 18, in Bugge's ed. Sec. 92, 93:

Nú reið Gizurr i brott ok þar til, er hann kom í her Húna; hann reið eigi nær en svá, at hann mátti tala við þá, þa kallar hann hári röddu ok kvað:

‘Felmtr er yðru fylki,

feigr er yðarr visir,

gnæfar yðr gunnfani,

gramr er yðr Óðinn!

Ok enn:

‘Byð ek yðr at Dylgja

ok á Dúnheidi

orrostu undir

Jösurfjöllum;

hræ sé yðr

at há hverri,

ok láti svá Óðinn flein fljúga

sem ek fyrir mæli.’

*Now rode Gizurr away, on till he came to the army of the Huns; he rode no nearer than that he could talk to them. Now calls he with a loud voice and says:*

*‘Fear strikes your folk-bands,*

*fey is your leader,*

*our war-flag wags at you,*

*Wodin's your foe.’*

*And again:*

*‘At Dylgja I bid you,*

*and on Dunheath,*

*neath Jösar's fells*

*to join in battle,*

*Carnage crush you*

*in every conflict!*

*speed Odin my javelin*

*on whom aye I call!’*

We have another reference to this custom in Eyrbyggja Saga, ed. G. Vigfusson, 8vo, Leipzig 1864, Ch. 44, p. 82:

En er flokkinn Snorra gékk neðan skriðuna,  
þá skaut Steinþórr spjóti at fornum sið til heilla  
sér yfir flokk Snorra, en spjótið leitaði sér staðar,  
ok var fyrir Már frændi Snorra, ok varð hann  
þegar úvigr.

*But as the flock of Snorri went down the hill-  
side, Steinthor shot out his spear in the olden way,  
that he might have good luck over Snorri's band.  
And the lance went on and hit Már, Snorri's kins-  
man, and made him unfit to fight.*

Of course the words of such a challenge would endlessly vary, but the casting the war-spear over the enemy was thus at times a part of the ancient battle-ban. See the unique example of the Spear-shaft inscribed with the War-ban, to be cast over the border, under KRAGEHUL, Denmark.

No. 58. O. N. R. M. p. 554.

Found before 1846.

No. 59. O. N. R. M. p. 555.



Found in 1856. The runes are not correctly given in Thomsen's Atlas (No. 252) and my p. 555. I therefore here re-engrave it, by the kind permission of its owner, the Chamberlain F. Sehested, Broholm, Fyn. It is drawn by Prof. M. Petersen, engraved by J. F. Rosenstand. See also the Chamberlain Sehested's Description of his Museum, with its beautiful plates. — As we see in this more careful copy the line NUAÐ becomes NUAÐE, while the n and the u below are not letters. We thus get:

TE NU AÐE, OD.

TEE (*give*) NOW EAD (*fortune, happiness*) o-OD (= ODIN, WODEN)!

But all this is very doubtful. The T, E, O, D, may be contractions, and the words may be divided in various ways.

No. 60. O. N. R. M. p. 556.

No. 61. O. N. R. M. p. 557.

Found early in this century. Read:

JULIENI HÖUG ÆMILIU.

JULIENI (= JULIAN) HEWED (*struck this*) for-the-lady-ÆMILIA.

No. 62. O. N. R. M. p. 557.

Not known when found. Read:

JOHN HO.

JOHN HEWED (*struck this*).

Nos. 63, 64. *O. N. R. M. Vol. 2, p. 558.*

No. 65. *O. N. R. M. Vol. 2, p. 559.*

Found early in this year-hundred. Read:

TVTO AIVOMIA VR<sup>æ</sup>ITO.

*TUTO for-the-lady-AIVOMI WROUGHT (made this).*

No. 66. *O. N. R. M. Vol. 2, p. 559.*

Found in 1837.

Nos. 67, 68, 69. *O. N. R. M. Vol. 2, p. 560—2.*

No. 70. *O. N. R. M. Vol. 2, p. 563.*

I now agree with Mr. Haigh in taking the first stave to be an inverted L, and read:

LUL ON AUSA (or maybe AUSA).

*LUL ON (of) AUSA (or AUSA) = struck this piece.*

Monogram the king, who died in 836: ECGBERHT.

In his interesting paper "On the Old English Coinage" in the Numismatic Chronicle (London, 1869), my forthfaren learned friend Mr. Haigh says of this coin: — "*Obv.* — Monogram. *Rev.* LUL ON AUSA. The first L inverted. Pl. V., fig. 14." "The mint may have been Ousden, near Bury St. Edmund's, now an obscure village. Professor Stephens sees in the monogram the name of Ecgerht. I cannot; and whilst I do not remember a runic legend on any piece of West Saxon mintage, we have the name of the same moneyer on another coin of Æthilberht, and several runes on the coins of his predecessor, Benna." — I still adhere (see Vol. 1) to my reading of the name ECGBERHT. But this is immaterial.

Postscript, May 1874. Archivary Herbst has just re-found the original drawing by Prof. van der Chijs, from which he made his copy, engraved by me on p. 563. The result is that Mr. Herbst's copy was wonderfully exact, entirely accurate. There is only one difference, on the obverse or monogram side, where the drawing shows 4 dots below, not 3.

No. 71. *O. N. R. M. Vol. 2, p. 876.*

See Nos. 15, 16, 18, 19. I now agree with Bugge (*Om Runeindskr. på Guldbr. p. 199*) in reading the last word as *ÆLEUCÆA*, and translate:

TENULU *ÆLEUCÆA*.

*TENULU (= DANE-WOLF) to-ÆLEUCÆA.*

No. 72. *O. N. R. M. Vol. 2, p. 877.*

No. 73. O. N. R. M. Vol. 2, p. 878.

Bears the mansname: NADÆ.

No. 74. O. N. R. M. Vol. 2, p. 879, LXVIII.

The mansname: SCANOMODU. — The Rev. D. H. Haigh says (in his article in the Numismatic Chronicle 1869): "undoubtedly a mancus. Its date, if not of the fifth century, as is most probable, must be early in the sixth. There can be no difficulty whatever in recognising in the runes the name of a man, and as names compounded with *Scan* are exceedingly rare, it is not improbable that Scanomod settled in Yorkshire, and left his name to Scammonden, near Halifax."

No. 75.

# ENGLAND.

From an electrotype of the original in the British Museum, for which I have to thank Count J. F. W. DE SALIS, London. Drawn by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN, engraved by Hr. J. F. ROSENSTAND.



'At the beginning of this century, as the tradition goes, a peasant digging somewhere in England found this golden piece. But where or when is not recorded, for in those days people cared little for such details. It was sold as a curiosity, and was preserved in private hands. At last it was seen to be a finely struck rarity, and was bought in London in 1856 by the great coin-collector Count J. F. W. De Salis. Some time after, that savant gave this piece, together with a vast and valuable heap of other Coins and Medals, to the British Museum, where it now remains. In March 1868 the Count favored me with fine wax impressions of both sides. From these I let make a sharp electrotype, and from this last my artists have worked with their usual accuracy.

But on the arrival of this unique rune-talking barbarian, Archivary Herbst reminded me that in the large Cabinet of the Danish Collector G. F. Timm, which was sold by auction in Cheapinghaven in 1834, was a *silver* Triens the same as the *golden* one in the British Museum. It will be found described at p. 72. Part III, of the printed Catalogue (Fortegnelse over Georg Friderich Timms udmærkede Mynt- og Medaille-Samling. III Deel, Kjøbenhavn 1834, 8vo). The editors, the well-known coin-kenners Thomsen and Devegge, add the following remarks, which I English: "From the inscription on the obverse of this piece, which consists of runes mixt with some Latin letters, we might suppose it to have been struck in England, during that period when the Latin staves earlier in use were for a time partly superseded by runes at the arrival of the Anglosaxons. Should we opine that this legend may be redd "*Cunnt u Diefljo*", it will be better to regard it as minted in about the 7th or 8th century for a king of Dublin called Cnut, who was perhaps of Northern birth. But the agreement of the type with the Merovingian and West-Gothic golden coins makes us suspect that it may be a cast from a golden coin, a question however which we cannot decide with certainty."

The piece here spoken of, and which at the time both Thomsen, Devegge and Herbst were strongly inclined to pronounce a *cast*, was sold at the roup for 6 Danish dollars to the landholder von Römer of Dresden, now deceased.<sup>2</sup> It was made public some years ago, from a tin-foil impression taken

<sup>1</sup> The substance of this article appeared in Swedish in "Svenska Fornminnesforeningens Tidskrift, No. 7 (Vol. 3, Part 1, Stockholm 1875, 8vo), pp. 47-64, "En Svensk Historisk Run-brakteat".

<sup>2</sup> This famous collector bequeathed the whole of his valuable Coin-cabinet (29,000 pieces) to the Royal Museum in Dresden, where accordingly this silver piece now is.





I next referred Count de Salis to another circumstance. In 425 Theoderic the Goth made war on the Romans; in 426 his troops which were besieging Arles, then the greatest city in all Gaul, were defeated by the famous Roman general Aëtius. In 428 Aëtius conquered the Franks. In 430 the Goths again attack Arles, but were routed with great slaughter by Aëtius, and their king ("optimas") or leader was taken prisoner. The Gothic king thus made captive was named ANAOLF (— ANWOLF). The only author who has preserved to us the name of this Northern king is the contemporary Spanish chronicler Bishop Idatius. He says (*Idatii Episcopi* chronicon. Th. Roncallius, Vetustiora Latinorum Scriptorum Chronica. 4to. Patavii 1787. Pars 2, p. 23): "Per Aetium Comitem non procul de Arelate quædam Gothorum manus extinguitur, Anaolfo optimate eorum capto." — I submitted my reading as above — KING ANWOLF — to the Count, and added that perhaps he might be the "optimas" of Idatius, in which case the LIO C might be LIONENSIS CIVITAS, perhaps already in use for the *City of Lyons* (which is only a few miles from Arles), about which he might have made some high oath or compact.

De Salis very obligingly replied to me in communications which he kindly permitted me to make public. Under date May 3, 1868, he has the following valuable remarks: "I am extremely obliged to you for the clear and satisfactory reading of the runic portion of the legend of No. 7, class B, and beg to offer the following observations on the proposed attribution to the city of Lyons, and to one of the Burgundian chiefs who settled, in the early part of the 5th century, in the south-eastern part of Gaul.

"I have, as you know, collected an immense number of imitations of the later Roman and early Byzantine coinages. Thanks to these materials, which no other numismatist ever had the patience, or even the idea, to collect, I have been able to trace without much difficulty the coins issued by the tribes which took possession of the civilized provinces of the Roman empire, the Burgundians, Suevi, Visigoths, Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards. I may add that the basis of this classification has been the rearrangement of the whole Roman coinage by *mints* and *provinces*, instead of by *emperors*, which alone makes it possible to trace a monetary series as it passes from the Roman to the Romano-barbarian, and finally to the purely barbarian stage.

"This study affords a most graphic view of the process of disintegration of the Western Empire. In Britain, the London mint ended under Constantine about 330, and the island had henceforth to be supplied by the Gothic mints of Treves, Lyons and Arles, which were suppressed after the rebellion of Eugenius in 394. Britain and Gaul could then no longer be provided for by the mints of Italy. This fact is attested by a very numerous class of imitations of coins of the period preceding the barbarian invasions. The types selected for imitation were either the commonest in circulation, or those of the emperors who had been most popular in the different provinces. In England the coins of this class are generally imitated from those of Constantius II; in France, from those of the reign of Constantine the Great; and in Spain, as far as I can judge, from those of Tetricus, whose coinage was of course driven westward and southward by that which issued from Treves, Lyons and Arles, all situated in the eastern part of Gaul, there having been no mint in Spain since the suppression of Tarraco, about the same time as London. This gradual withdrawal of the Roman imperial mints clearly indicates what took place in the other branches of the administration. The three great western provinces had drifted into the condition of unprofitable dependencies to a collapsing empire, though the provincials still clung to the shadow of Roman institutions, and the way was open to the invaders and to regeneration.

"I have not taken account, in this brief sketch, of the few coins struck by the usurper Magnus Maximus in London, by Constantine and Jovinus in the three Gallic mints, for four or five years only in the early part of the 5th century, and by Majorian and two or three of his successors at Arles. His predecessor Avitus, set up by the Visigoths, also issued coins at that mint, which had been closed for more than 40 years.

"I have treated the Byzantine series like the later Roman, dividing it into Eastern, Italian, Sicilian and African. The two last cease at the Mahomedan conquest, and the Italian, which is of very peculiar fabric, gives the means of tracing the Lombard coinage, both of the kings in the north, and of the powerful dukes of Benevento in the south. As I observed in my last letter, I am perfectly convinced that the impressions I sent you, with the exception of classes A and B, were copied, with hardly any admixture of Gallic or other features, from the coins issued by the Byzantine mint of Ravenna, the seat of the exarch, and by the Lombard kings, and seem to be the prototypes of most of your

Scandinavian bracteates. Other Roman types of different periods were also copied, but I believe the barbarous features of Scandinavian bracteates may generally be traced to these imitations, which I think I may call Bavarian or German.

"The coins I have spoken of fill up, for the then civilized part of Europe and Africa, the interval between the cessation of the Roman mintage and the establishment of the national types of the Visigoths, Franks, &c. There is not a single runic coin among them, although the scheme includes, roughly speaking, every country where latin was spoken at the break up of the Western empire. I have entered at some length into the preceding explanations in order to show that the broad features of the early mediaeval period are perfectly distinct, although the minor details in many cases still remain to be filled up, and in others never will. I think I may safely venture in stating, from a general view of the coins already collected and arranged, that the invaders did not strike runic coins among any of the latin speaking populations of the provinces they occupied, and that we must look for their origin on the limits or even beyond the pale of Roman civilization.

"The classes A and B of the impressions I sent you contain, with the exception of the Scandinavian bracteates, the only gold Roman imitations with runes I have ever seen, and the coins of class B, which seem much later than those of class A, are in style and fabric most unlike any of those struck in the provinces where latin was spoken at the close of the Roman domination.

"With regard to the attribution of the coins of class B to the Burgundians and to the city of Lyons, I have to observe that the coins struck in the south-eastern provinces of Gaul, the earliest acquisitions of the Romans beyond the Alps, are among the very best of the imitations I have collected. They are sometimes so like the Roman and Byzantine originals that it often requires much careful comparing in order to distinguish them, an operation I should not have been able to accomplish without the abundant materials we possess in the Museum. The Burgundians, who occupied these highly civilized provinces, were the mildest and least destructive of all the invaders, and their principal idea seems to have been identification with the empire, of which they looked upon themselves as vassals and dependents, and I cannot place any runic or even decidedly barbarous coins by the side of those which mark the period of their domination in the south-east of Gaul, because the contrast would be too great.<sup>1</sup> I believe the modern form LIO, for Lyons, would not be found before the Carolingian period, and should not expect to find anything except latin, which remained the monetary language of France till the end of last century, on coins struck in that town where the traditions of the great Roman mint of Gaul must, if anywhere, have been preserved.

"As to the date of the coin, I am inclined to place it about 550 or 560. Of the three of similar fabric which precede it in class B, the first is a Justin I [518] with a side-faced Victory, a reverse borrowed from the Visigoths, the second a Justinian I [527] with the usual full-faced Victory, and the third an illegible non-runic coin, also with the full-faced Victory, and evidently imitated from the same emperor.

<sup>1</sup> In support of this opinion of Count de Salis I add the following extract. "Les indications chronologiques gravées sur les marbres de ce temps sont de deux sortes: dates pour les consuls, dates par les rois barbares. Si l'on marque sur une carte de la Gaule les lieux où se rencontrent ces diverses mentions, on voit les dates consulaires se grouper exclusivement dans le royaume des Bourguignons, les dates royales chez les Francs et les Wisigoths.

"Trouver, pour des temps antérieurs, un marbre à date consulaire sur un point de notre sol, c'est voir, par une marque matérielle, que le main de Rome était sur cette contrée; mais, lorsque l'Empire a vu décroître ses possessions immenses, lorsque les Francs, les Bourguignons, les Wisigoths, tiennent la Gaule, ce fait prend un tout autre sens, et je vais tenter de l'expliquer.

"Un des points saillants dans l'histoire des Bourguignons, à la fin du v<sup>e</sup> siècle et au vi<sup>e</sup>, c'est leur déférence pour l'empire, dont ils se plaisent à se déclarer les feudataires. Tandis que, chez les Francs, l'assassinat d'un barbare est un crime plus grand et plus puni que le meurtre d'un Romain, les princes bourguignons couvrent tous leurs sujets d'une protection égale; ainsi l'a décidé Gondébaud, qui, selon le mot de Grégoire de Tours, a voulu que sa loi fût douce aux vaincus; dans le partage du sol, ils ont traité les anciens maîtres avec moins de rigueur que ne l'ont fait les autres conquérants de la Gaule; seule entre toutes les lois barbares, la leur présente des dates consulaires comme les édits de Ravenne, de Rome et de Constantinople. Gondéric, Childéric, Sigismond, portent avec orgueil les titres de Patrice, de Maître des armées, et des lettres célèbres nous montrent ce dernier prince écrivant, par la main de saint Avit, à l'empereur de Byzance: "Mon peuple est le vôtre et j'éprouve plus de joie à vous servir qu'à lui commander. La vénération du nom romain est chez nous une religion de famille. Maîtres en apparence de notre royaume, nous ne sommes en réalité que vos soldats. C'est par nous que vous administrez une terre si éloignée de votre Empire; la distance même où vivent vos sujets marque glorieusement l'étendue de votre puissance, l'action lointaine de votre gouvernement." — — — — Comme par un dernier hommage à la grandeur du vieil empire, la Bourgogne a de même conservé, à travers les âges, l'usage officiel du droit romain." — *Edmond le Blant*. Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au viii<sup>e</sup> siècle. Vol. 1, Paris, 1856, 4to, p. LX—LXII, LXIV.



"These four coins are of very neat and peculiar fabric, and very unlike any of those which seem to me to belong to the latin speaking provinces of Gaul, Spain, Italy and Africa. The coins they most resemble, in style and workmanship, are the early English silver sceattae, and I suspect that they, as well as the gold solidus which formed the subject of our former correspondence [my No. 74, Vol. 2, pp. 879, LXVIII], were struck by some of the northern invaders of England. This attribution is also satisfactory with regard to the reverse which is, like those of many sceattae, a *freely handled* imitation of a Roman type, while those of coins struck in the latin speaking countries are much more *servile*. It is, I have no doubt, a modification of the two soldiers or of the two emperors type<sup>1</sup>, the former introduced by Constantine [A. D. 306] and the latter by Valentinian and Valens [A. D. 364].

"I do not include England among the latin speaking provinces of the later period, as I am convinced it was only half so at the best period of the Roman domination, and that the process of *Germanization* had been actively going on ever since the reign of Septimius Severus [A. D. 193]. In other words, the stage of transition must have been with us much more gradual than is generally supposed. The *early* English sceattae are of an original character, but the *later* are almost exclusively imitated from the contemporary coinage of France, and are accompanied by a few gold coins, too barbarous to belong to the Merovingians, whose tremisses, though often of very rude workmanship, are always legible. In some of these coins the Merovingian head is replaced by a copy of an old Roman type or some other device; I have one with the wolf and twins, and another with the emperor dragging a captive after him.

"Our coin No. 7 B is of pure gold, apparently without a trace of silver. Its chief resemblance to our early English sceattae is in the straight profile of the king's head, and we can account for the resemblance not being more complete by the fact that the sceatta was a local and national coin, while the tremissis was of foreign origin and was expected to bear some similarity to a Roman or Byzantine original, *to facilitate its acceptance in foreign transactions*. This is a case in which the attribution of the coin ought, I think, to be determined by the workmanship rather than by the general appearance, and I know no country more likely to have produced it than England, which must have been comparatively more civilized than the other regions bordering upon the old continental provinces of the Western Empire, and no doubt continued at all times to have a certain amount of commercial intercourse with Gaul. I therefore propose to give to England classes A and B, derived from Gallic or Visigothic prototypes, while the remaining classes, which are of a later period and copied from Italo-Byzantine and Lombard originals of the latter part of the 6th and of the 7th century, remain for Germany and Scandinavia. The little bracteate<sup>2</sup> [O. N. R. Mon. Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 520] of which you kindly sent me a woodcut, belongs to this second category, and is very like some of my impressions.

"Do you think anything can be made of *ÆNIWULU* as applicable to England? I despair of getting, on my hypothesis, a satisfactory interpretation of *LIOC*, and with regard to the  $\infty = s$ , I think the coin is certainly intended for a tremissis, and not for a semissis. I have not yet met with a single Gallic imitation of the semissis; there are, I believe, none but a few issued by the Lombards in Italy."

Again under date May 24, 1868: — "Pray accept my best thanks for your very interesting letter and successful copies of our little gold coin. I owe you many apologies for not having at once adopted your interpretation of the reverse. I do so now, and confess that I ought to have been a little more on my guard against my natural propensity, which is to ascribe everything to a Roman rather than to a barbarian origin. Had I reflected a little more upon the matter, I should have said, not that the reverse was a freely handled imitation of a Roman type, but that it was a Scandinavian subject treated so as to bear some resemblance to a Roman original. We do find perfectly original types unmixed with anything Roman, on some of the early English sceattae, while others have a more or less remote affinity with Roman reverses, in consequence of the natural tendency to preserve some-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. O. Montelius has since fortunately identified a still nearer prototype, a golden Solidus of the Emperor Libius Severus. A. D. 461-465. This Roman coin was found in Öland, and is engraved in "*Sveriges Fornrid*" by O. Montelius, No. 447. See Dr. Montelius' note in *Svenska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift*, Stockholm 1875, p. 57. But I think we may hope one day to come nearer still, for I cannot look on the Runebearer as a mere copy of the Roman. On the contrary: in certain details the latter is later and more barbarized. They both are taken independently from some still older original.

<sup>2</sup> Count de Salis was right in calling this piece a bracteate, in so far as that it is only struck on one side. But in size and Romanized type, it is a coin.



thing of the general appearance of a known prototype. You were quite right in holding out for your old-northern oath-gang. I am extremely obliged to you for the explanation of this interesting reverse, and indeed for the whole of your correspondence, from which I have gathered valuable hints as to the arrangement of my non-latin barbarous imitations, which is now much clearer than it was before we became acquainted."

From grounds entirely practical and numismatic, the result of the widest possible induction in connection with his science, this illustrious specialist<sup>1</sup> has thus come to the following conclusions:

1. That the "Barbarians" struck no *Runic* coins in the folklands where they set up their "kingdoms".
2. But that this *was* done by the Northmen who wrested England from the Roman-British inhabitants.
3. That these Northmen in England also had a golden coinage, characteristic and partly runic, as a circulating medium for their commerce beyond the sea.
4. That all these early *runic* coins, of whatever metal, show by their types and fabric that they are of English origin.

Consequently the triens before us was made in England.

Count de Salis approves of my reading of the runes, ÆNIWULU KU(nung), but cannot assist me in the LIO C, or LIOC, or CLIO.

Since the above was written has appeared a fresh number of the Numismatic Chronicle, London 1869, containing Mr. Haigh's valuable paper on Old English Coinage. No. 1 of the golden and runic pieces here described by him<sup>2</sup> is the coin now before us, No. 1 on his engraved plate. Mr. Haigh commences with the lines: "The prejudice against the very idea of an Anglo-Saxon coinage of gold, which prevailed during the early years of the Numismatic Chronicle, has long since yielded to the stern logic of a gradual accumulation of facts. With this prejudice I never sympathized." He asserts that the design on the reverse is purely Barbaric, not imitative-classical, but differs from me in reading the legends. The rune ʀ (κ) he says was "intended for F" (ʀ), and he thus gets "ANIWULUʀ" as the name of the chief, while the Roman letters he gives as CLIO. "I read therefore *Clío* continuously, and believe it is an epithet = *glūw*, "wise"." The name on the reverse (treating all the marks as letters) he takes to be HENAEISI, "intended for HENAGISI", and this to be the same as HENGEST, the great captain who conquered Kent in the first half of the 5th century. In all this I cannot follow him, but I quote with pleasure his very just remark: "In the lists of the ancestry of those who ruled the several kingdoms of Saxons and Angles, in the sixth and following centuries, our chroniclers have by no means preserved the names of all who took part in the great struggle, and founded principalities or kingdoms."

It is now Feb. 1871, and this lapse of time has thrown fresh light on the Latin letters of this most interesting coin. The accomplished archæologist my helpful friend Archibald Herbert has kindly drawn my attention to the last (4th) number of "Révue de la Numismatique Belge", 8vo, 5<sup>e</sup> Série, Tome II, issued at the close of 1870, where we have a *second* coin of this type, also doubtless struck in England. At p. 495 of this journal is an article by M. R. Chalon, "Pièces Rares ou Inédites. Seizième article", and No. XIII of these small sketches, p. 507, is as follows in English:

"Bust of profile, to the right, the head wearing a crown or royal fillet: + CORNULO.

"— Two persons standing, holding each other by the hand, and each grasping in the other hand some undetermined object: + LENE—SM.

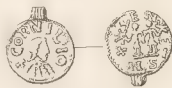
<sup>1</sup> It is with deep sorrow I add, that Count J. F. W. de Salis is no more! This illustrious Scholar, this Prince of Coin-men, yet further distinguished by nobility of character and a most generous disposition, has been called home by his Heavenly Father. Frith and Blessing be with him alway!

<sup>2</sup> Repeated by Mr. Haigh, in substance, at p. 175 of his "Notes in illustration of the Runic Monuments of Kent" (Archæologia Cantiana, Vol. 8, 8vo. ? Date about 1872).

"Gold. 1.32 grammes. Cabinet of Leyden.

"The loop attacht to this piece shows that it was borne as an amulet or ornament. What is the locality intended by the distinct word CORNILIO? Perhaps it was Corneillan. *Cornelianum*, a town two leagues from Aire in the south of France. Must the name of the Moneyer be redd TENE—S M(onetarius) or LENE—S? Both these names are equally unknown in the list drawn up by M. Cartier."

So far M. Chalou, and I here add his copy of the Triens itself (photoxylograph by Rosenstand) from the figure given in the "Révue", Plate X, No. 13:



Thus these two golden coins are nearly of the same weight, offer the same type and variously explain each other, but the Leyden exemplar is somewhat later, a rather coarse imitation of the British Museum piece, and has omitted all the runes.

It is now clear that the C LIO of the one is short for the CORNILIO of the other, but whether this word was a mans- or a place-name, and if the latter where we are to seek it, we cannot tell. My own opinion is, that CORNILIO is a mansname, as on so many other of these pieces, probably that of the Chief-Officer of Finance or of the king's Royal Mint.

Comparing the reverse of each, we must admit the reading TENAES as the name of the mint-master, or, as spelt on the Leyden copy, TENES M(oneta). But in this case TENAES or TENES would at first blush seem to be in the nominative, and such a word sounds very strange and has nowhere been met with. Such an ending in -s is certainly most unlikely. Now in my Word-Row, Vol. 2, p. 951, I have shown the existence on early coins in England and Scandinavia of a well-known Northern word MOT or MOTI meaning Coin, Stamp, Die, Mint, Mint-house.<sup>1</sup> I have there collected many undoubted both Runic and Roman-lettered examples of the formula

N. N. OWNS MOT THIS

and of the peculiar and striking formula

N. N.'S MOT.

Some pieces *omit the verb* (OWNS), which is therefore understood; others *omit the noun* (MOT), which is therefore understood.

HEGENREDES ON DEORABY

on a coin, clearly must mean

HEGENRED'S MOT IN DERBY<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At p. 80 of Mr. Chaffer's Sale-Catalogue, London 1855, we have 3 examples in one lump, under silver Pennies of King Eadgar (959-975).

LEFMANES MON.  
LEFMAN'S MONEY (or Coin).  
OTHELRES MOT.  
OTHELRES MOT (coin, stamp).  
MANES MOT.

MANTS (or MANINGS) MOT

In October 1878 was found a precious hoard of silver coins (chiefly Norwegian) and ornaments at Græslî, Tydalen, a few miles south of Tronjem in Norway. The coins were 2150 in number, of which several hundreds were Runic pieces, chiefly of Harald Hardrede. Thus this is the greatest coin-hoard ever found in Norway. Many of the rune-bearers have KUNAR MOT, KUNAR A MOT. KUNAR A MOT PISA, KUNAR A MOT FIS, KUNAR A MOT PITA, &c. Thus we have here additional proof of the correctness of my reading Vol. 2, p. 952. But Prof. Olaf Rygh has also kindly informed me that 3 of the runic coins bore an entirely new reverse, namely:

ASKEL O PENEG PEN.  
ASKEL OWNS PENNY THIS

This precious formula is exactly parallel with the other in MOT or MOTI, and with the Latin one in MONETA. All three therefore now stand fast. See MUTE in the Word-Rows, Vol. 2 and Vol. 3, where a crowd of Moneyers' names in genitive is given.

We cannot be far wrong in giving the date 600, more or less, to the golden Triens struck for ANWULF in England by TENAE. Now according to Akerman (Numismatic Manual, London 1840, 8vo, p. 265), the last moneyer named on any English coin is ROBERT DE HADELEIE or DE HADL', under Edward I, 1272-1307. We have thus a succession of English Moneyers, named on their coins, from about A. D. 600 to about 1300. This is otherwise unexampled in all Europe.

<sup>2</sup> In the same manner on Old-English Coins which bear epigraphs in pure Latin, we have many which have the *nominative* construction (such as, under king Beldred, an. 805-823, DIORMOD MONETA = DIORMOD his-MONEY or Coin or Type), while others have the *genitive* formula (such as, under king Cuthred, an. 797-805, SIGEBERHTI MONETA = SIGEBERHT'S MONEY or Coin or Piece).

I therefore take the TENAES (or TENES) on this golden tremissis to be a mans-name in the genitive, and M to stand for MOT, as elsewhere. We then get:

TENAES M(ot).

TEN'S (? = DANE'S or DAN'S MOT (Coin).

In exactly the same way on a coin of Edgar of Mercia, 959—975, we have the reverse (J. Lindsay, Gr. Rom. A. Sax. &c. 4to. Cork 1860, Pl. 2, fig. 22) FASTOLFES M; while on another of the same English king (R. Sainthill, Olla Podrida, 8vo. Vol. 1, London 1844, p. 105) we have FASTOLFES MO. On such pieces, for there are several such, M and MO may stand for either MOT or MONETA, probably the former as the moneyer's name is in English, not Latin. All this is otherwise often exprest on our oldest Anglo-Scandic coins by FECIT or ME FECIT.

This minter TENÆ works for all who employ him and pay him well. CORNILIO — a Latin name — will then be ANWULF's highest fiscal officer, probably a Roman verst in fiscal technicalities. — But all this does not affect the general meaning and bearing of the coin itself.

In May 1875 a happy runic linguistic detail enabled me to ameliorate, as I hope, several of my translations. This new Key — the Old-Northern -IA as a nominative feminine ending (gen. IV) — has already opened several locks. As applied to CUNIMODIU on Bracteate No. 25, we now see that this IV is a regular Old-Scandinavian dative fem. from a nom. CUNIMODIA. But this again amends another word, and I now hope that the whole is finally correct. See the piece, No. 25 above:

DUR TE RUNOA!

ÆNWLL, HÆ-CURNE HELDÆA, CUNIMODIU.

THUR TEE (bless) these-RUNES!

ÆNWLL (=ANWULF), the-HIGH-CHOSEN of-the-HELTS (=the Elect of the Heroes, the Chosen Chief of the Army), to-the-lady-CUNIMU(N,DIA).<sup>1</sup>

Thus this was a Gift-jewel by ANWULF to his Sweetheart or Wife or Mother or Friend CUNIMU(N)DIA — and the Name is the same as on the English Runic Triens. — In the local dialect RUNOR has already become DUR, as so often in the oldest North-English.

The longer form DONAR occurs on the Östberga stone, Södermanland, Sweden (see my Old-North. Run. Mon. Vol. 2, p. 767) in the prayer-formula DONAR ROA UIT! THONAR ROO (rest, peace) WIT (give)!

The Danish stone at Glavendrup, Fyn, (see O. N. R. M. Vol. 2, p. 697) bears the prayer-formula DUR UIKI BASI RUNAR! May-THUR WI (bless, hallow) THESE RUNES! — Another stone at Virring in N. Jutland (see Aarb. f. Nord. Oldk. 1870, p. 420, Thorsen's article, and ARCHAIC MONUMENTS further on) bears the prayer-formula DUR UIKI DISI KUM! May-THUR WI (bless) THESE CUMBELS (grave-marks)! — For the Danish parchment DUR UIGH DIK! may-THUR WIH (bless) THEE!, see "England", under ARCH. MON. A Swedish stone at Vesterby in Upland bears: (i)N DUR SU KI-R(u)NOAR, IN (but) may-THUR SEE (bless) these-KEN (marking) RUNES!

For the various formulas meaning to bless, see O. N. R. M. Vol. 2, p. 738.<sup>2</sup> — For the formula K-, KI-, KIN-, KINI-RUNA, see Vol. 2, p. 927. — The Swedish O. N. Björketorp stone has GINÆ-RUNÆA (nom. pl.). The Swedish O. N. Stentofte stone has GINO-RONOA (ac. pl.). The (Norse) Freilaubersheim

<sup>1</sup> Observe the feminine r-ending for the oblique case in singular. So also the HÆ or HA as prefix is common in old Scandinavian compounds. But I have not before seen this particular HÆ-CURIN. The usual N. I. would have been HA-ROSIN, but the old Homily-Book has KOSIN. The N. I. has scores of compounds beginning with this HA.

At p. 190—195 of his "Om Runcindskrift på Guldbrakteater" (Aarbøger f. Nord. Oldk. 1871) Prof. Bugge, and at p. 193 Prof. S. Grundtvig in a letter to Prof. B., have handled this inscription, which they look upon as a depraved copy of an older original. Their -r being my a, and for other reasons, they give very different, tho incomplete, versions from my own. Both prefer WURTE instead of DUR TE. But such an expression as (WURTE) WROUGHT (world, made), RUNES, I have never yet seen. Such a formula (to work runes) would seem unlikely. It may have existed, it may not. Future finds may perhaps offer an example. Till then, and probably even after then, I decline it here. In any case it will not in the least affect my argument. All know that the oldest Golden Blinks are undoubtedly heathen. And the reading WURTE RUNOA ÆNWLL would join in with my following words just the same, and give the same general meaning. As to the "impossibility" of the slurred form DUR instead of DURON in a particular local dialect in the 6th century — I need not answer. And as to the verb TE never having existed, I also beg leave very humbly to differ. See the Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 970.

<sup>2</sup> This formula is equivalent to the closing prayer in Kagabu's famous Egyptian Fairy-tale, written for the Crown Prince Seti Menephtha, son of Rameses II, about 1400 B. C. The papyrus, now in the British Museum, ends: "May the God Toth guard all the words contained in this scroll from destruction" — See Emanuel Deutsch, Literary Remains, 8vo, Lond. 1874, p. 174, "Egypt, Ancient and Modern". It is interesting to call to mind that Moses was educated at the court of this Rameses II.



Brooch has RUNÆ, the Swedish Istaby stone has RUNYA, the Norse Einang stone has RUNO, all in ac. pl. fem. and all in Old-Northern letters.

Now this *Name* ANWULF<sup>1</sup> is peculiar. As far as I wote it is otherwise unknown in all Scandinavia, unheard of in Saxland, not found in Germany, never met with elsewhere, except — as above, borne by the "Gothic" (that is, when loosely applied to immense bodies of adventurers and free-lances, "*Barbarian*") "King" defeated and taken prisoner by Aëtius in Gaul anno 430, and afterwards at a very early time in England.

And it is not only the *same name* on the Golden Blink and the Golden Triens, but it is on each the *same name* with the *same military title*. The one says: CHOSEN CAPTAIN, the other says: KING, which at that time meant about the same thing — the warriors CHOSE their "King" or Leader for the period of their inroad or foray or expedition, *after* which each member of the war-band was as free as before. By degrees, when lands and settlements were gained, the office and title had a tendency to become hereditary, at least were generally transferred to some able adult of the same family. — but this came later, later still the strict claim of Son or nearest heir. At first the title of King was borne by any Chief on Sea or Land who could gather a fighting-troop about him.

Add hereto, that both these stamps are *Heathen*. The one invokes the war-god THUR, the other shows the famous RING-OATH of the Pagans.

And both are about *contemporary*. Their workmanship and character show that they were struck about 500—550.

In England, as I have said, this rarest of names re-appears. It is found here and there in our oldest skin-books and Charters, and at last becomes of national importance as borne by a powerful magnate, a family owning wide lands and high civil titles. Especially in the 8th and 9th centuries (when our written sources flow more abundantly) is this uncommon name conspicuous in English history. Their great home-freehold, their OTHEL, seems to have been in Somersetshire. Such a valuable possession the *new* comer would of course have to defend against all *after* comers, and hence our pages are full of older-settled Northmen driving back, if possible, the fresh swarms of their countrymen from beyond sea who would wrest their rich estates from them. So here In 845 an ANWULF (his name variously spelt in the documents) was "Alderman" or "Earl" or "Duke" ("Dux", "Comes") of Somerset, and at the head of his shiremen he battled gallantly against the Danish and other Scandinavian heathen Wikings who were then harrying the land. The Old-English Chronicle (Parker Ms., Earle's ed. p. 66) says:

"845. Her EANULF ALDORMAN mid Sumursætum and Ealchstan bisc. and Osric aldorman mid Dorn-sætum gefuhton æt Pedridan-mūpan wip Deniscne here and þær micel wæl geslogon and sige namon."

*This year fought EANULF, ALDERMAN, with his Somersetmen, and also Ealchstan Bishop and Osric Alderman with their Dorset-men they fought at his side at the Parrot-mouth against the Danish Army, and there made great slaughter and got the victory.*

Now I think all these links can be put together. Apparently, in 430 a Swedish-Gothic folk-king called ANWULF fights in the ranks of the Goths in Gaul, but is defeated and made prisoner. Doubtless ransomed or for a time in Roman pay and service, he returns to his country. How long or short *his* life or his *son's* we cannot say. People sometimes lived *very* long *then* as now. But his son or grandson strikes this beautiful golden Bracteate for CUNIMUNDIA, and sword in hand among bands of other Northmen gains broad lands in England. Here he strikes the golden Triens for the commerce of his people. In general features it follows Roman types, and may have been struck in a revived Roman English mint.<sup>2</sup> In time his race are no longer kinglets, but become great chiefs and barons in the English monarchy. Thereafter they disappear. New times, new men.

<sup>1</sup> A couple of Scandinavian savans have thought that we must read *ÆNWÆL*, not *ÆNWUL*, there being a mark on the first *ſ* (*l*) which makes it *ſ* (*æ*). I cannot see anything of the kind. There is a tiny score or flaw, but it is nothing more than one of those small dints which we find on *all stamp metallic pieces*, and often on Bracteates, even where no "letter" can be thought of. But I requested the great Danish Numismatist and Archaeologist Herbst to examine the electrotype in the Museum here. This he has done most carefully, and writes to say that the small imperfection in question is, in his opinion, of no consequence, and that the rune is *l*, not *æ*. — But even if it were *ÆNWÆL*, it would still be only a variation of the same name ANWULF. The different sounds and spellings of this *wulf* or *ulf* or *olr*, especially where it is a mere unaccented falling syllable, are endless. I began to count those in Förstemann (under his name *WULF*), but *stopt* when I had come to 35. In Scandinavian-runic they are *legin*.

<sup>2</sup> "Cette conformité de poids me persuade que les François imiterent les Romains dans la fabrication de leurs Monnoyes. Ils purent mesme se servir de leurs Ouvriers & de leurs machines, après qu'ils se furent emparez, en entrant dans les Gaules, de la



But if this so be, we have here *the first* tie connecting the Bracteates with acknowledged history, and for *the first time* Scandian objects bearing the Old-Northern Runes are brought in contact with our regular annals. I may be so much the more excused in drawing this conclusion, as this is the *only* instance in which I have ventured to give any such loose Old-Northern piece a direct historical application. In this case I think we must accept this as historical, or we shall carry scepticism too far.

No. 76.

## DALUM, N. TRONYEM, NORWAY.

*From the original, in the University Museum, Christiania.*



I have to thank my learned friend Prof. Olaf Rygh, of Christiania, for this addition to my Blink-hoard, and for all the information with regard to the circumstances under which it was found.

As Prof. Rygh points out, not only the grounds of Dalum but all the districts round about abound in grave-hoards. Dalum itself is only a short distance from the famous *Mære*, where, at all events somewhat later, towards the close of heathendom, was the head-temple of this region (Inner Tronyem).

The Bracteate before us was found in November 1868, in a grave-chamber built up of flat stones, 10 feet long, 2 feet 6 broad and from 2 feet 6 to 3 feet high. This kist was in a large mound on the lands of Dalum, in the Parish of Sparboen, North Tronyem. It contained

1. Two golden blinks struck from the same die, each weighing 47 æs; type, a man's head turned to the right over a fourfooted horned animal, the whole surrounded by a crans of raised points, of which several occur also here and there on the field. — 2. A golden blink, as here engraved, weight 35 æs. As usual, all these Bracteates have the bead-rim and loop. — These three pieces are Nos. 4565—7 in the Christiania University Collection. — 3. A spiral gold-ring (bullion or money ring), two rounds, nothing cut off, 21 Carats gold, weight 1 Lod 4 æs Norse. — 4. Some broken Bronze ornaments. — 5. A Brooch. — 6. Fragments of a Sword, a Spear and a Shield-boss, of iron. — 7. Some bones. — 8. Some small things of iron, too much damaged to be recognized.

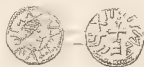
This little hoard is so much the more interesting as Bracteates are so seldom found together with other forn-laves, and especially in graves. It is also worthy of note that this is the most northerly Bracteate yet found, in conjunction with that from the near-lying Inderoen, pickt up in 1842 (Thomsen's Atlas No 185). — This Dalum piece is not a runic blink, strictly so called, for the runes are dubious; but it is clearly struck from a runic original, and is another example of the "barbarous-runic" types which arise in this way from striking copies of copies of copies.

ville de Treves où les Romains avoient une fabrique de Monnoye, de mesme qu'à Lyon & à Arles, . . . . . Les Gots qui habiterent l'Espagne firent aussi, selon Covarruvias, faire des sols d'or du mesme poids que ceux des Empereurs. . . . . Les Bourguignons & les autres peuples, qui s'emparerent des Provinces de l'Empire dans l'Occident, eurent aussi bien que les François & les Visigots leur sol, leur demi-sol, & leur tiers de sol. . . . . Il n'aurait pas été de la bonne politique de changer, dans l'établissement d'une nouvelle domination, les Monnoyes, qui sont le fondement du commerce & le lien de la société." *Le Blanc, Traité Hist. des Monnoyes de France.* 4to. Amsterdam 1692, p. 38. — As to the absolute necessity of the "barbarian" chiefs providing circulating medium for their commerce, we must remember what Zosimus tells us (3, 145), that under Julian (A. D. 357) 800 ships visited the English coasts for the Corn trade.

No. 77.

## EASTLEACH TURVILLE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE, ENGLAND.

? Found in 1868 or beginning of 1869. ? Now in private English hands. Engraved (after drawings on the wood by Prof. J. MAGNUS PETERSEN) from gutta-percha squeezes kindly forwarded to me by the Rev. D. H. HAIGH.



The existence of this piece was first made known to me by our great English coin-kenner Mr. Haigh, who said, in a letter dated Erdington, April 19, 1869: "There has also turned up a precious little gold coin with this legend *BEARTIG*." Since then (in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, London 1869) my departed friend engraved this trimessis (Vol. 9, Pl. 5, No. 4). His text is:

"*Obv.* — Bust to the right, head surrounded by a beaded circle; legend, unmeaning letters, *OTAA*, continued by a succession of lines in zigzag, and dots; the die-sinker apparently tired of forming letters he did not understand.

"*Rev.* — A cross on three steps; legend in runes, *BEAU TIGO*. Pl. V, fig. 4.

"Of these letters one only is doubtful — the fourth. I had thought it might have been *R*, but as the second stroke is not inclined to the first, I now think it can only be *U*. I take *B* as standing for *F*, (as on some of the coins of Ælfred), and read *Feau tigo*, "ten moneys". *Fea* is a "fee", "money", and of the plural in *u*, we have many examples in the Durham ritual, and the ancient glosses of the Psalter of St. Augustine; and this old word for "ten", lost in our branch of Teutonic speech, is preserved in the Gothic *tigus*. The unit, of course, is the penny. The gold penny of Henry III, weighing 45.2 grains, and current for twenty pence, would require the mancus, value thirty pence, to weigh 67.8 grains; and the triens, which should weigh 22.6 grains, would be worth ten pence. The fact that these coins are usually one or two grains short of these weights may be accounted for by the wear of circulation. This piece, found at Eastleach Turville, in Gloucestershire, but on the borders of Oxfordshire, illustrates another, of the same workmanship and type, found in the latter county at Dorchester, and figured in the *Num. Chron.*, vol. IV, p. 31."

I dare not follow my learned friend in his above ingenious reading. The second limb of the *R* or *h* is so variously placed, more or less bending inwards or outwards, that, when the top is broken or cut off or from shortness of the metal blank not struck, as here, we can only be guided by the context. And in this place I think the rune can only have been *R*. *B* for *r*, at the beginning of a word (*ÆLBRED* for *ÆLFRED* is a very different thing) is most hazardous and unlikely, and the more as I cannot see how *FEAU* (cattle; property; money'sworth; money) ever could mean *a piece of money, a coin*! — Still less could *TIGO* in apposition with a noun ever mean *ten*. The M. Goth. *TIGUS* is as little found alone for *ten* as the Icelandic *TIGR* or the O. Engl. *TIG*, this ancient word being only used as the second element in numeral compounds, thus M. Goth. *TWAI-TIGYUS*, *DREIS-TIGYUS*, Icel. *TUTTUGU*, *DRIRTIGR*, O. Engl. *TWEN-TIG*, *DRIT-TIG*, *twenty, thirty*, altho in M. G. and partly in Icel. both words may be inflected. But otherwise the M. G. word for *ten* is *TAHUN*, the Icel. *TÍU* (the *N* fallen away), the O. E. *TEN*, *TYN*, O. North-Engl. also *TE* (the *N* fallen away). — Nor do I believe that such an extraordinary reading as *ten pieces-of-money* was ever found or heard of, or anything like it, on any old coin of this kind anywhere in Europe. At least I have never met with an example of the like, and Mr. Herbst thinks it impossible.

I therefore hold fast to my original interpretation, communicated by me to Mr. Haigh but not approved by him. I take the whole to be one word, and this a mansname as so commonly:

BEARTIG

thus *BEART(n)GO*, with the old nominative-ending still left. We have an O. E. *BRIHTING* in Kemble, 3, 394 (the O. G. *BERTING* for *BERTINGO*, as we can see from the mansname *INGO*, the womans-name *BERTINGA*) and it is still a common English name as *BARTING* and *BRIGHTING*. The N. I. Nickname is *BIRTINGR*.

Here we meet the original Old-Northern  $\Upsilon$  for  $\Delta$ , instead of the later provincial English  $\text{F}$ , and the O. N. mark for  $e$ , while the primitive O. N. rune for  $o$  ( $\text{z}$ ) has given way to the provincial English  $\text{F}$ . — The date of this rare piece is probably about the 5th century.

No. 78.

NÆSBJERG, NORTH JUTLAND, DENMARK.

*Drawn by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN from the original in the Danish Old-Northern Museum.*

*On wood by J. F. ROSENSTAND.*



In the last days of June 1870 Hans Nielsen's daughter was raising on end some ling-turf cut on the heath between Skonager and Næsbjerg hamlets, in the Parish of Næsbjerg, Skads Herred, North Jutland. While so doing, she remark 2 golden "plates" (= Bracteates) at the bottom of a turf, and by degrees found altogether 12 such golden blinks. One of these she took to a village goldsmith, and got it made into a ring. The others were given up to the authorities, and came to the Danish Museum in July 1870. — Six of these precious pieces bore Old-Northern runes. The largest, of which only *one* was found, is that now before us, No. 78. Of No. 79 *two* copies were pickt up, both struck from the same die. Of No. 80 there were *three* exemplars, all from one pattern. Besides these there were 4 other Bracteates, all from the same die, showing the broken-fragment type, and 2 others still rawer, struck from one punch, of the snake-bit type. There were also some small pieces of broken gold-work. All these things would seem to be from the 5th or 6th century.

This blink appears to show a type rudely imitated from a Classical original. The letters are coarse but clear, and I believe are not barbarous. They are revert, as usual. Beginning on the left of the head we have  $\text{r}$ ,  $\text{i}$ , the peculiar Runic-and-Roman  $\text{s}$ ,  $\text{æ}$ ,  $\text{c}$ ,  $\text{g}$ , — then a dividing point —  $\text{h}$  (shortened by omission of the connecting bar),  $\text{v}$ , another shortened  $\text{h}$ ,  $\text{æ}$ ,  $\text{r}$ ,  $\text{æ}$ ,  $\text{ng}$  and  $\text{v}$ . This form of the  $\text{ng}$ , one of its *manifold* variations, is also found on the Silver-inlaid Runic Spear-head found in Russia. (See under THE GOTHIC MARCH). Another scarce shape occurs on Bracteate No. 90. — I think then that we may read:

TISÆGG HU HÆRÆNGU.

*TISÆGG HEWED (cut this) for-the-lady-HÆRÆNGA.*

No. 79.

## NÆSBJERG, NORTH JUTLAND, DENMARK.

*From the original in the Danish Museum by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN. On wood by J. F. ROSENSTAND.*

Same general type and character as No. 78, with which it was found. But here the rune-clusters are differently arranged. The one, beginning on the top right, has the letters in the usual way. The other, beginning at the top and going down on the left, has the staves reverst, and is therefore redd from right to left. Here, as often, the first rune is so formed that it may be taken as either M or D. Apparently we must read:

DÆITUHÆ LLIAÆIWU.

*DÆITUHÆ to-the-lady-LLIAÆIWA.*

No. 80.

## NÆSBJERG, NORTH JUTLAND, DENMARK.

*From the original in the Danish Museum by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN. On wood by J. F. ROSENSTAND.*

See No. 78. This elegant golden blenket will always remain doubtful, because the last word (in reverst runes) — for want of room — is contracted. The vowels are left out. Usually, in this case, it is the light vowel i, which is supposed to be included in the foregoing stave. Hence I venture to look on this as a kind of Burial-medal in memory of a deceased Chieftain, and translate:

NIUWILÆ LDN (= LDIN).

*NIUWILÆ is-LITHEN (departed, gone, dead).*

But as LDIN properly means merely *departed, gone*, it may here signify *out on foray, gone on some war-expedition*. Future finds may help us.

Since the above was written, has appeared Prof. Bugge's "Bemærkninger" in Aarbøger f. N. Oldk. 1871. At p. 217 he gives the name as NIUWILA (his A is my æ), but can not explain LDN.



No. 81.

## ? MECKLENBURG.

*From the original in the Danish Museum. Drawn by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN, engraved by J. F. ROSENSTAND.*



An unusually barbarous golden blink, but the type is the common one — a man on horseback, probably trampling on a dragon. It was formerly in Thomsen's collection, but is now in the Cheaping-haven Museum, to which it was left by will with Thomsen's other bracteates. In his paper "Om Guldbracteaterne" (Annaler f. Nord. Oldk. 1855, p. 313, No. 115) Thomsen tells us that it was found somewhere in Mecklenburg, but he gives no details as to where and when, and this statement may therefore be unfounded. He obtained it from the Cabinet of B. Friedländer in Berlin.

This piece is engraved in the "Atlas for Nordisk Oldkyndighed", No. 115, but very incorrectly. Worsaae has had it re-engraved for his essay on the Symbols occurring on the Bracteates (Aarbøger f. Nord. Oldk. og Hist. 1870), where it is given on plate 17, fig. 4.

My reason for having this blink recopied is, that it bears the mark  $\Psi$ , which we could not see in the bad plate in the Atlas — where it is given as  $\dagger$ . Now this  $\Psi$  is *never* found on the bracteates as a mere ornament or symbol, but always as a letter, the vowel  $\Lambda$ . Therefore I presume that it is a letter here also. Not to speak of the long-inscribed, many of the blinks bear short stave-groups, sometimes only 4 runes, occasionally (Nos. 15, 16, 33, 34) only 3, now and then (Nos. 21, 63) only 2, and once (No. 69) only 1. Here is apparently another example of a bracteate bearing only 1 letter. But, if so, it is of course only a contraction, and if a contraction it is then necessarily the first letter of a name or some other word. Thus this is an additional proof that this  $\Psi$  (here a tip-letter) cannot be the end-letter -R. I take it to be here as elsewhere

$\Psi$   
 $\Lambda$ .

But should the -R men demur, and say that  $\Psi$  is here a sign or symbol and no letter, I answer that it may be so, and that this piece will then belong to that large class *yclept runeless bracteates*. — In like manner one of the Arrows found in Nydam Moss (see Vol. 1, p. 300) bears the same  $\Lambda$ . If a letter, it cannot be end-R.

No. 82.

## KILLERUP, FYN, DENMARK.

*From the original in the Danish Museum. Drawn by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN, on wood by J. F. ROSENSTAND.*



From the middle of February to the beginning of April 1874 the Farm-laborer and Dannebrogsmænd Hans Rasmussen of Eiby Mark was engaged in cultivating a paddock belonging to the yeoman Hans Rasmussen in Killerup, Fyn. In a spot in this enclosure he found from time to time a number of old-laves of gold or electrum, which he duly forwarded to the National Danish Old-Northern Museum. For the following list and details I am indebted to the kindness of Archivist C. F. Herbst, the Keeper of the Museum.

1. No. C, 1767. Two small bits of a Golden Bracteate, the top part bearing 4 Old-Northern runes. See the engraving above.

2. No. C, 1764. A second Golden Blink, weighing 3,7 grammes. Also a rune-bearer.


3. No. C, 1765. A third similar ornament, nearly  $1\frac{1}{3}$ " in diameter, set in a grooved ring, and with an eye  $\frac{1}{8}$ " broad. In the center are the same wild twistings ("a serpent cut in two") as on Plate 9 in the Atlas for Nordisk Oldkyndighed, and round this type is a border  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " broad, in which is a line of xxx-marks.

4. No. C, 1766. A like Bracteate, struck from the same die, but only 1" in diameter. Also with a grooved ring, but the ear is only  $\frac{1}{4}$ " broad. It has a narrow smooth border.

5. No. C, 1773. The half of a like Golden Blink, of the same type as 1765, 1766. Is  $1\frac{1}{12}$ " in diameter, and has a grooved ring. Has no loop for suspension, which may have belonged to the lost half. Weight 1,5 grammes.

6. No. C, 1768. Only the loop of a Golden Bracteate,  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " broad. May or may not have belonged to the foregoing number.

7. No. C, 1769. A fitting for a Sword-sheath, of gold, 2" long and 5" broad, made out of a band of gold flat inside but half-round above,  $1\frac{1}{4}$ " broad, spirally bent in nearly 4 turns.

8. No. C, 1770. A Golden Finger-ring, of a band of gold  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " broad, soldered together, with a section as thus . Inside, to make it not so wide for the finger, is soldered a small golden plate 5" long.

9. No. C, 1771. Two Golden spiral Rings, about the size of small Finger-rings. Both are made of thick eight-edged thread. The one has nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  turns, the other  $1\frac{3}{4}$  turns.

10. No. C, 1772. Fifteen bits of Ring-gold, cut off. Two are of thickish round bars, 3 of thinnish round thread, the other 10 of many-sided golden bars. Some have a large proportion of silver. This outline will be sufficient to give an idea of the character and age of this gold-find. Some of the Bracteates would seem older than the others, but all are of an early date.

If we now examine the letters on this Golden Blink, we shall see that they are plain and clear:

UNDA.

But we cannot tell whether this is the *whole* inscription. Perhaps some runes may have gone before, and we have here only the *end* of the word, apparently in either case a Proper Name.

Besides some runish *letters*, this Blink also bears a costly and rare *type*, which we can happily identify in spite of so much of the piece having perisht. It is that interesting motive, the Emperor the Cæsar and Victory, which is the key to the lately discovered Barbaric Northern Gems. Accordingly, I take this opportunity of here giving my remarks on this class of antiquities, mostly printed in Danish in "Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed", Kjøbenhavn 1873, 8vo, pp. 50—56. The substance of this article is also given in German by Miss J. Mestorf, in "Zeitschrift f. Schlesw.-Holst. Landeskunde", Vol. 5, Kiel 1875, 8vo, pp. 179—185.

### THREE "BARBARIC-CLASSICAL" GEMS.

#### FOUND IN DENMARK.

In "Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte", Sitzung am 11 November 1871, 8vo, p. 11, is an engraving of a curious piece, found near Sønderborg in the island of Als, South Jutland, Denmark, rudely carved or rather scratcht with 3 standing figures. This I here reproduce, full size, photo-xylograph by J. F. Rosenstand.<sup>1</sup> It is now in the Berlin Museum.

<sup>1</sup> The accompanying German text is as follows: — "Herr Beyrich zeigt einen Runenstein von Als.

Derselbe wurde 6 Fuss tief zu Sønderburg (Insel Als) im Wurzelgefächte eines horizontal liegenden Baumes gefunden. Er ist ein mit sonderbaren, eingravirten Figuren tanzender Menschen und mit sogenannten Binderunen geschmückter dunkler, rundlich ovaler, bläulichen Schimmer und Fettglanz zeigender Stein, von 3 Cent. Länge und 2,5 Cent. Breite."



This object, clearly not "Runic" and of Glasspaste not stone<sup>1</sup>, is exceptionally interesting. It belongs to a class of antiquities excessively rare, and hitherto not discust, but which would seem to throw fresh light on Scandinavian civilization in the Early Iron Age.

We see on examination that the 2 spreading sculptures above the figures are Palm-branches, or something such, not runes or bind-runes or birds, and the 3 figures below are not dancing men but persons standing upright.

On my showing the above to Archivary Herbst, he at once agreed that it bore no runes and was a barbarous gem, but he also kindly pointed out that the Old-Northern Museum possess a similar piece, nearly identical. This I here give, Chemityped full size by Prof. Magnus Petersen:



It was presented to the Museum in 1860 by Candidate Jacobsen, as found by him on a ploughed field near Ågerup, Roskilde, Sømme Herred, Sealand, and is numbered 19.021: Like the Als exemplar, it is a thin layer of blue glass-paste, let into a body of black glass-paste. The design is absolutely the same as on the former piece, only here the Palm-branches are a little larger. — Fortunately, while preparing for the press a notice of these two striking objects, a *third* came into my hands for which I have also to thank the friendly help of Archivary Herbst. It is a similar glass-paste, blue upon black, found deep in the earth at Roskilde in the summer of 1872, and has since been given to the Danish Museum by the landowner C. Selchau, of Selchausdal in Holbek's Amt. I here communicate it, full size, as drawn by Prof. M. Petersen and engraved on wood by Hr. Rosenstand:



As we see, it is smaller than the others, and therefore the Palm-branches are omitted, but otherwise the representation is the same, and this is roughly scratcht-in by the like process and in a similar style as the more complete specimens. All three are so remarkably alike, that they are seemingly the work of the same man, or at least might have come from one and the same workshop and are nearly of the same age.

The material, small glass-paste roundlets or ovals, is well known to antiquarians, as an article of Roman manufacture largely used in the early Imperial centuries by Roman artists, on which to produce cheap impressions of gems for Seals and Decorations. All our Museums can show specimens, often whole groups, of these Roman pastes. Uninscribed, they were doubtless also articles of commerce. One of these unengraved pastes is in the Danish Museum, No. 8537, whither it came from the old "Kunstskammer", where it bore the name "Absalon's Ring". It is a golden Finger-ring, on whose field is cut in later runes **DARKAIR** (DORKAIR) a common olden mansname<sup>2</sup>, with 5 other marks, all alike,

<sup>1</sup> Both these facts are acknowledged in the same Journal. "Sitzung am 9 März 1872", p. 8: — "Herr v. Ledebrun bemerkt . . . . Die Darstellung der 3 hageren Gestalten auf der letzter Sitzung vorgelegten Glaspaste dürften als Auguren anzusprechen sein, die aus dem Fluge zweier Vögel (in denen freilich Runen nicht zu erkennen sind) des Willen der Götter deuten."

<sup>2</sup> Should the  $\pi$  be a "stung"  $\psi$  and therefore a (not a Roman  $\pi$ ), which is possible, we then have THORGAIR.

to fill in, — surrounding a small Roman glass-paste roundlet (blue let into a body of black) on which nothing has ever been carved. See this engraved in Worsaae's "Nordiske Oldsager", 2nd ed. No. 440, No. 350 in 1st ed.

The type is unique on these pieces. It is far removed from the grotesque combinations of the Egyptian and Gnostic schools, and as little does it belong to that rare class of carvings which show a Skeleton and Wine-vase ("Eat and drink, for tomorrow you die!"), the germ of that large art-group which became the "Dance of Death", "Dance Macabre" of the middle age. The objects before us are rather barbarized copies' copies of some Classical or Imperial subject, not now easy to identify. Several such designs, very near to that here before us, occur on Classical Imperial Coins, but nothing as yet as far as I know has been found which can be looked on as the *exact* prototype from which these pastes have sprung.

But we have another class of Scandinavian remains from the Early Iron Age which also grew up, originally, from rude imitations of Classical Imperial Coins, — the well-known ornaments called Golden Bracteates. Four of these, engraved in Thomsen's Atlas, offer a design very near to that of our pastes. I refer to his Nos. 69<sup>1</sup>, 70<sup>2</sup>, 71 and 72, all found in Denmark. Of these he says<sup>3</sup>: "No. 70, on which the representation is most distinct, we will try to describe; a winged Victory stretches out a wreath before a Candelabrum or Altar; a crowned Prince, followed by a Warrior who wields a downturned spear, goes towards her with a kind of sceptre in his hand. Over these figures flies a bird, and a Serpent (not on Nos. 71, 72) bites the heel of the Prince." — In my text<sup>4</sup>, I simply spoke of this group of Bracteates as "representing or symbolizing a Triumph, "Victory" or Homage." — On the pastes we have a central figure with his head turned to the left, with another personage on his right whose head is also turned to the left. The man on the left has his face to the right.

Now let us examine Thomsen's No. 69, my No. 10:



Here we have a central figure. Prince or Emperor, head to the left, bearing a Standard, and standing on the prow of a vessel or on a chariot. The head below is probably that of a Serpent biting his heel. Behind him, head to the left, is a captain or warrior bearing a downturned spear. On the left is a Winged Victory, bearing a Palm and offering the Triumphal Wreath to the Emperor. Above this latter is a Bird, probably a Barbarian rather than a Roman symbol. — Herewith we will compare Thomsen's No. 71, drawn from the original in the Museum by Prof. M. Petersen, engraved on wood by Rosenstand:



As we see, exactly the same as the last, only more barbarous. The Palm is now close to the Emperor. Only the foot and a small part of the body of the Bird is visible.

Now let us look at the glass-pastes. The group is the same. The Emperor in the centre, only the Standard has fallen away. The Chieftain to the right, or else a winged Victory, and a winged Victory to the left. No wreath or Palm. Instead of these, *two* Palm-branches are above the head of the Emperor, while there is no Bird. On the smallest paste the Palms also have been omitted. — But as we know, nothing is more common in olden art than for designs to be reverst. This is

<sup>1</sup> Bearing a few runes. In my Old-Northern Runic Monuments No. 10, Vol. 2, p. 525. <sup>2</sup> Runic. O. N. R. M. No. 11, Vol. 2, p. 525. — <sup>3</sup> Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1856, p. 230. — <sup>4</sup> O. N. R. M. Vol. 2, p. 525.



especially the case with the Golden Bracteates, where we have several double series, one with the figure or figures to the right and the other showing them on the left. So here. The other 2 Blinks have the same design, but turned round. — First we take Thomsen's No. 70, my No. 11:



As on the foregoing. Emperor (and Standard, and Worm gnawing at the heel), Warrior (and Spear), Victory Winged and with Palm and Wreath. Above, the Bird. — Compare with this Thomsen's No. 72, drawn from the original by Prof. Petersen and engraved by Rosenstand:



Here all is the same, only delightfully barbarous. The Emperor looks like a ghost or an ogre, and his standard is something mystic and wonderful; the "respectable" part of the Captain is his Spear; the Victory has lost one of her wings as well as her Palm. The prow or chariot has become a few dots, on which the Emperor does *not* tread. — It would almost seem as if the Danish artists had begun this kind of imitation of Roman work by trying to produce Barbaric Gems. But this was perhaps too hard, and the pieces too difficult to multiply quickly, or unfavorably received as not so easy to wear as a striking ornament. So the next step was, to produce rude copies of the golden coins and medallions so common in the Imperial lands where so many of the Northmen had served or wandered or traded. And this succeeded beyond expectation, for the Northmen were excellent goldsmiths, and the Bracteates were admirable decorations for the male and female aristocracy of the period. And any number could be struck from the same die, while the setting might be large or small, cheap or costly, at the option of the buyer. By degrees the classical designs became more and more nationalized, and runic letters and Northern marks and symbols took the place of mere Roman types. But the details of this whole question are still very obscure to us. This little handful of contemporaneous glass-pastes is one unexpected help and illustration.

There can be little doubt, with these Golden Bracteates before us and remembering the many Triumphal Imperial Coins still left, that the motive of these Scandinavian glass-pastes has been taken from some now lost or not yet engraved Classical Imperial Coin or Medallion, whose principal design has been: The Emperor, Labarum in hand, standing on the prow of a galley or on his war-chariot, — saluted by the Cæsar who bears a reverser spear, — while a Winged Victory advances to do him homage and to offer the wreath and the palm. To show what I mean, I add a few such pieces taken only from one older volume<sup>1</sup>, which happens to be lying by me. Certain it is that these Barbaric

<sup>1</sup> I mention those of this class engraved in J. Musellii Numismata Antiqua, fol., Vol. 1, Veronæ 1753

2 Figures. DOMITIAN. (81—96). Brass. Reverse: To the left a winged Victory, Palm-branch in her left hand, crowning Emperor with a Wreath in her right. His left hand holds a Spear, his right a Thunderbolt. Below, S. C. Tab. 48, No. 7. — Ditto. Same. Tab. 50, No. 6. — TRAJAN. (98—117). Ditto. Same. SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI. Below, S. C. Tab. 63, No. 9. — FLORIANUS. (276). Brass. To the left a Winged Victory with Palm in left arm presents a Wreath with right hand to Emperor, whose left hand holds a Spear. CONCORDIA MILITVM. Below, S. Tab. 234, No. 7. — PROBES. (278—282). Brass. To right a Winged Victory, whose left hand holds a Palm, her right crowning with a Wreath the Emperor. His left grasps a Spear, his right a globe. RESTITVT ORBIS Between figures, II. Below, XXI. Tab. 285, No. 9. — Ditto. Same. Brass. Winged Victory to left. RESTITVTOR SÆC. Below, VIXXI. Tab. 285, No. 10. — Ditto. Same. Brass. CONCORDIA MILITVM. Tween figures, P. Below, XXIX. Tab. 236, No. 1. — LICINVS JUNIOR. (307—324). Brass. Winged Victory to left. Her left hand holds a staff or palm, her right presents a Wreath to Emperor, nude, whose left hand holds a Spear. IOVI ET VICT CONSER DDNN AVG ET CAES. Below, SMK. A. Tab. 246, No. 10.

3 Figures. GORDIAN II. Brass. (288). Winged Victory to left. Her left hand holds Palm, her right crowns with a Wreath Emperor who sits. His left hand grasps a baton, his right a Standard and another is near him. The legionary before him presents a Palm, and has a Spear in his right hand. VIATVS AVGG. Below, S. C. Tab. 196, No. 2.

4 Figures. GETA. (212). Brass. Left, Hercules, club on left arm, crowns Emperor (Caracalla) with a Wreath in his right hand. Emperor's right hand grasps right hand of his fellow-Emperor, whose left holds a Spear. Behind Geta is a Winged Victory, advancing with a Wreath. Tab. 163, No. 9.

Gems, (like the Golden Bracteates belonging only to the Northmen, Scandinavia and England), must date from about the 4th or 5th century. They are another proof of the direct and indirect contact of Roman art with Scandinavia from about the time of Christ downwards, and belong to that large and increasing section of pieces which we may well call *Romano-Barbaric*.

But since the above was written and up to this time (March 1875) 4 other such Barbaric Paste Gems have been found, so that the whole number known is now 7. — No. 4 was found at Finnerup in Sealand, Denmark, in 1874, and is in the hands of the lady of the Rev. Mr. Lind, then of Sæby, Slagelse, who is now Bishop of Ålborg. It is a glass paste about the same size as No. 1 and No. 2 and of the same type and work. Only, the robe-like lines jutting out below the arms of the two outside figures are *three*, not *two*. The palm-branches are bushy and stumpy, something like starry nosegays, but have not the least resemblance to birds. — No. 5 was bought in Stockholm in the summer of 1874 by my distinguished countryman John Evans. It is almost identical with the Als exemplar, but has no Palm-branches. He procured it there from a Dealer, who believed he had received it from Skåne in South Sweden, formerly a Danish land. — Nos. 6 and 7 have turned up at the beginning of this year (1875), fortunately recognized by Med. Dr. Max Bartels of Berlin. He found them on a small Reliquary of the 14th century, which is richly decorated with Gems. It is of wood, in the shape of a Gothic Church, painted all round with Saints in tempera. All the Gems are cut in a noble style, two only excepted. The larger of these shows 3 figures, with palms above, the smaller 2 figures with a palm between them. Tho the figures are slenderer, more meager and taller, these pieces are *exactly* of the same make and barbaric type as those engraved by me above, so similar that I need not repeat them. On the larger one the Palms are smaller, and look more like Birds. Dr. Bartels has made an interesting communication hereon in the Proceedings of "Berliner Gesellschaft f. Anthropol., Ethnol. u. Urgeschichte" for Jan. 1875. He agrees with me in my appreciation of these pieces, and judges them to belong to Danish or Northern Art. Either therefore the Shrine must have wandered from Denmark to Germany, or some Danish Pilgrim must have given the Gems to the Church where the Reliquary was kept.

January 1876. Happily we have now No. 8. In Nov. 1875 the Danish Archæologist Dr. Sophus Müller kindly informed me that during his antiquarian tour, from which he had just returned, he had accidentally met with yet another such "Barbaric Gem" lying in a drawer of loose unimportant things in the "Samlung der deutschen Gesellschaft" at Leipzig, at the same time handing me a rough sketch. I immediately entered into communication with Dr. Bruno Stübel, the Curator of the Museum, and that gentleman in the most obliging way forwarded me impressions in sealing-wax and plaster of the curious paste. From these I give it here, carefully drawn by Prof. M. Petersen and engraved on wood by J. F. Rosenstand.



It is, as we see, of the 2-figure type, and a valuable connecting link from the distinctness with which the *Wing* is cut on the Victory. Unfortunately, Dr. Stübel regrets that he can give no information as to *when* or *whence* this Paste came to the Collection. No memorandum or entry of any kind exists concerning it.

Dec. 1878. I have to thank Dr. S. Müller for another such piece, No. 9, found by him during another tour on the continent. It is a similar glass-paste, 2 colors, of the usual size, but bears only *1 figure*. It is one of the many ornaments let-in on the shrine of Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle. It is fixt. to the right of the representation of the Virgin Mary. — At p. 362 of Dr. H. Schliemann's *Mycenæ* (8vo, London, 1878), he engraves 3 Lentoid Gems. The middle one (No. 540), of dark red agate, was found by some peasants not very low down in a field, on the site of Phœnicé. It bears 2 rude figures barbarously cut-in, very much in the same style as the Glass gems we are now considering. Whence it came and when it was lost, no one can say.

No. 83.

## KILLERUP, FYN, DENMARK.

*From the original in the Danish Museum, No. C. 1764. Drawn by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN, on wood by J. F. ROSENSTAND.*



See the text to No. 82. Same type as my Nos. 35-41, b (pp. 544-546), and, as far as I can see, bears substantially the same name (= INGE or INGWE). See the Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 945. As so often, so here, I take the side-stroke or beginning of the frame to be *ɪ*. We then have *ɴ* and *κ* and *ɪ*, thus

INKI.

No. 84.

## HILLERØD, SEALAND, DENMARK.

*From the original in the Danish Museum. Drawn by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN, on wood by J. F. ROSENSTAND.*



See Nos. 35-41, b, and 83. — This Golden Bracteate was found in Sept. 1874 in ground belonging to the widow of the yeoman Bendt Nielsen, by her son Niels Bendtsen. This farm is near Hillerød, N. W. of Kjøbenhavn. Weighs 14.4 grammes. Archivary Herbst adds, that in olden days, on the spot where this Blank turned up, stood a grave-hill called "Ashoi". At least so tradition states; but the mound has long been cleared away. The exact locality is Matr. No. 24 in "Lyng Gyde". — Same type as No. 83, and also, as far as I can see, bearing the same name in substance, the *ɴ* being nasalized as so often. We have *ɪ*, then *æ*, then *c*, then *ɹ*, thus the womans-name (INGA):


YÆCA.

Nos. 85-87.

## GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

*Drawn by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN, on wood by J. F. ROSENSTAND.*

No. 85 was found at Burge in Gotland, and is my No. 45, b. See it described at my p. 874. I now think that the second reading there given (ELTIL) is the only correct one, the † (L) and † (T) close together, and repeat the engraving here for convenience of comparison.

No. 86 is in type a variation of the above and of No. 45, only the runes are very indistinct, and inside within the beading runs a line of ornaments, consisting of the mark , stamp in. Otherwise it is almost identical in detail with No. 45, so much so that it need not be engraved. It was found in 1873 at Allmungs, Hafdhem Parish, Gotland. Is now 4945 in the Stockholm Museum. Like Nos. 43, 44, 45, (which see), both these give the name: ELTIL.

No. 87 was found with the next number in 1872 at Djupbrunn in the Hobergsåker, Hogrån Parish, Gotland. Together with these two pieces was taken up a little spiral ring of thick silver rod-wire, like the common golden spirals so often occurring in the middle of the Iron Age, as also a small Finger-ring of gilt silver or gold mixt with silver, very like to Nos. 609 and 610 of Dr. Montelius' "Svenska Fornsaker". All these things lay in a small box of copper, engraved No. 476 of "Svenska Fornsaker". At the same time and more or less at the same place were found by another person 200 Roman silver coins (Denarii), from the 1st & 2nd century after Christ; No. 4877 in the Stockholm Museum. These last 2 Golden Bracteates have been kindly communicated by Dr. O. Montelius, together with the information concerning them. All 3 must therefore be redd, as far as I can see:

ELTIL.

No. 88.

## GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

*Drawn by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN, on wood by J. F. ROSENSTAND.*

Found with No. 87. Back-runes. Like Nos. 15, 16 bears only the mansname:

ELU.



No. 89.

## UNKNOWN WHERE. — PROBABLY DENMARK.

*Drawn by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN, on wood by J. F. ROSENSTAND.*

Early in 1876 Archivary C. F. Herbst had occasion to refer to some of the nondescript and barbarous pieces in the late Councilor Thomsen's famous and costly Collection of Coins. lately, by a generous arrangement between the family and some private Danish gentlemen, added to the great Danish Coin-Cabinet. In so doing, one of these strange pieces arrested his attention. It struck him that it bore something like *Old-Northern Runes*. He obligingly communicated it to me; I carefully examined it and was of opinion that it *was* rune-inscribed, and that these staves were Old-Northern. Since then I have spent days in seeking out its meaning, in all possible lights, and have come to the following result.

The object itself, here engraved full size, is of SILVER, stamp *only on one side*. Its Museum No. is 12,186, its weight 1.81 grammes. In fact it is in every way like an ordinary Old-English Silver Penny, or other such forn Coin of like value, except in *not* being struck on *both* sides, and *not* bearing any effigy or such mark, only a few large letters which fill the whole space. In so far it is *unique*. We shall never be able to read it with absolute certainty, unless a better copy from the same die should turn up. As being of full silver value, it has been treated as any other silver Penny, has circulated from hand to hand, been often scratcht and notchd on both sides with a sharp tool to see whether it was good metal, and is much worn at certain places. But I think there can be little doubt of what we *can* decipher, beginning in the middle on the left, after the 2 dots.

1. ꝥ. F. Plain. — 2. The piece is much worn here near the rim, but the letter has almost certainly been F, Æ, tho the traces of the upper arm are so slight that they could not be given by the artist. — 3. X, G, distinct. — 4. Y, A, undeniable, in spite of the friction at the top. — 5, 6. Have suffered so much, and the traces are so slight and so to be gathered only by the eye, that we *never* shall be sure. In my opinion the 2 staves were k̅, NO. — Thus an old Scando-Gothic mansname; probably FEGANO; at all events a name.

We then recommence, and find a verb, in the 3rd person past. — 1. ꝥ. F. No manner of doubt. — 2, 3. FF, ÆÆ. Quite sure. — 4. Þ, TH, imperfect, the central part of the bow gone, but he would be a bold man who would deny that this was the rune. — 5. F, Æ, followed by 2 dots. — Thus FÆÆÆ, the well-known Scando-Gothic or rather Old-Northern verb, in the past tense and 3rd person, which we have already found so often and so variously spelt on Old-Northern Runic pieces, signifying *FAWED, stampd, made, &c.*

I take it then that there is no reasonable doubt of what is before us, a *mansname* and a *verb*, the latter fully readable; as far as we can see, the whole:

FEGANO FÆÆÆ.

FEGANO FAWED (*made, stampd, this piece*).

The workmanship is heavy and coarse, and would seem to have been executed by a journeyman or beginner, practising in the noble art of cutting stamps for Bracteates or Runic Coins. He has taken a flan (blank) from the pile lying near him, and from his rude die has struck off some copies, of which only this one has come down to us. If so, it is a TRIAL PIECE from the olden days<sup>1</sup>, and as such stands alone in all collections. Its date we cannot fix, but the runes and language point to about the 7th century.

<sup>1</sup> I have since added to my Cabinet a Trialpiece, Scandinavian, of far later date but very curious. It is of copper, large, cut on both sides with sentences, arms and mottoes, to show the artist's skill, whose name it bears: GUDMUND SVENDSON SELPSIT. No date, but probably from the 17th century. Who the engraver was, I cannot guess.

No. 90.

## GETTORF, SOUTH JUTLAND, DENMARK.

*Drawn on wood by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN, engraved by J. F. ROSENSTAND.*

In the autumn of 1876 a poor person found in a field at Gettorf, Duchy of Slesvig or South Jutland, 2 Golden Bracteates. They afterwards were bought by a merchant in Kolding, who sold the one, that here given, to the Kiel Museum, instead of the Danish Museum, to which it ought to have gone. It is not strictly runic, but Runic-Roman-Barbaric, and is meaningless. As the Director of the Kiel Museum declined to lend it to the Old-Northern Museum in Denmark for copying, it is here given from a tin-foil impression only, and is consequently not absolutely perfect in every very minutest detail. But it is more than sufficiently correct for all practical purposes.

No. 91.

## GETTORF, SOUTH JUTLAND, DENMARK.

This is the second Bracteate found at Gettorf. It is very beautiful, but I cannot engrave it, as the owner as yet declines to sell, publish or allow it to be engraved. Many persons, however, have seen it and copied the runes. The device is a very rude Head with the Fylfoot; on the right, running down, are the following staves:

1 F X P N

TELINGWU.

*To-the-lady-TELINGWA.*

Here again, as often, we have the ING-rune with its full sound and in a peculiar shape, the 2 angles close together. See Bracteate No. 78, and the Kovel Spear-head (under the Gothic March).

No. 92.

## LUND, SKÅNE, SWEDEN.

*From the original in the Lund Museum. Drawn by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN, on wood by J. F. ROSENSTAND.*

Silver Bracteate, probably a private die from which a certain number was struck for a Norwegian gentleman who wished to obtain a specimen of the Danish artist's skill, and mayhap to commemorate some favor conferred upon him by the Danish king. This curious piece was found in Jan. 1878 in a garden in Lund, Skåne, in olden days a province of Denmark. It came quickly as a gift to the University Museum, Lund, where it is now preserved. Characteristic for this unique example of early art is, that it is about the same size as the usual money of the period, that besides the head

of the king it bears a second head low down on the right, and that the long inscription must be looked upon as an evident proof that the engraver intended to show that he was *master of all the alphabets*, for he has purposely intermixt letters belonging to the Old-Northern Futhork, to the oldest Roman staverow, and to the later runes. Our greatest Scandinavian numismatist, Archibury C. F. Herbst, kindly informs me that the general type would seem to place this piece in the reign of KNUD V (Magnusson), king of Denmark from 1147 to 1154. He also approves my reading of the letters, which apparently must be as follows:

Beginning under the figure we have a slanting i, a Roman A, a Roman v (= u), an i, a Roman L (the foot raised), an i, an antique majuscule G, and an R slightly marred by the divisional dot. This gives us the nom. mansname IAULIGR, which answers to the common N. I. ROLGEIR.

Then we have the preposition i.

Next comes an s, then an i, then a very ancient M, as on the Ruthwell Cross (7th century), and i, which gives us SIMI, dat., apparently the important parish and district of SEM or SEEM near RIBE in North Jutland, Denmark.

Then the plain verb, 3 s. p., FAIMI, FYIDI, made or struck, the v being an Old-Northern stave.

This is followed by a slanting i, a Roman A, a Roman v, a Runic b, and a Roman INI, = IAUDINI, dat. mansname, equal to the well-known O. Engl. mansname EADWIN.

So the preposition i.

Followed by B, then i, — here a damage, but the upper part of R and F (K) — then a Roman o (here = w as often), so II, then a runic t (X), followed by N (U) as a bind with the same Old-Roman M as in the word SIMI. This makes BIRKONUM, dat. pl., BERGWIN, BERGEN, the well-known sea-town in the west of Norway. — Thus:

IAULIGR I SIMI FYIDI IAUDINI I BIRKONUM.

IAULIG IN SIM FAWED (made this) for-IAUDIN (= EADWIN) IN BERGEN.

Here the Jutlandic i prefix, O. Engl. E, is very striking. Should this reading not be absolutely correct, at all events it is substantially so, as will be apparent from an examination of the original. But in this case it is the oldest mention of Bergen on any contemporary document.

#### No. 93.

#### WAPNO, POSEN, POLAND.

All I know, or have been able to learn, about this Bracteate is the following extract from a letter by the Danish runologist Docent Dr. L. F. A. Wimmer on the rune-inscribed Spear-head found at Kovel in Volhynia. See p. 181 of "Materialien zur Vorgeschichte des Menschen im östlichen Europa. Nach polnischen und russischen Quellen bearbeitet und herausgegeben von A. Kohn & C. Mehlis", Vol. 2, Jena 1879: — "On another Bracteate, found in 1850 or 1852 in Wapno south of the Netze in Posen, has been read the name **ꝥꝥꝥꝥ** SABAR, which answers to the Visigothic SABARICUS known at the date 688."<sup>1</sup> — As Dr. W. gives to F the power of A instead of Æ as usual, we have therefore here the mansname

SEBÆR.

This would seem to be the well-known name SÆ-BÆR, SEA-BEAR. But it may be something else. It is a pity that Dr. W. gave no details as to the place where this piece is kept and the person by whom the inscription was deciphered. In Cumberland, England, the place yeclapt SEBARHAM has gotten its name from a settler or chieftain called SEBAR. — The oldest dated runic Bell known to me is that at Burseryd, Småland, whose long inscription is in Latin. Hr. P. G. Vistrand, who copied it in 1880, has favored me with a drawing of both the "Kampana" itself and of the staves separately. It ends: BERO SCRIBSIT. This was in 1238.

<sup>1</sup> "auf einer anderen Brakteate, welche im Jahre 1850 oder 1852 in Wapno, südlich der Netze im Posenschen gefunden worden ist, hat man den Namen **ꝥꝥꝥꝥ** *sabar* entziffert, welcher dem im Jahre 688 bekannten wisigothischen *Sabaricus* entspricht."

No. 94.

## SKIEN, SOLUM PARISH, LOWER THELEMARKEN, S. NORWAY.

*From the original in the Christiania Museum. Drawn by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN. On wood by J. F. ROSENSTAND*



For the communication of this interesting golden blink I have to thank the kindness of the Keeper of the Museum in Christiania, the distinguished Norwegian antiquary Prof. Olaf Rygh. Besides information from time to time, and the gift of gutta-percha squeezes of both Bracteates, from which I obtained the electrotypes used by my artist, Prof. M. Petersen, he most obligingly drew up a detailed account of the whole find, with permission for me to English it for publication here.

"In the summer of 1879 a most valuable find turned up in a previously disturbed grave-mound on the homestead Sjøtvet in Solum Parish, Bratsberg County, about a Norse mile S. W. of Skien. The barrow, of red mould, was round, and was originally 54 feet in diameter and  $7\frac{1}{4}$  feet high. The objects lay in the middle of the how on its floor, where previously so much soil had been dug out that the laves only narrowly escaped, a very thin layer of earth remaining over them. The articles exhumed came to the University Museum in August 1879, and are as follows: — 1. Two Golden Bracteates bearing runes, both struck from the same die. The one weighs 3.3 grammes, the other 3.1. Below the loop on each of them are soldered 8 small beads of gold, arranged as a three-point. — 2. Ten glass beads, 2 of them blue; the others of some other color. and with inlaid patterns. — 3. Fragments of a largish Brooch of silver, of the same type as the Fonnås fibula, but nearer in ornamentation to that in the Aarsberetning for 1872 (Kristiania 1873), fig. 5. Besides the usual relief-work, it has had niello inlay and garnets, 2 round ones on the upper piece and 2 triangular on the lower. This fibula is nearly complete, and is now 11.5 centimetres long, having probably lost about 1 cm. — 4. A Button of gilt silver, belonging to a clasp-brooch of the shape shown in the Aarsberetning for 1868 (Krist. 1869), fig. 9, and 1877 (Krist. 1878), fig. 40. Its surface is decorated with a kind of cross, &c. — 5. A small bit of gold, hammered flat. — 6. Pieces of two clay vessels, the one flower-pot shaped (as in Montelius, Sveriges Forntid, Atlas, II, Stockholm 1874, No. 394), the other as in the Aarsberetning for 1867 (Krist. 1868), fig. 4. — 7. The foot and a bit of the rim of a Bronze dish with beaten-up hollows on the rim, as in the Aarsberetning for 1874 (Krist. 1875), fig. 34. — 8. A morsel of a wooden Bucket with bronze fittings. — 9. Three broken Keys of bronze, type as in Undset's Norske Oldsager i fremmede Museer (Krist. 1878), p. 11, fig. 8. — 10. A glass Beaker, broken into 3 pieces before it was deposited, of which one, the least, the upper part of the one side, now wants. It is like that in Undset's Oldsager p. 20, fig. 16, but is larger and wider, and the oval hollows have a different form and position. It is 9.2 cm. high, width at the mouth 8.8. Like several other such glass vessels from the Older Iron Age found in Norway, it has had silver fittings, mostly here preserved. They have been partly bands round the rim, a little below it, partly a band over the break to hold the pieces together: 8 of the nails, with rounded heads on both sides, still remain in the glass, and there are some small bits of the bands, about 4 mm. broad, gilt, and lengthwise fluted outside. The glass is clear, with a weak yellow-greenish shade. — 11. A small ring of silver, originally gilt, 1.3 cm. across inside, flat within but convex without, a little worn at one spot, showing that it has been fastened in a loop as a bearing-ring."

The finder, the schoolmaster J. Hanssen, thought these things were distributed over a kind of dark fatty earth which might have been a decomposed body, and that there had been several stone chambers the one above the other. But this is doubtful, in Prof. Rygh's opinion.

Judging by the above list, I should have thought the find would date from the 5th century or early in the 6th, but Prof. Rygh, who has minutely examined all the articles and is an acknowledged



expert, would fix them in the 6th century or early in the 7th. We shall not be very far wrong in assigning them to about the 6th year-hundred after Christ. It is seldom these Bracteates are found *in situ*, and this is another distinct instance of their being used as personal grave-gear.

As we have 2 copies, which help each other, there is no doubt of the staves. There was not overmuch room for them, so the artist has made them rather small, in the only two spaces left him. First comes a little group above the front of the forehead, then a larger number above and behind the head, but of various sizes according to the room. To read these we must of course turn the blink round. We see at once that the longer group is reverst, must be read from right to left, when it gives us *ÆELWÆO*. The question is, are we also to reverse the first two? If we are, we get *NL*. This of course is nothing, can only be a contraction whose meaning we shall never know. If not, if we are to read what stands, the letters are *TA*. But in this case *†* for *TA* will be the oldest instance yet known of the shorter *†* instead of the longer *†*, and of *†* for *Δ* as in the later runes instead of the usual Old-Northern *Υ* (which in the later Futhorc is *M*). At the same time we have *very old* examples of *τ* in various shortened and modified shapes, sometimes to suit the narrow space (as here), or the peculiar material or method of cutting or stamping. In fact it is in such ways, as well as for ornament, that the like variants have arisen, which have been individual and local before they became more general. And as to the *†* for *Δ*; this also is excessively old, and, whatever its origin, must have had a beginning. And, as *NL* gives no meaning on a piece otherwise regular and uncontracted, while *TA* makes everything quite plain, — I see no reason why *TA* should not stand. — (Since the above was written, the costly Brough stone has been found, which see under ENGLAND. On this grave-slab, date apparently about A. D. 550—600, the *Δ* is everywhere *Λ* or *Λ*).

The die-cutter would seem to have begun with *TA*, when he stopt for want of space, and, turning to the other available opening, continued with *ÆELWÆO*, thus *TÆELWÆO*. Here we are at once struck by the group *ELWÆO*, a familiar Scando-Gothic name, here apparently in the dative and feminine. We have on these O. N. pieces *ELU* several times, as well as compounds beginning with *ÆL*. The masc. name *ÆLUA* is on the Förde stone. — We have then only *TÆ* left. But this is also a well-known name. Its older form was *TAHÆ*, *TEHA*, &c., but the guttural early fell away, leaving *TÆ* as here. Then this was further shortened to *TAA*, *TA*, a very old name from some personal characteristic. In Old-Engl. we have not only *TA* but even the name *FUGELTA*, *FUHELTAE*, the first bearer's toe having somewhat likened that of a fowl. *TOE* is still a mansname in England and *TAA* in Denmark, and in the 13th and 14th centuries we have a Danish Matheus *TAA* de Krakæthorp (Scr. Rer. Dan. 4, 506; Dipl. Svec. 4, 23, 47).

Now we know that a not uncommon formula on these golden ornaments is — 2 words, a nom. and a dat., *NN* (*made or gave this*) *to- or for-NN*. This I conceive to be the wordfall used here:

*TÆ* *ELWÆO*.

*TÆ* (*made-this-for, or, gave-this-to*) *the-lady-ELWÆ*.

Everything shows that this Skien how was apparently a womans-grave, there is no sign of man's work or weapon. It would therefore seem to have been that of the Lady *ELWÆ*.

No. 95.

ÅGEDAL, BJELLAND, LISTER AND MANDALS AMT, NORWAY.

Drawn on wood by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN, engraved by J. F. ROSENSTAND.



I have to thank the zealous Norwegian archæologist A. Lorange, Keeper of the Bergen Museum, for yet another runic Bracteate, this time from South Norway, and again found in a Lady's grave. The find was made in the summer of 1879. My learned brother has kindly forwarded me the following interesting details, which I English:

"This golden blink, together with another and smaller which bore no runes, was found in clearly the tomb of a woman, with other fornlaives as follows. A principal ornament was a splendid fibula of gilt silver, decorated with niello and small inlaid blue stones. There were also three smaller brooches of gilt silver, same type as Montelius, "Från Jernålderén" Pl. 5, No. 11. Nearby lay two other similar fastenings of bronze, and 6 gilt Buttons with Bracteate-ornaments, once belonging to a Belt, to which had also adhered a ring-clasp of bronze, very like Montelius No. 528, with its suspended long ornamented Bronze-key. In the grave was also a large Button of gilt silver, 2 whorls, and remains of small iron implements and of some stuff. With the exception of the iron, all is well preserved, and has not been intentionally injured. The corpse had been burnt. The cremated bones were lying in two clay urns. Some of the things had suffered by the pyre-flames, and one large fragment of a Glass beaker (type as Pl. 8 No. 8 in Montelius' "Från Jernålderén") was half melted with the heat. The grave-chamber was 16 feet long, 4 broad and 3 deep, and was properly a deep pit cut in the ground, the 5 large top-stones resting on the surface of the soil. In the grave were ashes, charcoal and shingles. The grave-pots were all at one end. The barrow was large and long, shaped like the roof of a house. It lies close under a bank in Bjelland Parish."

In a following communication Director Lorange, referring to the similarity of the grave-goods in so many Old-English tombs, adds: "The large Cross-shaped Fibulæ, the Keys, the handsome Spinning-stones, the unburnt corpse, the lich-stead *under* the soil, and the peculiar Iron tool, suggest to me that some of the Angle settlers may have found their way — or have been driven by wind and storm — to south-western Norway. On both sides of Lindesnæs, of late years, have been found not a few burials under the surface, something between grave-row fields and our usual grave-hows. This custom must have come in from abroad; why not from England? The cruciform Bronze brooches ending in an animal head (see Old-N. R. Mon. 2, 840) so common in England and Norway (so scarce in Denmark and Sweden), have never yet been satisfactorily explained. We know very little as to the communication between England and Scandinavia in early times. It has often been thought that some fresh settlements were made in Norway in the Middle Iron Age. If it could be proved that this was so, and that the wanderers came from England, many difficulties would be solved. One argument in its favor is the iron instrument found in the Ågedal grave. R. Smith, in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, describes a fellow piece as "one swordlike implement, but the edges are blunt, and the peculiar pointed top further deprives it of the character of a sword, whatever the purpose may have been; it was found in the grave of a lady". Several others, from female tombs, are entered in the Kensington Museum Catalogue, from Old-English burial-places. These "looms" must have been used in the same way as the later Iron Age "awry spears" (*Aarsberetning* 1863, Pl. 3, fig. 27) and the middleage "Bone-swords" (*Worsaae*, No. 558), — as *weaving-slays*.<sup>1</sup> In England they were displaced by the Bone-comb, but in Scandinavia they have remained till late times. I have never met them, however, in Danish or Swedish finds. Roach Smith knew of no parallels, but in Norway at least 7 finds have shown such things in female graves. On the whole, I should date this burial at about the year 500."

All the circumstances seem to show that this tomb is not later than the 6th age. The Bracteate is here given from an Electrottype of the original, for which I have to thank the great courtesy of Herr Lorange. This blink is a fine specimen of its class. But, in my opinion, the inscription is in confused blind letters, — barbarous. — Nov. 1880. Hr. Lorange has described and figured the 2 Bracteates in *Aarsb. f. 1879 fra Foren. t. N. Fortidsm. Bevaring*, Kristiania 1880. See his *Indberetning* p. 39, and figg. 41, 42.

<sup>1</sup> I regard this identification as very happy. The pieces in question are doubtless Weaving-slays. One of the Norse specimens, about 12½ inches long, is now engraved (i) in Prof. Olaf Rygh's admirable and splendid "Norske Oldsager", Part 1, 4to, Christiania 1880, No. 150. — In his valuable paper "Fra Norges Ældre Jernalder" (*Aarbøger f. Nordisk Oldk.* 1880, Kjøbenhavn, 8vo, p. 170) Archivary Undset mentions one other such tool from a Frankish grave on the Rhine, now No. 4245 in the Rom. Germ. Centr. Museum in Mainz.

# THE GOTHIC MARCH.

We synt gumcynnes  
Geata leode.  
*Got we our outspring*  
*from the Gothic folk-clans.*

*Beowulf. G. J. Thorkelin. 4to. Havnio 1815. IV, 5, 6.*

"Les Goths proprement dits étaient les anciens Scandinaves. . . . . Les migrations des Goths donnèrent tant d'importance à leur nom, que celui-ci s'étendit à toute la race, au nord et au sud de la Baltique."

*Ch. M. de Sourdeval. Études Gothiques. 8vo. Tours 1839, p. 9.*

GEORGE HICKES.

1642—1715.

IN MEMORIAM.



## BUZEU, WALLACHIA, ROUMANIA.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 200—250.

*Old-N. R. Mon. Vol. 2, p. 567.*

I now divide and translate:

GUTE NIO WI HEILÆG.

*Of-the-GOTHS to-the-NEW WIH (temple) HOLY. = Dedicated to the new-built fane of the Goths.*

P. 567. Line 1. — *For full size read: full size.* — Prof. C. Sæve reminds me that I might have mentioned here a stone I have spoken of elsewhere, the first of the 3-double Sjonhem runic blocks, Gotland, (C. Sæve, *Gutniska Urkunder*, No. 89, *Liljegren* No. 1592). This one, after announcing that Roþuisl and Roþalf has raised (3) grave-stones in minne of their 3 sons, continues:

DINA EPTIR ROTHFOS. HAN SIKU BLAKUMEN I UTFARU.

*THIS-one AFTER ROTHFOS. HIM SWAKE (betrayed, murdered) BLACKIMEN (= Wallachians) IN  
his-OUTFARE (outward-journey, ? to Greece, or to the Holy Land).*

Of course this is hundreds of years later than the time of the Ring, but it still bears evidence of the same fact — the visit or settlement of Northmen, singly or in bodies, in the lands now called Roumania.

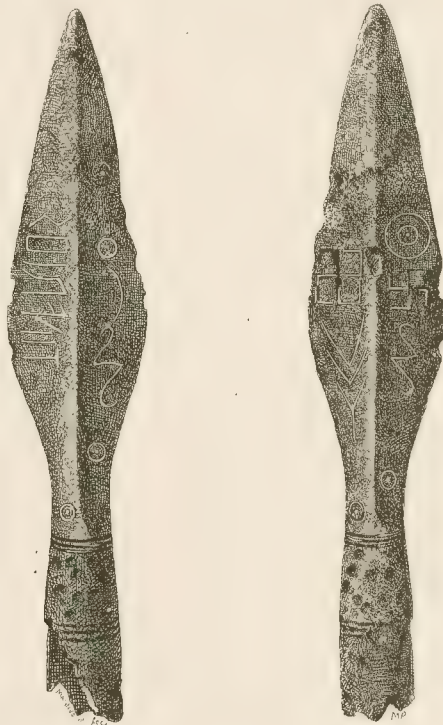
In an article by M. Charles de Linas, in "*Revue Archéologique*", Paris, Jan. 1868, pp. 46—56, "*Trésoir de Pétrossa*", that gentleman agrees with Dr. Bock in thinking that this find may have been the treasure of Athanaric, king of the Visigoths, who died in 381. — He repeats this opinion, describing the whole find, in "*L'Histoire du Travail*", 8vo, Paris 1868, pp. 183—197. — These Buzeu pieces were sent to the French Exhibition in 1867. Thence they were lent at the beginning of 1868 for a few months to the South Kensington Museum, London, where they were seen by the Count de Salis. That gentleman writes me thereon (23 Feb. 1868) that among them "a gold dish of Byzantine workmanship seemed to me to point to the early part of the sixth century." So do opinions differ! But it is clear that such a collection — whether a temple-hoard (chiefly votive offerings) or a series of private heirlooms — or war-spoil or booty from a captured city — must consist of things older and younger. We cannot date them all in the same year or in the same century. — May 1875. At last the "*Compte-Rendu*" of the Archæological Congress at Cheapinghaven in 1869 has appeared. At p. 361—372 we have an excellent sketch of the Pétrossa find from the pen of M. Odobesco himself. Elegant illustrations give great value to this article. The Ring is engraved on a small scale, but the runes are not given with absolute accuracy. M. Odobesco thinks the treasure was buried down in the last quarter of the 4th century. — Nov. 1877. See an important and suggestive paper (*L'Age du Fer. Etude sur l'art Gothique*. Par M. Henszlmann) in the *Compte-Rendu* of the Archæol. Congress at Budapest 1876, Vol. 1, pp. 501—541, with many valuable illustrations. The runic ring is engraved on a small scale at p. 518. — May 1879. Dr. Isaac Taylor (*Greeks and Goths*, p. 8), who agrees with me as to the date, says: "The torque evidently belongs to the heathen period. In the second half of the third century the Mœssian Goths were converted by Ascolius; in 325 Theophilus, one of their bishops, attended the

council of Nice; and not long afterwards the Gothic runes were superseded by the alphabet of Ulphilas, who was born in 311. The Buzeo torque must belong to the period when the Goths were recent settlers in Dacia and still heathens. The great intrinsic value of the gold points to the dedication of the spoils of some great triumph — the plunder it may be of the camp of the Emperor Decius, or the ransom of the wealthy city of Marcianopolis."

## KOVEL, VOLHYNIA, RUSSIA.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300—400.

*From a colored Cast of the original, and a careful drawing of the Runes by Archibary J. UNLSET of Christiania, Norway. Drawn and chemityped by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN, Cheapinghaven, Denmark.*



<sup>1</sup>In the autumn of 1875 Archibary C. F. Herbst received from Herr S. Bergsøe, then of Andigård near Randers in Jutland, a good sketch of this piece, forwarded from Warsaw, with a request that he

<sup>1</sup> The route thro what is now European Russia is a subject of great importance, as to the pre-historic colonization and commerce of Scandinavia. We are now beginning to get new light as to this, from a totally unexpected quarter. — At p. 165,

would obtain a reading of the runes. This being communicated to me by Mr. Herbst, I drew up a short statement and gave my reading nearly as below. At the same time Mr. Herbst kindly made every effort, thro Mr. Bergsøe, to procure the loan of the original or a careful plaster cast at my expense. He succeeded in the latter alternative. The cast arrived in Jan. 1876, accompanied by the following, which I English, from a letter to Hr. Bergsøe by his correspondent in Warsaw, dated Dec. 23, 1875: "Herewith I send you the Lance-head. I have packt it so carefully that I hope it will take no damage. The facsimile is very exact. The happy owner informs me that it was found in 1858 in the Russian, once Polish, Government of Volhynia, whose capital is Shitomir, near the town of Kovel in the county of Kovel, in a hamlet called Suszyecne. At the Archæological Congress in Kief it was exhibited under the name of the Kovel Spear-head." — In the summer of 1876 the Norwegian Runologist and Archæologist Archivar Ingvald Undset, of Christiania, was at the Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archæology in Buda-Pest. He had there an opportunity of minutely and very carefully examining the original, and was good enough to send me his exact drawing of the runes. He particularly points out that the owner had overlooked a circlet full-stop at the end of the inscription. He says: "I think the final point is of great interest. Here, as elsewhere sometimes on the lance-head, the silver inlay has fallen out, but we can plainly see the stamp dent in the iron, where the silver once was."

In 1876 appeared in Warsaw Part 3 of "Wiadomosci Archeologiczne", an interesting Polish Archæological Magazine in 8vo. It contains an account of this Spear-head, with photographs (Tab. I) of both sides. See pp. 54—61. My learned Colleague<sup>1</sup> "in partibus Slavorum" has, with his usual courtesy, enabled me to follow the statements of the writer, Prof. A. Szyszkowski, of Warsaw, the owner of this costly forn-lave. Prof. S. says: "The Spear-head with silver inlay (Tab. I) was found in the spring of 1858 near the village Suszyzno in Volhynia, some miles northeast of the hamlet Kovel, and was given to me by my kinsman J. Szyszkowski, who was then bailiff of the property there, and who saw it ploughed up. It came to light south-west of the village, near the boundary between Suszyeznos and Lyczyn, an extensive high-lying spot surrounded by moss-land. This district has long been overgrown with a bushy vegetation. When it was to be cultivated, it was found to bear furrow-marks here and there. It was therefore formerly arable land. The Spear-head was found under the sward, which had already been disturbed by the plough. That this was once cultivated land is shown by another find. A year later a stone-hammer, of diorit, turned up here, broken in the middle.<sup>2</sup> This piece is curiously markt with groovings. This ornamentation, which so much weakens the weapon, must be from the last part of the Stone age."

Prof. A. S. then communicates a letter and interpretation (imperfect as being from an imperfect photograph) from Dr. Wimmer of Cheapinghaven<sup>3</sup>, and proceeds to give his own ideas as to the

above, I have mentioned the first known Assyrian *SABRE* (SABRE), 1300 years before Christ, now in Col. Hanbury's collection, — and the Bronze Sabre, of undoubted Assyrian type, lately found in Sweden, the first discovered in Europe. Now (April 13, 1881) comes a new and remarkable explanatory revelation. On that day I saw the number of "Journal Officiel de la République Française" for April 6, 1881. At p. 1890—2 is a most interesting article by Ferdinand Delaunay, on the career and discoveries of the great French Orientalist *M. Oppert*. The last paragraph informs us that this distinguished Assyriologist has just made a new and surprising find. He has deciphered a Royal Inscription whose date is the 10th century before Christ, which proves that, at that early period, Asiatic Caravans ("des caravanes asiatiques") traversed what is now European Russia, following the rivers, to procure yellow Amber, "l'Ambré jaune", at the coasts of the Baltic. The merchants of the Asiatic king said, that they collected this substance in those seas where the Little Bear was in the zenith ("dans les mers où la petite Ourse est au zenith"), that is, where they no longer knew well how to steer. M. Delaunay adds, that these Asiatics were therefore the precursors of those Milesians and other travelers of whom Herodotus speaks, and the Assyrian text thus casts unexpected light on Commercial events in Northern Europe, at a time when those lands were otherwise past over in silence by the rest of the world.

To the Swedish Assyrian Sabre must be added an exceptionally rare and costly personal ornament, lately found in Denmark, which can only have had an Assyrian origin. Thus Scandinavian finds have already confirmed the testimony of the Assyrian Tablet.

But when the Assyrian Caravans came to Scandinavia to buy Amber, they did not come empty-handed. They brought with them productions of their own lands, metals, jewels, spices, and other luxuries, to the rich and splendor-loving Bronze-using population. They must also have had interpreters. One thousand years before M. Oppert's Inscription, they were familiar with Iron, but Iron and the Runes apparently creep in to Scandinavia 8 or 4 centuries later than the 10th before Christ. In my time the Scandian school dated the first Iron Age 800 years after Christ. Dr. O. Montelius, of Stockholm, now goes back to the 2nd before Christ. Thus in my time a march back of 1000 years. But we must go farther back still.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. C. W. Smith, Prof. in the Slavonian Dialects and Literature in the University of Cheapinghaven.

<sup>2</sup> Engraved in Kohn & Mehlis, *Vorgeschichte des Menschen im östlichen Europa*. Vol. 2, Jena. 1879, p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> Dec. 1, 1877. I have just received "Congrès International d'Anthr. et d'Arch. Préhist. Compte-Rendu de la 8me ses., Budapest, 1876. Prem. Vol. 8vo." At p. 457—460 is a communication on this Spear-head by M. le Comte Zawiska. The name of the owner is here spelt Szumowski. Dr. Wimmer's letter is added in French, and he decides that the runes give the mansname



inscription. With regard to the Fylfoot or Swastika he says: "This per-antique Svastika-mark, according to Rulikowski, means Blessing, and is often found on our grave-urns or funeral vessels." He adds that Burnouf, in his Sanskrit-lexicon, gives to this symbol the meaning of Blessing and the Life Everlasting. See hereon my Vol. 2, p. 509.

Thanks to the kindness of the above gentlemen, we are now able to handle this relic. We see at a glance that it is almost a counterpart of the similar weapon found in 1865 at Müncheberg, that old Wendish land now Germanized and a part of Prussia. The one is as little "German" as the other. Both are found in Slavonic countries. And the workmanship, style, ornaments, silver-inlay, are so alike in each that they might have been made by the same weapon-smith or in the same workshop. They are of about the same age. The runes, also inlaid with bits of silver wire, hammered in, are clear. They give us the owner's (or maker's) name, the mansname in reverst staves, and therefore redd from right to left, the oldest way of runic writing:

## TILERINGS.

The first letter has the rare form with the straight top (T); a little bit of the 3rd rune, the L, has fallen out. The 5th character is apparently R; as we know R and A, R and U, are often very like each other, but the decided swing seems here to give us R. The 7th rune is very precious, as adding one more to the many shapes of the ng. The two angulars can be variously placed; here they absolutely fit on and touch each other, thus forming a square. See Vol. 1, p. 149; the similar rune for ng, only still squarer, on Bracteate No. 78; and the variant on Bracteate No. 91.

Much has been said and written about (W)ODAN, (W)ODEN, (W)ODIN, and his period, his settlements in Scandinavia, his minor clans but omnipotent and welcomed Civilisation and Arts among the older far less cultured Bronze-using populations. But adepts are now more and more agreed that his date must be placed far back, at least some 6 or 7 hundred years before Christ. This alone will explain his learning Letters, the Runes, from the Greek Colonies from Thrace and the Black Sea and the Crimea and Dnieper up towards the Vistula, as happily explained by Dr. Is. Taylor in his "Greeks and Goths". And this alone is the key to whatever of Classical origin may early have entered into the Mythical traditions or Art-ornamentation of the old Scandinavians. An author unknown to Dr. Taylor has long ago judiciously pointed out<sup>1</sup> that *time* is a most important factor in all such questions. — At

TILANDS. At pp. 461—493 is a valuable paper by Dr. Oscar Montelius, drawn up after a personal visit to the Museums of these Scando-Slavic provinces, in which he points out whole groups of Early Iron Age antiquities, from graves, in use among those peoples but not among the Slavic tribes. His woodcuts are quite convincing. The dissertation bears the title: "Sur le Premier Âge du Fer dans les provinces Baltiques de la Russie et en Pologne." He entirely confirms all I have said. But he differs from me in this, that he thinks Runes may have been known to other Scando-Gothic tribes than the Scando-Anglo-Gothic. — June 1879. See also a long resumé of the history of this Spear-head in A. Kohn and C. Mehlis, *Materialien zur Vorgeschichte des Menschen im östlichen Europa*, 8vo, Vol. 2, Jena 1879, pp. 177—184, where a good engraving of both sides is given on a small scale. — In his paper "Die Steinschiffe von Musching und die Wellalaawe oder Teufelsbüte Kurlands überhaupt" (with 4 Plates, 8vo, Dorpat 1879), C. Grewingk shows that the Scandinavian Goths had temporary settlements in Courland &c. at least as early as the time of Christ, and that these were continued or renewed, more or less as plundering-raids, thro the Wiking period.

<sup>1</sup> "Toutefois, nous devons déclarer que nous éprouvons quelque hésitation à admettre une époque aussi récente que celle indiquée ci-dessus [l'an 70 avant notre ère] pour l'arrivée d'Odin en Scandinavie. L'histoire de ce mystérieux personnage est entourée de ténèbres qui semblent indiquer une antiquité beaucoup plus reculée. Il est peu vraisemblable que le fabuleux édifice de la religion qui lui est attribuée, que la poésie, que les institutions nationales aient reçu leur immense développement dans le court espace de 270 ans qui sépare le règne d'Odin d'avec les premières migrations gothiques vers le midi de l'Europe. De si grands résultats semblent demander beaucoup plus de temps. "La tradition, dit Bailly, grossit en roulant à travers les siècles: elle se charge et s'enveloppe de fables; mais toute enveloppe a un noyau, et ce noyau, c'est la vérité historique." L'histoire d'Odin, qui est ici le noyau, nous paraît trop problématique et trop profondément enveloppée, pour être placée si près du jour où l'histoire a succédé à la fable. Puis, comment se fait-il qu'une révolution aussi importante ait échappé aux excellentes informations de Tacite, qui écrivit seulement cent vingt ans après, et qui n'en a pas parlé? Comment ces Ases, si remarquables par leur culte et par leurs mœurs, auraient-ils été inconnus des géographes latins au temps de Pompée? Comment enfin une religion si prodigieuse par ses conceptions, par ses mythes, ses poésies, et par l'élan et l'enthousiasme qu'elle produisit, se serait-elle, dans un aussi court espace, formée, développée, puis mûrie et affaïssée au point de disparaître sans combat au premier contact avec le christianisme, qui était la religion des vaincus? Tant de puissance religieuse paraît incompatible avec si peu de durée. Il a fallu des siècles pour créer la religion des Goths, il a fallu bien des années de décadence pour en préparer la chute. Or, ne serait-il pas plus rationnel de reporter, à l'exemple de Saxon le grammairien, l'expédition d'Odin vers 600 ans avant J.-C.? Cette époque aurait l'avantage de coïncider avec celle indiquée par Fréret, pour la migration des Cimmériens, vers le nord de l'Europe. Ces derniers partirent, comme Odin, des bords de la Mer-Noire et du Palus Méotide, et vinrent, comme lui, s'établir sur le territoire actuel du Danemark qui, d'après leur nom, s'appela Cimbrie. Les Cimmériens, qui disparaissent dans l'histoire grecque, peuvent bien être les Ases de la tradition gothique. On peut attribuer également à l'invasion des Cimmériens ou à celle d'Odin la nuance esclavonne qui existe dans la langue Scandinave, et qui la distingue des idiomes teutoniques." — *Ch. M. de Sourdeval, Études Gothiques*. 8vo. Tours 1839, pp. 11—13.



all events we know that Scando-Gothic peoples dwelt and wandered along the coasts of the Baltic, over into Scandinavia, from times long before Christ and downwards. This gave rise to the trade in Amber (GLÆS, RAV in Denmark and Iceland, BERNSTEN in Sweden, RAV and BERNSTEN in Norway; in O.-Engl. it was called EOLH-SAND, or SMYLTING, as well as by the half Greek word ELEHTRĒ), and to the traditions about GLÆSISVALL. Hither was it also that ancient sayings led bodies of Scandinavians when overpopulation was a trouble. They drew thro "Scythia", the old route up the Dūna and the Dnieper, even as far as the Black Sea. But they were met by two great on-rolling folk-streams, the Slavonians and the Fins, who took their places along the Northern Baltic lands, and even the Scando-Gothic Estland became Finnish. As early as the 6th century the Wends were masters of the regions now known as Mecklenburg, Pomerania and Rügen. Other Slavons threw the Finnish tribes back northward. The Upsala kings led many expeditions of revenge or recovery against Estland and East-riike, and afterwards of conquest to Kyrialand and Finland. By the year 800 whole districts near Novgorod obeyed Warægian or Waring or Scandinavian and English Goths, so that the Baltic itself got the name the Warægian or Waring Sea. Higher Civilisation, better Law, finer Weapons and Discipline, higher Statesmanship and the strong arm in general founded Earldoms and Kingdoms among these Slavic peoples as far North as Novgorod and as far south as Kief. So says song and saga and many a sober skinbook. The same thing has happened in our own day with "the English in India". And probably because these Wendish Estonians and wild Fins best knew the nearest Swedish coast at Ros-lagen (Rodin, Rods-lag), they gave all Sweden the name RUOTZI, RUOTZI-MAA, all Swedes the name ROTSI, RUOTZALAINEN.<sup>1</sup> Picking up the name from the Finnish coast clans, the inland Slavic tribes gave their masters the name RUS, RUSI. Scando-Gothic Early-Iron remains are found in graves, &c. from Courland up to Novgorod.

But the same stream of tradition for these Scando-Slavic movements in the *Early Iron Age* states that these clans threw off the yoke somewhere about 862, drove their rulers from among them, relapst into lawlessness and barbarism, then repented, and sent a deputation to Sweden for rulers sprung from their former dynasties. Three brothers, Rurik, Sineus (Sune) and Truvor (Thurvard) accepted the offer, marcht to Slavonia with their chiefs and warriors, and formed "kingdoms" in Novgorod and elsewhere whence gradually was developd the present "Russian" Empire. Two other Waring brothers, Askold and Dir, carved out "kingdoms" at Kief and in other places. This was in the last half of the 9th century; and it is this originally Scandinavian, afterwards Nationalized and Christianized, movement which spread on during the *later Iron Age* into the Christian period.

Now in late years these *later Iron Age* historical outlines of Russian history have been abundantly proved by repeated finds in Scando-Russian graves &c. of undoubtedly Scandinavian Jewels and Weapons from the *later Iron Age*. But as yet no RUNE-inscribed — and therefore absolutely undeniable — proof has turned up from Scando-Russian finds in the *Early Iron Age*.

THIS SPEAR-HEAD is the first such *direct* written evidence known to me. It is *doubly costly* as explaining at the same time the fellow-piece in the grave at Müncheberg, and, the 5th century Ring with runes and the Golden Bracteates, one of them with runes, found at Cörlin in Pomerania (see Bracteates, No. 29), besides others, Mark-Brandenburg and Pomerania being parts of the old Gothic March.

All these things are now at once understood. They have all been exhumed in the line of these ancient Gothic settlements, are all from the *Early Iron Age*, all bear the usual Old-Northern Runes, and are all Swedish, or, if not, Danish or Norwegian, in a word are Gothic. No one will now dream of calling the Golden Bracteates "German", or a Weapon with Old-Northern workmanship and an Old-Northern name in Old-Northern runes dug up in *Polish-Slavonia* "a German piece with German runes" [of which we have otherwise no trace and no tradition] "from a German land".

<sup>1</sup> See my remarks on such movable folknames Vol. I, p. 69 and foll., and add the notes of the excellent Strinnholm (Svenska Folkets Historia, 8vo, Vol. 2, Stockholm 1936, p. 310): "So for instance the Laps call Russia *Karjeli-riika* from the adjoining Karelen, and Norway *Mara* from the name of the Norwegian province. And the Letts call Russia *Kreeva-semme*, from the Slavic stem nearest to them, the Krivitsches. The Fins give Estland the name *Wiro-maa* from Wir-land, a district in Estonia. Germany they call *Saza-maa*, from Saxen. Many such examples could be quoted. See Thunman's *Nord. Völk.*" — "In the same way, among hundreds such, the name *Kitai* reacht the Russians thro the Mongols, and the name *Sina* reacht Europe thro the Arabians, tho in those days the Chinese called their country neither Sina nor Kitai. So the Russians have given us *Samojed*, *Kamtschadal*, *Jakut*, for the native *Objondir*, *Ietmen*, *Socha*; and our Fins, Laps, Estonians, call themselves *Suomalainen*, *Sabmelads*, *Somelased*."

At Vol. 2, p. 882 I spoke of the many examples of gold and silver inlay on iron found in Northern lands and dating from the Early Iron Age.<sup>1</sup> For remarks on similar objects from the Later Iron Age see Worsaae, "Mammen-Fundet" (Aarboger f. Nord. Oldk. 1869, pp. 203—217), where he handles the Iron Axe, heathen date, inlaid with silver and gold. See particularly the facsimile-plates and p. 210. — Under ENGLAND, THAMES, will be found a notice of a lately discovered Old-English inscribed Knife, from Kent; letters and ornaments inlay in Silver and Brass; *not* in runes; date 8th or 9th yearhundred. [Early Wiking-swords have lately been found, with runes &c. in *steel-wire inlay*].

Since the above was written Dr. O. Montelius, as antiquarian, and Prof. V. Thomsen, as linguist, have defended the traditionary view of the Scandinavian settlements in Russia, in addresses at the Philological Congress in Cheapinghaven, July 1876, and Candidate J. C. H. R. Steenstrup has ably vindicated the claims of Denmark to a share in these movements. See his valuable "Indledning i Normannertiden", 8vo, Kjobenhavn 1876, pp. 119—126, 194—202. Prof. V. Thomsen's Lectures in Oxford have now (Jan. 1878) appeared under the title "The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia", 8vo, Oxford & London, 1877. Here the learned Danish philologist gives a clear resumé of the whole question as to Scando-Gothic (especially Swedish) settlements in Finnish and Slavic countries in the *Early* as well as in the *Later* Iron Age (under Rurik), and proves that this fact can now no longer be gainsaid. In connection read his lecture on the same subject, printed in "Forhandlingerne ved de skandinaviske Naturforskere 11te Mode i Kjobenhavn 1873", 8vo, Kjobenhavn 1874, p. 629—640.

Thus I consider it *certain* that this piece is Gothic or Scandinavian, may be much *older* but not *later* than the 4th century. Whether we read TILÉRINGS or TILÉINGS, we get a good old Scando-Gothic mansname, and, as we see, it has the per-antique nominative-ending in -s of strong nouns. It is TILÉRINGS, not TILÉRINGER, as indeed is natural at so early a period. We are all familiar with the mansname (H)RING, and with names of which (H)RING is the first or the last limb. In Scandinavia it very early became so scarce, that I only remember to have seen HRINGER (RINGER), m., and HRINGJA, f. There is no compound found before, except, in the later runes (Gotland) RINKORM. In England and in O. Germ. and O. Sax. dialects we have many ancient compounds, both with and without the H.

## MÜNCHEBERG, MARK-BRANDENBURG, NOW IN GERMANY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 800—400.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 880.*

Only the mansname: RÆNINGÆ.

## CÖRLIN, POMERANIA, NOW A PART OF GERMANY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400—500.

*Old-N. R. Mon. p. 600.*

See also Bracteates Nos. 3, ? Bohemia; 29, Pomerania; 81, ? Mecklenburg; 93, Posen.

<sup>1</sup> Add the notice of Mr. Franks, "Horn Ferales", p. 209: "An Anglo-Saxon spear-head decorated with silver was found on the Sussex Downs, at Coombs near Steyning; see 'Sussex Archaeological Collections', vol. ii. p. 269. *British Museum*." See also a Sword inlaid with silver, in Dr. O. Montelius, *Sveriges Fornrid*, 8vo, Atlas, 2, Jernåldern, No. 506. — "Mais ceux que les loix appellent *Barbaricos*, c'estoient ceux qui gravoient les armes, & qui les doroiient ou argentoient: ou bien qui d'une main subtile représentoient sur icelles avec filets d'or ou d'argent des figures d'hommes, de bestes, ou d'autres choses naturelles. . . . . Quant au nom de *Barbaricos*, il a esté donné aux graveurs, & doreurs des armes que l'on faisoit es officines publiques des Empereurs, à cause qu'à *Barbaris hæc opera emanarunt*, comme dit Guido Pancirolus: c'est à dire, que tels enrichissemens ont esté inventez chez les Peuples barbares: à raison dequoy, on les a nommez *Barbarica opera*, & par consequence les ouvriers, *Barbaricos*." — Nic. Bergier, *Histoire des Grands Chemins de l'Empire Romain*. 4to. Nouv. ed. Vol. 2, Bruxelles 1728, p. 680.

This old testimony is confirmed in a masterly paper, richly illustrated, in Vol. I, pp. 501—541 of *Compte-Rendu of the Archæol. Congress at Buda-Pest in 1876: "L'Age du Fer. Etude sur l'Art Gothique*. Par M. Henszlmann." Only, instead of calling these art-workers "Barbarians" he identifies them more decisively as Goths. See also GREENMOUNT, in *ARCHAIC MONUMENTS*.

WANDERERS.

WILHELM GRIMM.

1786—1859.

IN MEMORIAM.



THE BUZEU RING.

See under THE GOTHIC MARCH.

THE NORDENDORF BROOCHES, 1 & 2.

See under ENGLAND.

OSTHOFEN BROOCH.

See under ENGLAND.

THE CHARNAY BROOCH.

See under NORWAY.

THE CÖRLIN RING.

See under THE GOTHIC MARCH.

THE BRUNSWICK CASKET.

See under ENGLAND.

THE FREI-LAUBERSHEIM BROOCH.

See under NORWAY.

THE FRANKS CASKET.

See under ENGLAND.

## EMS, NASSAU.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500—600.



I have never seen this piece. All that I know of it is from a short paper (by D. R.) in "Correspondenzblatt des Gesamtvereins der deutschen Geschichts- und Alterthumsvereine", No. 5, May 1878, 4to, from which I have exactly copied, full size — Heliotype by Hr. Pacht — the drawing there given. This silver Brooch, unhappily only a fragment, about one half being lost, was found near Ems some years ago. It is in private hands, and has never been properly made public. D. R. states that it was submitted to Dr. M. Rieger, and that the above drawing is *not correct*. Dr. Rieger's text, as communicated by D. R., is to the effect that he thought the one side bore the letters

U P P F F

= UWÆDÆ,

while the other in his eyes, assisted by a lens, showed something like

M I M F F F X

= MIDÆDNG.

Under these circumstances I, following the good example of Dr. Rieger, decline to attempt any explanation of scribbles so uncertain and so fragmentary. — The Pin itself is doubtless of English origin.

# ARCHAIC

AND OTHER

SCANDINAVIAN-RUNIC MONUMENTS.

SIR JOHN YOUNG SIMPSON.

1811—1870.

IN MEMORIAM.



This work handles especially things bearing the older or OLD-NORTHERN runes. But, like as in my Vol. 2, p. 607—628, I gave an abstract of the results furnisht by many monuments (Vol. 2, p. 629—826) in the later or SCANDINAVIAN staves, which all say they can read, — showing *glaring* archaisms and neologisms and proofs of old local peculiarities *not* to be explained by the modern theory of “one language all over Scandinavia”, this mythical “one language” being the late mixt Icelandic, and even that taken as graciously fixt and formulated for us by modern editors and grammarians chiefly from 14th century skinbooks, — so I *here* add *fresh* examples and parallel formulas from sources not then known to me. Under the wing of these “illegalities”, the variations on older stones, as in vellums and books and the mouths of the people, — where “the Schoolmaster” has not yet extirpated the clan-talk and dragooned everything into one orthodox uniformity —, may be allowed to rest in peace. We cannot continue to pronounce everything “miscut”, or “carved for fun”, or in “a dialect made by the author”, or “a magical formula”. The time will come when all these things will be eagerly *studied*, not superciliously *IGNORED*.

Meanwhile my argument was and is, that if suchlike exist on the *later* blocks, still stranger forms might be expected on things *hundreds of years older*; and that our business is, *not* to fabricate *à priori* a language as we think it ought to have been, but patiently and trustfully and reverently to collect from the old-laves still left us the local talks they *actually used* at any given time and place, — for such things alter as years roll on. — Corrections to Vol. 2 are here entered in ALPHABETICAL ORDER.

Vol. 2, p. 608, last line. *For HE read SHE.*

“ “ “ “ The bind for AN (and ON). — *Angarn*, Upland. UIKUMANTR (where the MAN is one bind). — *Björnum*, Upl. DANSI.

“ “ “ “ 608—610. The variant-runes for Y. — *†*; *Frestad*, Upl. RYISA. — *Hofva*, Upl. RYISA. — *†* and *‡*; *Lungersås*, Närke. KYRLIFR. — *Rimbo*, Upl. KYRA. — *Tumbo*, Södermanland. IDYN. — *†*; See *English Sceatta*, under KRAGEHUL Spear-shaft.

“ “ “ “ 611. Strong nouns nom. s. in -s. *Höby*, E. Gotland. TREKS. — *Ireland*. CUNUNGS. — *Karkstad*, Upl. HARALS. — *Lunda*, Gestrikland. HULMS. — *Oddum*, N. Jutland. DURULFS.

“ “ “ “ 612. Strong m. nouns, otherwise with no ending in n. sing. in -R. — To BARANR (BURNR goes out) add the DORN of the Maeshowe slab, Vol. 1, p. 485. — In the Danish Museum of Northern Antiquities is a splendid golden Rood from Oure in Holbæksfjord. (See Worsaae, *Nordiske Oldsager*, Kjøbenhavn 1859, p. 130, 1). It is a Reliquary, doubtless for remains of the Holy king Olaf († 1030), and was used as a pectoral Cross. On the front, above and below the arms of the crucified Healer, are the words: ISACOS (= ISACUS, ISAAC, the type of Christ) and OLAF CUNUNCE (= OLAF KING). Here it is self-evident that the E in CUNUNC-E is the melting away of the older nominative-mark -R. This piece, which is not later than the latter half of the 11th century, is thus of the same age as many of the Scandinavian-runic stones.

“ “ “ “ 628. TS = ST. *Veda*, Upl. DURTSAIN.

Vol. 2, p. 613. Strong masc. Nouns and Adjectives ac. s. in a vowel or the half-vowel -r. (Such examples of -r, exprest both by -A and -R, exist by scores). — *Åsby*, Närke. BUA. — *Åsby*, Södermanland. FAUPRA; ? AURGR. — *Hall*, Upl. DURKARÓ; FAPURÓ; BRUDURÓ. — *Helganäs*, Smål. UIALFA. — *Kunla*, Upl. FADURÓ. — *Marna*, Upl. OFAIKR. — *Nömme*, Smål. FADURA. — *Skön*, Medelpad. SUNU.

„ „ 617. Nasal Nouns. *Mällösa*, Närke. STUKN.

„ „ „ „ Nasal Nouns fem. g. s. in -UR. *Delsbo*, Helsingland. RUDUR. — *Jäder*, Södermanland. SIFUR. — *Lundby*, Söderm. UINUR. — *Ramstad*, Söderm. AUDUR. — *Urvalla*, Närke. KUNUR. TASIR, young girls. *Skalmstad*, Upl. SIU TASIR.

TIN, time, grave-pillar. Vol. 2, p. 976. — *Broby*, Upl. RITI ITAIN. — *Eckersholm*, Småland. RIDI ITYN DANI. — *Ekeby*, Upl. LAT RTA ITN. — *Salmunge*, Upl. RITI IDUN. — *Småland*, Sweden. LITU HAKUA IDUN. — *Stafsund*, Upl. RISTU TIN (P)INA. — *Tumbo*, Söderm. (RAITCE IDYN). — *Vible*, Upl. LET ITIN RITA.

DUILR, Speaker, Priest. *Berga*, Söderm.

UNIDINK, un-nithing, not mean. generous. Vol. 2, p. 785. *Hofgård*, E. Gotl. MIST UNIDIK.

Names of Gods. *Tjursåker*, Upl. SAKSE-TUNDR, = (W)ODEN. — *England*, DUR. — *Vesterby*, Upl. DUR. — *Virring*, N. Jutland. DUR.

Patronymics in -ING. — *Åsby*, Södermanland. ÇBKA = ÇBINGA; ABKA = ARFINGA. — *Nömme*, Småland. TIURKA = DIURINGA. — *Skee*, Bohuslän. ILFIHR = ILFING, YLFING, WULFING; INUH - INUNG.

Pronoun dat. dual, *to-us-two*. *Rök*, E. Gotland. OKR.

Pron. g. pl. m., *of us, our*. *Åsby*, Södermanland. USA.

Pron. ac. pl. f., *two*. *Rök*, E. Gotl. TUA.

Vol. 1, p. 38; Vol. 2, p. 620. — I (KI, G, H, &c.) as prefix<sup>1</sup>. *Broby*, Upl. ITAIN. — *Eckersholm*, Småland. ITYN; ISUNR. — *Ekeby*, Upl. ITN. — *Lunda*, Gestrikland. IBIURN. — *Salmunge*, Upl. IDUN. — *Småland*, Sweden. IDUN. — *Tumbo*, Söderm. IDYN. — *Vible*, Upl. ITIN.

Vol. 2, p. 927. KIN-RUNOAR, *Vesterby*, Upl. — KINI-RUN, *Vaksala*, Upl. — KUNI-RUNA, *Pilgård*, Gotl. — KINA-STINA, *Rockelstad*, Upl. — (KU)N-STN, *Virring*, N. Jutland.

„ „ 618. Verbs 3 s. p. in -o or -u. — *Torpa*, Vestmanland. IODU.

Verb 3 s. p. FAWED, made, carved. FÆI(DI), *Skee*, Bohuslän. — FIUDE, *Pilgård*, Gotland. — FLE(Pi), *Örja*, Skåne.

„ Vol. 2, p. 619. 3 pl. p. -DRU for -RDU. *Lungersås*, Närke. KIDRU.

„ 3 pl. p. in -UN. *Björkö*, Småland. SUIKUN.

„ 3 s. pres. subj. in -AI. *Ny Larsker*, Bornholm. STAL. See Vol. 2, p. 812. — *Rök*, E. Gotl. UOKNAL.

„ Vol. 2, p. 619. Infinitives in -AN (N not yet fallen away). *Garn*, Upl. REISN. — *Rök*, E. Gotl. HUHAN. — *Virke*, Skåne. STANTAN.

„ Vol. 2, p. 623. — N not yet elided. — *Ärja*, Söderm. UNULFU. Vol. 2, p. 634. — *Åsby*, Närke. AN(I)SUAR. — *Brenner*, Zillertal. UNFOTA. — *Fosie*, Skåne. ANSBURN. — *Helganäs*, Smål. DAUN. — *Ireland*. ANLAF. — *Lofö*, Upl. ON. — *Lundby*, Upl. ONSUR. — *Malstad*, Upl. ANSUARS. — *Norråla*, Helsingland. ANASUIR. — *Skafså*, Norway. ONLOTR. — *Skalmstad*, Upl. IN. — *Stengårda*, Söderm. SIOUN. — *Torpa*, Vestmanland. AN.

Vol. 2, p. 619. The formula A, A MIK, *owns me*. — *Greenmount*, Ireland. A SOERD DETA. — *Korsdegård*, Norway. A MIK. — *Kruse*, Gotland. A MIK. — *Odenholm*, Upl. A BRO. — *Skara*, W. Gotl. MIK A. — *Urskou*, Norway. A MIK.

„ „ „ A-prefix. *Jerna*, Söderm. A-BU. — *Hässelby*, Upl. A-SI. — *Läderstad*, Upl. A-RISA.

A-BU, *bless*. P. 739, Vol. 2. *Jerna*, Söderm. UINR (krist) A-BU H(A)N!

BIRKA, *bless, save*. P. 914, Vol. 2. *Småland*, Sweden. KUT BIRKI ANT!

<sup>1</sup> By a similar phonetic movement we find on Gaulish Christian grave-stones earlier than the 8th century ISCALA, ISPIRITUS, ISTEPHANS, ISPES, ISCHOLA, ISTETIT, ISMARAGDUS, ISCRISPIT, ISTIDIUM, which in French have become Escalier, Esprit, Étienne, Espoir, École, Été, Emeraude, Écrivit, Étude. See *Le Blant*, *Inscriptions Chrétienues de la Gaule, antérieures au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Vol. 1, Paris 1856, p. CXVIII, 4to. *Le Blant* supposes that in Base or Vulgar Latin a host of other words was spelt and sounded in the same way (ISTABULUM, Étable, ISTAGNUM, Étang, ISTRATA, Estrade, ISPECIES, Espèce, ISPINA, Épine, &c. &c.). Among many other local or archaic forms on the monuments, he enumerates at p. 336: IMARITATA, PILIA, IMIRAE, IREDDERE, IVERNERAE, EMORIT, ENOS, and reminds us of Varro's ESUM for SUM. — On the coins of William Rufus of England we have this i prefix dialectically creeping in. Thus IELFRIC = ALFRIC of ÆLFRIC, IELNOD = ÆLFNOD, IELFWINE = ÆLFWINE, &c.

SIA, to bless. Vol. 2, p. 738. *Bägbg*, Öland. KUD ATA SIA! — *Hässelby*, Upl. A-SI (sil ku)<sup>p</sup>!  
 — *Rogslösa*, E. Gotl. SLEL ESU SI A! — *Vesterby*, Upl. AN DOR SU KH(u)-R(u)NOAR!  
 Adverbs. IAIUKA, ever, aye, *Pilgård*, Gotland.

## ABRAHAMSTORP, WEST GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 738. — I have since personally examined this stone, in company with Lector Karl Torin of Skara<sup>1</sup>. A scathe right across has now obliterated most of the IFTIR and all the ANS. As I now take it, SU is the pronoun *SHE*, not the verb to *SEE*. The important correction is KILKA, not KILIA.

BIURN RSDI STIN DINSI (IFTIR) DIUD, FILUKA SIA (= SIN or SINA). KUD IALBI (aus) SUNL (= SUAL),  
 OK SU KILKA SATA-MARKI!

BIURN RAISED STONE THIS AFTER THIUTH, FELLOW (*comrade*) SIN (*his*). GOD HELP (*his*) SOUL,  
 EKE (and) SHE the-HOLY SAINT-MARY!

The H is often locally pronounced so hard as to be = K. I therefore look on KILKA as = HILKA = HOLY, and MARKI as = MARHI = MARY = MARIA; the SAINT-MARY having become *one* name, so that HOLY was prefix afresh. — We have the same formula on the Särestad block, same p. 738. Lector Torin's<sup>2</sup> excellent drawing shows that a fragment has been broken away below, so that on the right we have now only half an s after BIURN, and on the left 2 dots before HALBI. Among other corrections, HIMLA is HILKA, and we must read:

(e)MIKR LAKDI STIN DANSI IFTIR STINBIURN, (Sun sin kuþan. kuþ) HALBI UT HANS, AUK SU HILKA SATA-MARIA!  
 EMING LAID STONE THIS AFTER STINBIURN, (Son sin = his good. God) HELP OND (soul) HIS,  
 EKE SHE the-HOLY SAINT-MARY!

See BÄGBY, HÄSSELBY, KORPEBRO, ROGSLÖSA, TJURSAKER, VESTERBY, VIRRING, Vol. 2, p. 660 and 738, and a parchment DOR UGI DIK under ENGLAND in this section.

## ÅBY, SÖDERMANLAND, SWEDEN.

P. 670, 1. — There is a second instance of SIÖUN (with the N) for SEVEN on the Stenqvista stone, which see farther on.

## ÅLBORG, N. JUTLAND, DENMARK.

See under BRYNDERSLEV.

## ALFVELÖSA, ÖLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 630. — In the Flatey-codex of the Hyndlu-ljóð, IV is twice written for U; stanza 6, line 7, HUNGA for UNGA; st. 9, l. 3, HUNGI for UNGI. See Flateyjarbok, Vol. 1, Christiania 1860, p. 12.

## ALSIKE, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 623, 4. — After RU I accidentally omitted the concluding words LUFA LIDI, to-his-LEFE (beloved) LITHE (*comrade*). We must also remember that AUK EIR may be AUK KEIR, in the usual way of doubling. — Since then this block has been given in Dybeck's Runurkunder, folio, 2, 232. But

<sup>1</sup> Since publisht by him in "Westergötlands Runinskrifter", Part 1, Lund 1871. Roy. 8vo. P. 10, pl. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Id. Part 2, Lund 1877, p. 20, pl. 43.

its upper half is now lost. What is left shows the correctness of the old text. The fragment now bears: ODSMUNTR AUK E(1) ..... DU SIN, SUTU BURUDUR. ULFKIL AUK RU LUPA (L) ... Thus the only difference, should Dybeck be right, is AUK RU instead of IUK RU, both which mean the same: *HEWED these RUNES.*

#### ANGARN, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

No. 473 in Liljegren; No. 112 in Dybeck's Sveriges Run-urkunder, folio. II. The latter shows that in the name UIKUMANTR the MAN is one bind, \* (Y, 4, 1).

#### ÄNGBY, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 795. — This stone is given in Dybeck's Runurkunder, fol. 2, 236. and we there read MIHEL, as I had suggested. KATI or KÆTI may sometimes be = GAIT, *gladden*, which governs an accusative.

#### ÄNGBY, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 632. — This stone goes out as to the word MARKADU. It has appeared in Dybeck's just publisht (Jan. 1870) Runurkunder, folio, II, No. 160. His reading gives ANT for AT, MARKAD for MARKADU, otherwise agreeing with Bantil. — In YI+I+I the Y, M, may be a miscarving for \*, H. But it may also be, here, a contraction for MENSKU, with *mildness* or *mildly*, *mercifully*. Thus either = HIALBI or MENSKU IALBI. See the same formula — MESKU GIRISTR LITIN, *MENSHLY (mildly) CHRIST LETE* (see, bless, 3 pers. s. pres. subj.) — on the Bräckestad block, Upland, under Korpebro, further on.

#### ÄNGVRETA, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 633, 884. — Goes out as to the mansname UNRU, if Dybeck be correct. There is some mistake at my p. 884. He has UARU not UNRU. As to this name UNRU elsewhere, see under Kirkebö, further on.

#### ÄRJA, SÖDERMANLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 634. — Prof. C. Sæve prefers to derive the name YSKI "from a name answering to the Icel. ÆSKI or ÓSKI, m. (the wisht one), from ÓSK, f. Thus YSKI for YNSKI. Compare Gotlandish YNSKI, m. wish, Ohg. WUNSC, m., O. Engl. wúsc."

#### ÅSBY, NÆRIKE, SWEDEN.

In Mällösa Parish, Asker Hundred. Only mentioned by Liljegren (No. 1033). Is figured incorrectly by Hofberg (Nerikes Gamla Minnen, p. 88), and I have another drawing of it. But Dybeck has now several times visited it, and has communicated to me his new and careful copy (since publisht in his Runa, folio, Vol. 1, p. 92, Pl. 21). It reads:

ANUATR LET AEKA STEN DANE EFTR BUIA, FADUR SIN. HAN UAD TUB I UINCU. DO FIUB IU AN(I)SUAR.

ANUAT LET HEW (*carve*) STONE THIS AFTER BUI, FATHER SIN (*his*). HE WORTH DEAD  
(*was slain*) IN UIN-EY, THO (*when*) FIUB HEWED (*slew, killed*) AN(I)SUAR.



VIN-EY, now VIN-Ö, is a large island half a Swedish mile from Åsby, in the lake Hjelmaren. For the last words compare the closing lines of the Husby stone, Södermanland: ÐA AT I AUSÐIKI HIUK ASUR, IFNTI KINA UISTR. *THO (when) THAT IN EAST-THING (battle out east) he-HEWED (slew) ASUR, EVEN-AS (as also) KINI out-WEST.* The AN(I)SUAR is plain enough; it is (with the ANASUIR of the Norrala stone) the oldest form yet found. BUTA is also very form, having the ac. in -A.

# ÅSBY, SÖDERMANLAND, SWEDEN.

No. 964 in Liljegren is the text, No. 706 in Göransson's Bautil is the woodcut, of the runic block at Åsby, Helgarö Socken (Parish). But I durst not use this piece — altho it there bears the ac. s. m. FAUPRA for FATHER — till a later and better drawing was at hand. This is now happily the case. My indefatigable antiquarian friend Baron Olof Hermelin has just (March 1871) favored me with drawings of all the 3 sides of the monument. Göransson only gives the principal side. This, besides its long inscription in a worm-scroll, has 2 Twig-runes. Another flank bears the figure of a Wild-Man or God, and some runes, of which we at present say nothing. Side 3 has the sign of the Cross. — This monolith, as Baron Hermelin informs me, lies in an immense grave-field, strown with hundreds of grave-hows, stone-settings, &c. some of them 3-cornered, some of them boat-shaped. — At present I am inclined to look on this lave as from the 10th century, and raised to a man who believed in both the heathen Gods and in the strong God Christ. — The inscription reads, in my opinion:

UMAL AUK HIRARNLA RAIIST STAIN DANIS AT AURGR, ŪSA FAUPRA, STUOL AUK KUL ŪKKA.

HAN T (? = TRAB) ABKA (? = ARBINKA) SIN.

UMAL EKE HIRARNLA RAISED STONE THIS AT (to) AURG, OUR FATHER, and-to-STUOL EKE

KUL ŪBING (= UB'S-SON). HE DRAPE (= slew) HEIR SIN (his).

The scarce AURGR, if not = AUR-GAIR, may be = AURGR, *the muddy, clayey*, and thus another instance of the accus. s. ending in the half-vowel -R. — Should my reading be correct, and ŪSA be a separate word with the meaning OUR — it will be an archaism of great value, taking us thro the older Swedish VAR, VARA (*of us*), Icel. VÁR, O. E. ŪRE, ŪSER, to the M. Goth. UNSARA. See the USA, OUR (n. pl. fem.) of the Swedish Björketorp stone. — And in this case, we have a stone, for the first time, in which the speakers say WE, altho this pronoun is *understood*, not written.

The words HAN : T : ABKA : SIN are written outside the worm-scroll, there being no more room left there. Hence the contraction T, to save space. It is not sure that this T is short for TRAB, but very likely. ABKA I look on as one of the *many* instances in which R is elided, both in sound and spelling.

# ASPÖ, SÖDERMANLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 638. — Dec. 1871. Count O. Hermelin has just favored me with the following information here-anent. The block has been taken out of the churchporch wall, whereby some additional runes have been gained; but some are gone since Brocman's time, others are still more worn by tramp. The corrections made by Hermelin from the stone are: TREBIN, *not* DRIBIN, OUTLANTI, *not* KUTLANTI. The last words are: KUD HILBI ANTA HANS, *no A* after HANS. Taking away this last stave, and remembering the above small betterings, my reading and translation remain unchanged. — P. 642. I have now met with an English example of BRIDGE-BUILDING from pious motives as early as the 11th century:

þe preost him wile haten þet he nime þa	<i>the priest him will hote (bid) that he nīm (take)</i>
ilke ehte oðer his wurð and dele hit wrecche	<i>that ilk (same) aht (property) or his (its) worth, and</i>
monne oðer to BRUGGE oðer to chirche weorke	<i>deal (distribute) it to-wretched men, or FOR a-BRIDGE</i>
.....	<i>or to (for) Church work &amp;c.</i>

See Old (read Early) English Homilies, &c. Ed. by R. Morris. Vol. 1. London 1867, p. 31. (Early Engl. Text Soc.) — A correspondent to Notes and Queries, March 30, 1872, p. 258, draws attention to the following quotation from Bishop Kennett: — "It is a good and pious custom in Ireland that the natives on passing over a bridge invariably pull off their hats, or, giving some other token of

respect, pray for the soul of the builder of the bridge." — On a brass plate found in the foundations of the old bridge at Stanford, Worcestershire, England, is the inscription: — "Pray for Humphrey Pakynton, Esq., born in Stanford, whyche payde for the workmanshepe and makeing of this brygg — the whyche was rered and mayed the 1st day of May, and in the 1st year of the rayne of King Edward the Sixth." — (Thus in 1547.) *Notes and Queries*, April 13, 1872, p. 308. — That valuable and learned work "The Lay Folks Mass Book, Offices in English according to the use of York, from Manuscripts of the Xth to the XVth century", by Canon T. F. Simmons, 8vo, London 1879, publisht by the Early English Text Society, contains a number of *Bidding Prayers*. One of these, date 1405, at p. 65, has the passus: — "And for al pilgrymes and palmers and for al that any gode gates [ways, journies = pilgrimages] has [have] gane or sal [shall] ga. and for thaim that brigges and stretes [BRIDGES and ROADS] makes [make] and amendes [restore] that god grant us parte of thare gode dedes and thaim of oures." Thus we see how Holy Church continued publicly to acknowledge the merit of Bridge-building, &c. The oldest enactment in England which has come down to us, is in the Canons under king Edgar, 959—975; and the custom continues among us down to nearly 1700!

#### AXLUNDA, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 626. — Perhaps ABORFASTR, as one word. Compare the N. I. AFRAFASTR.

#### BÄGBY, ÖLAND, SWEDEN.

Another instance of *SIA* to *SEE*, *bless*. It is Lilj. 1302, Bautil 1059, Bure Ms. Runah. No. 590. (For formulas of *Blessing*, see ABRAHAMSTORP, and the list there added).

KUDBRATR AUK SUAIN RAISTU STAINA DINA AFTIR BRUÐR SIN, AT. KUD ATA SIA.

KUTHBRAT (= GUDBRAND) EKE SUAIN RAISED STONE THIS AFTER BROTHER SIN (*their*), AT.

*May-GOD the-OND (soul) SEE (bless)!*

#### BÄLLESTAD, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 643. — The 2nd Part of "Upplands Forminnesförenings Tidskrift" (8vo. Stockholm 1872) has now (May 1873) been publisht. The Äggeby stone, Lilj. 378, has been re-found, and is given at p. 69, with the verses as corrected from the stone by Docent Hjalmar Kempff, p. 80. They are:

MUNU IKI MIRKI

MUN (*may*) NOT grave-MARKS

MIRI UIRDA.

MORE (*greater*) WORTH (*be*).

In consequence of this new formula, I have re-examined the Bällestad stone, No. 1, and think my reading must be amended. The block is very rough below, and the rune-carver, as is usual in such cases, has past over this ragged surface. Therefore nothing wants before the first word, UK, or after the word DIKSTAD, but IAR will be = HIAR, *HERE*. I take M to have fallen away before the line beginning with UNU, I after the line ending with KIR, and DU. ɀ before the line beginning with IR. In this way UNUIKI and the strange IR will disappear, and the real text will be:

UK, ARKIL UK KUI

DIR KARIDU IAR DIKSTAD.

(m)UNU IKI MIRKI

MAIRI UIRDA

DAN ULFS SUNIR

IFTIR KIR(i)pu.

ɀIR SUINAR

AT SIN FADUR.

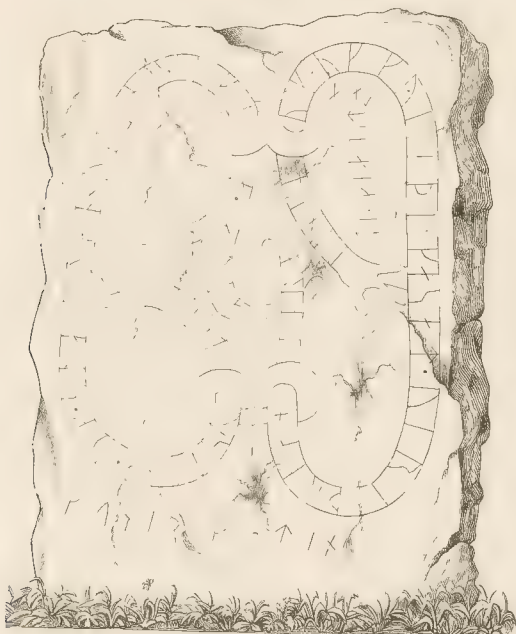
UK, ARKIL EKE (and) KUI  
 THEY GARED (made) HERE a-THING-STEAD.  
 MUN (may) NOT grave-MARKS  
 MORE (greater) WORTH (be)  
 THAN-here ULF'S SONS  
 AFTER-him GAREL.  
 THOSE SWAINS (youths)  
 AT (to) SIN (their) FATHER.

Their Father's name was therefore ULF. Compare the like closing lines on the Sälva stone, Upland:

KUIR SUINAR	GOOD SWAINS (youths)
KIARDU AT SIN FADUR.	GARED (raised) AT (to) SIN (their) FATHER.
MO IGI BRUTAR-KUML	MAY NOT BAIRD (road) -CUMBELS (marks)
BETRA UERDA.	BETTER WORTH (be).

P. 645. (No. 2). — As I said, the Bällestad (or Bellstad) stones were handled by me under great disadvantages. No one in Sweden could tell me anything about them, and I had to do the best I could with the old materials, making up a text out of the several copies before me. By good luck Hr. Dybeck has been able to restore these blocks to us. They are Nos. 108 and 109 in his just publisht (Jan. 1869) Section II Part 3 of his Sverikes Runurkunder. I find that, after all, I made but few mistakes. The proposed epigraph on stone A (Dybeck's 108) is *faultless*, as far as what is left goes.

But that on stone B (Dybeck's 109) has one error in my text in line 5, another in line 6, and a whole word amiss in line 8. For the stone (in Dybeck's plate) has in line 5 KURIM not KIRIM; in line 6 UIRIDUF, not UIRKUF; and in line 8 TI KIATT not TUI AT IT. I therefore re-engrave this stone B. Photoxylograph by Rosenstand from Dybeck's plate as aforesaid; and, with these alterations, the text is:



RISTU STINA  
 UK STAF UAN

UK IN MIKLA  
 AT IARTIKNUM.  
 UK KURID  
 KASA AT UIRI-DUF.  
 ON I KRATI  
 KIATIT LATA (gen. pl.).  
 KUNIR IK STIN.

RAISED these-STONES  
 EKE (and) this-STAVE (mark-pillar) WAN (wrought)  
 UK YON (the) MICKLE (Great)  
 AT (as) YEA-TOKENS (= honor-signs),  
 EKE CAREL-he (made, built up)  
 a-CHESS (beacon) AT (to) UIRI-THUF.  
 HE IN CRETE  
 had-GAITEN (guarded) the-LANDS.  
 KUNIR HACKT (carved) this-STONE.

Thus the archaism ON falls away. But, instead, we get the form forms UIRI-DUF and KIATIT, and the remarkable fact that we have here for the first time on these stones mention of CRETE, which had thus been for some years under the protection of UIRI-DUF. He clearly acted as an Imperial Landward-man or Guardian, a military Governor or Commander at the head of Greek and "Barbarian" troops, a Garrison in the pay of the court of Byzantium, for Constantinople still held this ile. — In this early period Crete changed hands many times. The Romans won it 69 years before Christ. At the division of the East and the West, it went with the Eastern Empire. The Saracens seized it in 823, and built Candia, whence the whole island was often called Candia or Candy. In 962 the Mohammedans were driven out, and Creta was restored to the Eastern Empire by Nicephorus Phocas. He gave the ile its own rulers, the last of whom was Bonifacius, Marquis of Montserrat, from whom the Venetians bought it in 1204. Thus this Bällestad minne must have been raised between 962 and 1204. Probably its date is somewhere about 1000—1050.<sup>1</sup>

In the Orkney Saga this island is mentioned as KRIT, fem. King Alfred, in his Orosius (Thorpe, 8vo, London 1853, lib. I, ad fin. p. 260) speaks of it as "CRETO pæt igland", and at p. 262 "se CRETISCA [sæ]". — Scores of the old rune-stones speak of the Warings and Captains and Shipmen (and perhaps, now and then, Merchants or Pilgrims going to or from the Holy Land) who served "in Greece", "in Greekland", who "gained wealth in Greece", who "died in Greekland", who mere "Greek-farers", visited "Greek Havens" &c. in the 10th, 11th, 12th centuries. But rare indeed is a sarsen on which, as here, is found the name of any particular place or province in the far-off dim Byzantium.<sup>2</sup>

As the runish UIRLAND is substantially our ESTLAND (properly only a province of it), perhaps UIRI-THUF may have gotten his prefix from some great foray or exploit in that then Finnish folkship.

Some years ago I published the substance of the above remarks and re-engraved this Bällestad stone No. 2, in "Ny Illustrerad Tidning", folio, Stockholm, April 10, 1869. — Sept. 1874. In "Upplands Fornminnesf. Tidskrift", Stockh. 1873, pp. 82, 83, are two widely differing readings, by Prof. C. Sæve and Prof. S. Bugge, both of them, in my opinion, failures.

<sup>1</sup> See the remarks on the Lincoln stone in the word-list, under FÆHIDO.

<sup>2</sup> About this time one of the oldest Canons of Lund, the Dean Andreas, died in CRETE on his way as a Pilgrim to Palestine. "vi. Idus Octobris. Obiit Andreas Decanus in Creta insula, eundo ad Terram sanctam". Liber Daticus Lund. vetustior. (Scriptores Rerum Danicarum. Vol. 3, folio, Hafniæ 1774, p. 560). — Nicetas Choniata, one of the Byzantine historians, incidentally mentions Northern Warings ("axe-bearers") on service in Crete in the third year of Alexius Manuelsen, or anno 1181. (See Nicetas Choniatae Historia, ex rec. Im. Bekkeri. Bonnae 1835, 8vo, p. 342, Alexius Manuelsen Comm. f. ch. 161). — In the same way we get accidental notice of a Garrison of Warings at Baffa (Bassa, Basta, &c.) in Cyprus, about the year 1150. The Abbot Nicholas, in his Geographical treatise says: "I Kipr er borg (er) Bessa heitir: þar er Væringja seta; þar andadiz Eiríkr Danakonungr Sveinsson bróðir Knúts hins helga." (In Cyprus is the town of Bessa, where there is a Garrison of Warings. Here died Erik Svensson, king of Denmark, brother of Saint Knut). Werlauff, Symbolas, Hauniæ 1821, p. 27, 4to.



I add the following, in further illustration of STAKES, STAVES, and olden burial-mounds. — In a letter dated Camp Chumpai, Feb. 21, 1872, describing the Lushai Expedition (Times of India, March 11, 1872, Supplement, p. 6), we have the following account of an Indian grave-mound: — "The troops penetrated into the centre of the village, and were there halted in an open space facing the great prayer-house, alongside of which was a large square enclosure, the tomb of Vonolell, Lalboorah's father, a chief of great power and influence in his day. The tomb was simply a platform of stone raised about two feet from the ground and about 30 feet square, in the centre of which was fixed an upright slab about 7 feet in height. The entire structure was surrounded with stakes, each surmounted in the usual Lushai fashion with skulls of wild beasts and other trophies of the chase; but the feature of greatest interest was a forked stick driven into the ground, from the upper limb of which hung suspended the head, arm, and foot of a Sokie killed in the fight a few days previous. The skull was battered in, and the whole presented a most ghastly appearance. Sets of fetters and several bundles of sticks rudely carved into the likeness of a man, to represent the victims of former fights, completed this barbarous mausoleum, raised by the bereaved Impanu to the memory of her great husband." — STAF is also used in many parts of Sweden for a boundary-staff, limit-stake. — I may add that STAKE and STANG are very nearly allied. In some dialects *both* these words may be slurred into a *common* sound, something like STAI or STEI. Thus in Fyn, Denmark, where end -NG becomes nearly a faint half-nasal, so faint as scarcely to be heard by other provincials, STANG, (STAN, STAIN, STAI') becomes nearly STEI. In this shape it has even crept into Danish law-books. For instance, in C. A. Trap, "Fremstilling af de gjældende Lovbestemmelser om Hegn og Fred", ed. 2da, Kjøbenh. 1847, 8vo, p. 4: "STEI- STÆNGE- og FLYTTE-GJÆRDER. Steiene eller Stængerne maae ikke være over 5 Tommer fra hverandre." Thus whether they said STÆNG-GJÆRDE or STEI-GJÆRDE (the latter a mere provincial sound of the former), all farmers would understand the author. — J. Grimm (D. Mythol. p. 1088) reminds us of Paul the Deacon's remark (5, 34), that the Lombards planted wooden Staves near the graves of those who had fallen in battle or abroad, and the tops of these Wands were crowned with the figure of a Dove gazing at the tomb. In Serbia the melancholy and lamenting Dove is replaced by the sorrowing Cuckoo; as many Cuckoos are painted or carved on the wooden Grave-cross as there are afflicted kinsfolk, especially sisters. (Montenegro, Stuttgart, 1837, p. 99, 100).

#### BARNSPIKE, CUMBERLAND, ENGLAND.

Vol. 2, p. 648. — With regard to the alleged injury to the Barnspike inscription, the late Rev. John Maughan wrote me in a letter dated Bewcastle Rectory, Feb. 3, 1869: "I am sorry to see your observations about Barnspike being painted. I cannot think it. I never saw it, and never heard of it. The two men who took the photograph were painters by trade, and noticed nothing of the kind. The scratches have done it no real harm. Mr. Little, the neighbouring farmer, who let me see the inscription, told me at the time that he and Watson had on different occasions scratched the letters to get the moss out of them, trying to find some letters which they could read. This I believe is all the fresh cutting which the letters have received. They are in all other respects the same as before, only showing whiter where the dark grey moss has been scratched out. I fancy they will be as grey as before in a short time, and the inscription will be again as good as ever it was. None of the letters are in the least injured." — Nov. 1880. Canon James Simpson, of Kirkby Stephen, Westmoreland, has kindly forwarded me a Rubbing and two Squeezes of this inscription. As far as I can see, the rock has HRAITA, not HRAITE. All the rest remains unchanged. — See HESSILGIL-CRAGS, farther on.

#### BERGA, SÖDERMANLAND, SWEDEN.

In R. Dybeck's Svenska Run-urkunder, 8vo, Stockholm 1857, p. 12, pl. 61, 62, we have a grave-hew on which stand two stones, 'apparently heathen. The larger, about 6 feet high, is rune-inscribed, within a worm-scroll. The smaller, more than 4 feet high, is carved only with a kind of

ornament something like a Cap or Headdress, below which is what looks very much like an Ox-head &c. The former is damaged on one side at the top and in one spot below. I take it to read (A being = Y or OE; and, as final, -R or Y or OE):

YLIFAUIN (? = ALFUIN) I SYN MIK A(rist at U)KO, DULR A UAMNK(u)M (? = UAM-INGUM).

MANA-ARAR

LIKU IFT.

YLIFAUIN IN SYN ME A-RISTED (*inscribed, at = in memory of U*)K, THYLE ON (at) UAM-INGS.

MAUN (*remind, speak of him*) these-ARES (*honor-stones*)

LONG AFTER-him!

I take SYN (ac. or dat. s.) and UAMNKUM (dat. pl. ? UAM-MEADOWS) to be place-names. — DULR (ac. sing.) I look upon as the same most interesting Priestly or Legal title, *Speaker, Orator, Law-sayer*, which we have so seldom and understand so little. Every fresh example is therefore worth its weight in gold. — IFT is a kind of bind.

### BJÄLBO, EAST GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 656. — This stone still lives, but has not yet been re-redd. See P. A. Sæve, *Antiqvarisk Tidskrift för Sverige*, 8vo, Vol. 1, Stockholm 1864, p. 113. — I have since found an independent drawing by Elias Brenner, in a 4to Ms. of rune-monuments copied about 1690, preserved in the National Library, Stockholm. He puts the break at a spot slightly different, gives the staves at the top nearly as KRIRITIA, and has 4NFI for 4NFI. His last U in SUNU is a full N.

### BJÖRKÖ, SMÅLAND, SWEDEN.

In reading the Old-Northern runic monuments, I have everywhere endeavored to show that there is no sudden jump in language, that older forms only gradually pass away, and that many archaistic words and word-shapes undoubtedly have existed — locally or dialectically — on pieces bearing the *later* or Scandinavian staves as well as in Mss. far later still. Among these forn grammar-marks is the 3rd person plural of the past tense, which in *all* our other Scando-Gothic talks (the Mæso-Gothic, Old-English, Old-Frisic, Old-Saxon, Old-High-German, Middle-High-German, Modern German, &c.) *always* ended in -N, and which therefore by analogy *must* have existed also in the *oldest* Scandinavian, tho it rapidly fell away there as in the Infinitive and so often elsewhere, just as it also died out in English and other tungs. We can see this early crumbling of the nasal in an undoubted and per-antique example, the North-English Ruthwell Cross, whose date is about the year 680. On this venerable and magnificent pillar, with its lines of verse in Old-English runes, we have 5 verbs in the 3rd pers. plural past. Of these, 3 still have the olden -N (A-LEGDUN, GI-STODDUN, BI-HEALDUN), but in 2 it has fallen away (BI-SMÆRÆDU, KWOMU). See my Vol. 1, p. 421. On Old-Northern runic laves found in Scandinavia we have only one which has a verb in the 3rd pers. pl. past. This is the Tune stone in Norway, which I have judged may date from about the 3rd century after Christ. (See my Vol. 1, p. 247, and Vol. 3, p. 87). Its risting ends with the words DELIDUN (SET)A WODURIDE STÆINE, which I have said can only mean, that the heirs and heiress mentioned *DEALED to-SET (shared in setting) to-WODURID this-STONE*.

On Scandinavian-runic pieces I have only found one example, and this a doubtful one (the copy being bad and the stone now *lost*), namely, the Swedish Östberga block — dating from heathen times — which apparently has the word RAISDUN, *RAISED*, 3 pl. past., *RAISED STONE THIS*, &c. See my Vol. 2, p. 766. — I now add a second Scando-runic instance, also so far doubtful, *in that the stone is broken at the part where the verb occurs*. Among the few verbs in the plural past on Scandian stones is SUIKA, *to SWIKE*, betray. We have it as follows, particularly in a characteristic formula telling us that the deceast had died by the hand of a traitor.

3 Sing. Past. *Söderby*, Upland, Sweden. Ends: EN SASUR TRAB HAN, OUK KAD NIDIKS UERK, SEIK FELKA SIN. KUD HELB HUT HNS. (EN (*but*) SASUR, DRAPE (*slew*) HIM, EKE (*and*) GAT (*did*) NITHING'S (*scoundrel's, coward's*) WORK, SWAKE (*betrayed*) FELLOW (*comrade*) SIN (*his*) (= *his brother-in-arms*). GOD HELP OND (*soul*) HIS! (See my Vol. 2, p. 705).

3 Plural Past. *Sjonhem*, Gotland, Sweden. Ends: HAN SIKU BLAKUMEN I UTFARU. KUD HAELEIN\_ (nu ant auk) SIAL RODFOAR. KUD SUIKI DA AR HAN SUIU. (HIM SWAKE (*betrayed, slew*) WALLACH-MEN (*Wallachians*) IN *his*-OUTFARE (*journey, expedition*). GOD HELP NÔW (*the-ond and*) SOUL of-ROTHPOS! may-GOD SWIKE (*betray, avenge*) THOSE AS (*who*) HIM SWAKE (*betrayed*). — *Lena*, Upland, Sweden. Ends: KUD SUIKI DA IR IA SUIKU. (GOD SWIKE (*avenge, punish*) THOSE AS (*who*) IA SWAKE (*betrayed*)!

3 Sing. Pres. Subjunctive. See *Sjonhem*, *Lena*, above. — Past Participle, n. s. m. *Elfkarleby*, Upland, Sweden. Much broken. Ends: HAN UAS SUIKN (. . . . . kup hialbi ant) ANS. — (HE WAS SWIKEN (*betrayed*) . . . . . God help ond) HIS! — *Nora*, Upland, Sweden. First half ends: HON UARD SUIKUIN O FINAIDI. KUD HIALBI ON HONS. (HE WORTH (*became*) SWIKEN, (*betrayed, = he was murdered*) ON FINHEDEN (*in Upland*). GOD HELP OND (*soul*) HIS!

Infinitive. *Guldrupa*, Gotland, Sweden. In a fragmentary scribble painted on the wall of the church is SUIKA.

Being now familiar with this word and the way in which it is used, we shall, I think, be convinced that it also occurs on the Björkö block in Småland, a piece of which Liljegren (No. 1213) has made nonsense, partly because he had only access to the faulty drawing in Bantil (No. 1023), partly as he did not see that a couple of the runes at the bends are, for convenience of reading, cut reverser or upside down — as so often — so that he gives the simple DA IR (or possibly RAIM) as the gibberish ENIR! — In addition to Göransson's bad woodcut I have had access to drawings made by J. E. Lagergren in 1816. One copy is in his Ms. Brefsamling, 4to, p. 110; another is in his Ms. Smålands Runor, 4to, p. 47, (manuscripts now in the National Library, Stockholm), and both agree. He gives the height of the stone as about 5 feet 4 inches, about 2 feet 6 its greatest breadth, and Ennes adds that it is lying in the inner side of the ring-wall round the church. But a bit of the top on the left is broken off, as is part of the lower end, where about two words want. At the top of the stone, within the rune-wind, a large cross is carved. The risting begins on the left, low down, runs up and down again to the right, has past over to the left again (the runes now gone at the base) and ends on the left with the letters . . . UN. All is clear and plain, save where the stone is broken. If we now examine carefully, we shall, I think, admit that the last word has been the verb SUIKUN, in the 3rd person plural past. The following is the text as given by Lagergren:

ƿƿƿƿƿƿƿ : ƿƿ : ƿƿƿ : ƿ(.....)ƿ : ƿƿƿ : ƿƿ : ƿƿƿƿƿ : ƿƿ : ƿƿƿ : (.....)ƿ :

KUDFASTR SETI STIN HI(ftir auþ)UUL, FADU SIN. SUIKUI KUD DA IR (han suik)UN.

That STI is = STIN and ƿ is DA, as so often, is certain, as also that HI... is the common HIFTIR = IFTIR. There has then followed a mansname ending in UUL, of which the first 3 letters, or so about, for there is no room for more, are broken away. I know of no such name ending in UUL but AUDUUL; this was probably the dead man's name. Then comes the common FADU — FADUR. By comparison with the same formula elsewhere, we are pretty sure that KUD SUIKUI DA IR must have had a verb and its objective noun or pronoun. But these were scarcely other than HAN (HIM) and SUIKUN (SWAKE, betrayed). The N. I. SVIKJA, SVIKVA, SYKVA governs an accusative, but in other dialects (particularly O. Engl) also a dative. I therefore translate:

KUTHFAST SET this-STONE AFTER (auth)UUL, FATHER SIN (his). SWIKE GOD (may God avenge, punish) THEM AS (him swak)E (betrayed)!

## BJÖRKÖ, SÖDERMANLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2. p. 658, line 4 from bottom. — For Vesterling read Vesterljung. — The last word, UADRA, should properly not be translated *be*, but *be ever, last, stand*. — For the BJÖRKÖ stone in UPLAND see under RÖK. p. 61 of this vol.

## BJÖRNUM, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Another plain instance of † for 𐌖, AN. is found on the Björnum stone in Gryta Socken, Liljegren No. 74; Dybeck's folio series I, No. 132; Bure. Ms. Runah. No. 142. This gives STIN DANSI by 𐌺𐌹𐌹𐌹. 𐌹𐌹.𐌹. The s is broken out between the † and l, for the block is now in 3 pieces. The whole risting is:

KRUK LIT RITA STIN DAN(s)I APTIR KARA, FADUR SIN. KUD IALBI HONS AT UK-KUDS MUDIR.  
 KRUK LET WRITE STONE THIS AFTER KARI, FATHER SIN (*his*). GOD HELP HIS OND (*soul*) EKE (*and*)  
 GOD'S MOTHER!

## BOGESUND, WEST-GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 813. — Prof. C. Sävje looks upon HUAF as = HUALF. not HUARF, as HUALF signified not only *vault* but also *stone-laid grave*, *stone-kist*, perhaps even *cumbel*. In Gotland HVALV, fem., is *stone-kist*, but HVALV, neut., is *vault*. In West-Gotland (Lilj. 1639) HVALF is masc. — P. 814. — He also says we may take † in UORN as = †, thus UORA, when we shall have I UORA AKRU, the latter fem., like the West-Gotlandish EKRA.

## BRÄCKESTAD, SWEDEN. See under KORPEBRO.

## BRENNER, ZILLERTHAL, TYROL.

As yet I have seen or heard nothing which can show that the Germanic clans or the Saxon clans had the art of writing, much less the Runes, before Roman Civilization and the Christian Church gave them the Latin Alphabet. All *fast* Runic monuments are found in the North and its colonies. Hitherto every Runic block said to have been discovered in Germanic or Saxon countries has turned out to be a misunderstanding or a forgery. — I have now the pleasure of making public a Rune-stone — as far as I can see — perfectly genuine, and found in a district *at present* largely German. For this I have to thank the great kindness of Professor Japetus Steenstrup, who has forwarded me the necessary information and the following drawing, as communicated to him by the happy discoverer, District Doctor Dan. Hen. Otto Cold of Frederiksværk. This gentleman has just (Oct. 1874) returned from a tour in Tyrol, and states that in a hill-pass over the Alps, a kind of side-glen near Brenner on the road to Karlsteg in Zillertal, he met with the sarsen in question. It was high up in the ancient mountain-pass, and was overgrown with moss. Its surface on the side towards the south-east was naturally smooth, this even part being 32 inches high and 35 broad. Dr. Cold happened to sit opposite this large stone, and thought there were marks like letters on it. So he scraped away the lichen and found real characters. These he carefully copied, comparing his transcript many times with the original. The drawing is thus:



The first stave was so indistinct, from the peeling away of the surface at the spot, that he could not clearly make out whether there were only 2 straight lines or whether they run together at



the top, but he thought the latter. This obscure stave he gives *dotted*. The runes were 7 inches high. Any traveler who goes from Mayerhoff, half an hour's walk before the crossing at Karlssteg, will find the block.

So far Dr. Cold, whom we all heartily thank for his sharp eye and ready hand. All is thus plain and simple. There is no reason to fancy the piece a modern risting, either for joke or deceit. It appears very old. Let us now examine the letters. There is no doubt that the first has been  $\mathfrak{h}$  (u). The second is  $\mathfrak{k}$  (x). The next is  $\mathfrak{f}$  (f). The fourth is  $\mathfrak{o}$  (o), for the barbarous mark on the left is evidently a mere flaw on the surface. Then we have  $\mathfrak{r}$  (r). Last the usual  $\mathfrak{a}$  (a). — Now all this spells UNFOTA, a mansname, thus the name of the deceast in whose memory the runes were cut. Either, dead of sickness, he lies buried under the boulder, or he perisht in some deep chasm nearby in the winter, when the ground was covered with snow, and these letters were his only memorial. Such things happen every year in Alpine districts, and where nothing more can be done the peasants raise a wooden Cross near the spot. — Can this stone be used as an argument for the use of Runes in German and Saxon lands? We shall see. Let us first try to guess at the date. Clearly the staves all belong to the Scandinavian or later Futhork. In this alphabet the characters for o and a are  $\mathfrak{o}$  or  $\mathfrak{a}$  (or some variation) and  $\mathfrak{r}$  or  $\mathfrak{t}$  (or some variation). In the Old-Nortern or longer stave-row they are  $\mathfrak{x}$  and  $\mathfrak{y}$ . Now the younger alphabet begins to develop more rapidly about the 8th century. It is very unlikely that this o and a, especially the o, could have been carved on this stone *before* the 8th century. Here then is one limit. Then the language. We have UN, with the N. In Scandian dialects, as we know, this N largely fell away and became U in Denmark, o in Sweden, &c. By the 11th age it had nearly died out. Thus another opposite limit. Add the a-ending, as on so many pieces with the elder runes, where the later tung has i. — Thus a *heathen grave-minne*, from the 8th or 9th year-hundred. But were there any heathen Germans in Tyrol at that time? I never heard of any. Tyrol was christianized as early as the 3rd and 4th century. And had Tyrol any Runes? Never heard of. Even if once existing, they must have died out — so strong was Roman and Christian culture — long long before the 8th or 9th age. But the letters are those of the *later* alphabet. No German has yet claimed the Scandinavian or later Runes as German. And Christian Civilization was in full force in Tyrol from the 8th to the 11th century. This period belongs to the glare of parchment history. No author mentions one word about Runes or Heathendom in Tyrol in that epoch. Scandinavia *was* heathen in the 8th age, and in the 9th, and mostly in the 10th, and partly in the 11th. And Scandinavians — as soldiers and merchants and travelers — then as now were found everywhere. It is therefore both possible and probable that a pagan Scandinavian perisht at that time near the Brenner pass, and that a comrade carved his funeral stone. Or, by possibility, as the stone is in a seldom traverst by-way, very high up and in a desert region, some one may have cut his own name as a scribble, to announce to such as might come *after* him that he had been there *before* them! However this may be, we have here a monument of great interest, probably carved in the 8th century after Christ. Let us hope that some German runologist will visit the spot, dig so as to find the grave (if any be there), make a large drawing of the stone, and publish what German savans may think of it. *Audi et alteram partem*.

I know of no mansname UNFOTA in any German or Saxon document. In Scandinavia it is excessively scarce, and only found in the later form OFOTL. — The above in substance appeared in Danish in "Illustreret Tidende", folio, Kjobenhavn 1874, 18th of October. I sent several copies to Germany, and privately begged that the subject might be taken up there. But, as far as I know, my little paper has never been translated into German, and no steps have been taken there to examine the stone or its inscription. So I leave it as I found it — a *Scandinavian memorial*. It will not help to look upon it (tho it bears no Cross or Prayer) as Christian and late, say from the 11th century. At this time Pilgrimages from Scandinavia, especially to St. James of Compostella, were in full swing, and crowds of people, high and low, ecclesiastics and laymen, crost the Alps on their way south. Besides, the N in UNFOTA points much further back.

## BROBY, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

This stone, in Korsta Parish, has long since disappeared. I have been waiting for information about it from Prof. C. Sæve's hand. He has now treated it in the lately published (Dec. 1875) "Upplands Fornminnesförenings Tidskrift", Part 4, 8vo. Stockholm 1875, p. 40. But he has nothing to say. I therefore give it here from Göransson's Bautil, No. 225. Liljegren (No. 590) quietly *alters* the plain ITAIN to STAIN. Every other word in this risting being apparently quite correct, I cannot see why ITAIN should be changed to suit a theory.

ANUNTR UK TUSTI DAIR RITI ITAIN IFTIR ALA, FADUR SIN, UK KUNAR BRU (= BRUDUR).  
 ANUNT EKE TUSTI THEY WROTE *this-TINE* (grave-pillar) AFTER ALL FATHER SIN (their), EKE-after  
 KUNAR their-BROTHER

## BRYNDERSLEV, N. JUTLAND, DENMARK.

Vol. 2, p. 659. — Jan. 1881. Early in this century a small bit of Ochre-stone, about 3 inches long by 1½ broad and deep, came to the Natural-history collections of the School in Ålborg, N. Jutland. It is now found to be inscribed. At the top, on the left, are 2 lines of small common runes, probably from about the 12th century:

KIRKIA

ER KRIST.



KIRK (CHURCH)

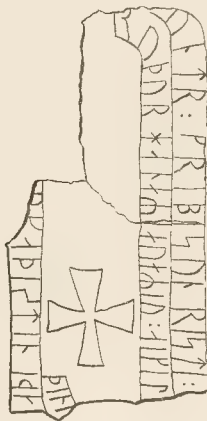
IS CHRIST.

Most likely some visitor to Brynderslev was struck with these words on the great block, picked up the little stone in the church-yard, and wrote the runes as a memorandum.

## DANMARK, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 665. — A letter to me from the late Prof. C. Sæve shows that the stone has KUM not KUN, and NUKIN not AUKIN, and that the first copies issued by Dybeck also had NUKIN. Prof. S. suggests, what is most likely, that AR-NUKIN means *YEAR-NEEGEN, bowed down by years*. See his reading in "Upplands Fornminnesförenings Tidskrift", 7, Stockholm 1878, 8vo. p. 35.

## DELSBO, HELSINGLAND, SWEDEN.



This stone is of course unintelligible in Liljegren (No. 1683), whose only authority is the barbarously copied fragment in the "Delsbo Illustrata" of K. N. Lenæus, Stockholm 1764, 8vo. p. 179. In 1844, however, the Rector of Delsbo, the Rev. L. Landgren, found in the churchyard another piece of the same slab, and in 1847 forwarded a good drawing of both pieces to Prof. C. Sæve, who favored me with a facsimile in 1860. I could not then make it out, as little as Sæve himself. The large lower piece was the one given by Lenæus; the bit fitting-in on the top was the fragment happily recovered by Landgren. — I now fancy I have solved the mystery, and give the tracing Heliotyped by Pacht. — I think that the whole will be clear, and that the still missing letters may be reasonably supplied, if we take the RUDUR to be *yet another* instance of a feminine in the genitive with the frequent local archaistic -UR ending.

As, from the bend, we can see that the rune-lines have *not* gone high at the top, only a couple of letters are wanting there. The first word was therefore almost certainly the common mans-name ANUNTR. By the peculiar position of DINI on the left below, only a few staves can want at that end. And as the break there is *slanting*, there is about 1 character fewer in the last left line. Thus, say, 4 on the extreme right, 4 (or: and 3) in the inner right line, 3 (or: and 2) on the outward left line. The carver began this last left line with letters to be redd from below, as we see in the still left -ADL. The verb was probably FÄDL, *FAWED, got ready*. But the stone-smith soon found this reading from below inconvenient, and placed the remaining words in the left line so, as to be redd from *the top downwards*, like *all the rest* of the inscription. — I therefore believe that we cannot go very far wrong, if we divide and read:

(an)UNTER, KIRIBIS SUN, RISI (kuml) RUDUR, HANAR A UAR-U. AIKIL (han f)ADI (auk mar)KADI STIN DINI.  
an-UNT (= ANUND), KRIEIS (= GRIPS), SON, RAISED (these-cumbels = these the grave-marks), of-RUTHA. BER ON  
(at) VAREY. AIKIL (= EGIL) (he f)AWED (prepared, etc) MARKT (inscribed) STONE THIS.

As we have runic instances of both HRUDR and RUDR, masc., HRUDA and RUDA, fem., — nothing being more common than the dialectic absence or presence of the H, — so RUDUR is here the same as HRUDUR, a woman's name in the *genitive*, as we all see from the following HANAR = HER, gen. sing. fem. *in apposition*. — VAR-IU can only be a place-name, added either because her family estate was there, or else to distinguish this RUDA from some other lady of the same name. The variations of (this word for EX, ILE, I-land) AU are manifold in our old dialects, especially in the oblique cases. We have runic -IU elsewhere as a dat. sing. Where *this* VAR-EY was I cannot say. An iland so called is in a channel to Bindalsford and Folden, in Naumdal, Norway. This, by marriage and removal, *may* have been the spot intended. But there must have been other VAR-EYS. Steadnames beginning with VAR were common. Perhaps there was a VAR-EY near Delsbo in Helsingland, all which country, as we know, swarms with lakes and ilands.

## ECKERSHOLM, SMÅLAND, SWEDEN.

This stone has hitherto only been known from the woodcut in Göransson's Bautil (No. 1053) and the text in Liljegren (No. 1245), on neither of which we could depend, as little as on what is found elsewhere (Wieselgren, Ny Smålands Beskrifning, Vol. 3, p. 29, Sjöberg, Samlingar, Vol. 3, p. 130). But I have now been able to go thro J. E. Lagergren's 4to Ms. Letter-book and his 4to Ms. Smålands Runor, valuable old-lore volumes preserved in the National Library, Stockholm. Both (the former at p. 31, dated Tofteryd 1817, the latter at p. 131, 2) handle the *Rasstenen*, as this old block used to be called. It stands on the high bank of the Låga-stream near Eckersholm Ironworks, east of the house, on a road 4 Swedish miles from Frigstad. Lagergren gives a new careful drawing, and we now see that the inscription really is (turning round a couple of reverst staves:

[illegible]

ANIKR, KULIR, AUKR, RUDKURN, RIDI<sub>1</sub>ITYN DANI<sub>1</sub>ISUNR, AUTI STIN F (= fa<sub>1</sub>bur).

ANIK. KULIR. AIK. RUTHKURN. REDDE (counsel'd, bade, let raise) TINE (pillar) THIS, they-his-SONS.

AFTER STIN, *their-FATHER*

ADUR may once have stood on the stone. If not, F stands for FADUR as elsewhere. — Thus we have here ITYN and ISUNR.

## EK, WEST-GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 668. — Has been again drawn and engraved by Adjunct Karl Torin, of Skara, in his *Vestergötlands Runinskrifter*, Part 2, p. 26, Pl. 54.

## EKEBY, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

No. 645 in Bautil, the stone still perfect. In Dybeck's *Sv. Runurkunder*, fol., II, No. 275, where it is again given, we see that it is terribly broken and most of the inscription has perished. What is left usually confirms Bautil, but corrects it in some places. Putting the two together the text is, apparently all in verse:

URTR LAT RTA  
ITN UIKS.  
RUN-RIF KAF AIKILI.  
IN IRNBIN IA ALLR.  
KATU RUN-M HU' PAN  
D M RADA KAN.

We are here struck by the many contractions, RTA = RITA, ITN = ITIN, RUN-M = RUN-MADR, D = DAIM, M = MANNI, and by the rare  $\sharp$  for B, while the RUN-RIF KAF is partly in Helsing-runes. Hence the last 2 *riming* lines, announcing a difficulty to the rune-reader. IRNBIN is a variant of or equal to IRNBIARN, ARNBIARN, &c., and IA is equal to IAX, IUK, &c. ALLR is followed by RUNA or RUNAR understood. I therefore translate:

URD LET WRITE  
this-TINE (grave-pillar) of-UIG.  
The-RUNE-RIB GAVE AIGILI (EGIL),  
IN (but) IRNBIN HEWED ALL-the-runes.  
This-GUESSING (riddle) the-RUNE-MAN HU' FOUND  
for-THAT man-who REDE-it CAN.

I do not remember to have seen the word RIF, ac. s. n., (- RIB, slab) elsewhere, as applied to a grave-stone. GATU, ac. s. f., *riddle*, is a not less costly word. The forms to *give* a rune-block, and to REDE, unlock, think out, explain, its more obscure staves, occur elsewhere. — Should all this be more or less correct, this is another example of TINE for grave-pillar.

## ENGLAND.

I extract the following, with an occasional alteration, from my pamphlet on Thunor<sup>1</sup>, pp. 43—49:

At p. 162, Vol. 1. of my O. N. R. Mon. I mentioned a few runish transliterations (Latin words but Runic letters) and oddments and scribbles in *manuscripts*, on which I did not dwell. But I referred for particulars to John M. Kemble's excellent paper on "The Runes of the Anglo-Saxons"<sup>2</sup>, where they are engraved. Several of these have since been handled by Prof. Dietrich of Marburg, but as I suppose without any result<sup>3</sup>.

The longest and most tantalizing of these manuscript-runes is the row in the Codex Caligula A, XV in the British Museum, Cottonian Library. This 4to skinbook is described by Wanley in his Catalogue p. 233. It contains a number of Latin treatises, together with many pieces in Old-English.

<sup>1</sup> Thunor the Thunderer, carved on a Scandinavian Font of about the year 1000. London (Williams and Norgate) 1878, Imp. 8vo. With many Illustrations. — The same appeared in Danish, "Tordneren Thor" (Kjøbenhavn 1878, H. H. J. Lyngø).

<sup>2</sup> Archaeologia London 1840. Vol. 28, 4to, pp. 327—372.

<sup>3</sup> See his "Drei Altheidnische Segensformeln" in M. Haupt's Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum, 13 band, Berlin 1866, pp. 198—197; and his "Fünf Northumbische Runen-sprüche" in the same magazine, pp. 104—123. I have a few words on these his efforts in my O. N. R. Mon. Vol. 2, pp. 890—2.



Religious, Computistic, Calendaric, Medical and Mixt. At the bottom of leaf 119 b and 120 a (123 b and 124 a, new pagination) are 76 large and plain later or Scandinavian runes. This curious stave-line was communicated to Hickes by Wanley, and he engraved it in his *Thesaurus*<sup>1</sup>. Thence it was copied by Tham<sup>2</sup>, and by Kemble in his fig. IV. But neither of them has attempted an exact facsimile from Hickes, and both have made one mistake. In the word *UIGI* they give the third stave as *Y* (thus *UIKI*), instead of *U* (o), which Hickes plainly has. Wishing perfect exactness, I begged Edw. A. Bond, Esq., now Principal Librarian of the British Museum, our gifted English palæographer, to assist me, and he kindly came to my help in Nov. 1876. He explained that the codex is still in the Museum, and that the transcript published by Hickes was quite correct. The section containing the runes was written, he says, before the year 1075, the year 1074 being the latest date entered. The length of the rune-lines was dictated by the breadth of the page. As many runes were written continuously in one line as one page could hold. Thus at the bottom of leaf 119 b we have 40 staves, ending with *DIK*. This line is continued and concluded with 36 letters at the bottom of the next leaf, 120 a, beginning with *DORSA*. "The reading of the runes is quite correct throughout", Mr. Bond added. Thus our glorious Hickes is again found to be trustworthy. In both Hickes and Kemble and the original skinbook we have *KURIL*, altered by Tham into *KURL*. I agree with Dietrich that this is probably a mistake for *KURL*, the name with which the inscription begins. It may indeed have been a colloquial or slurred softened form. Of such things we have many examples. But this "pet" pronunciation would scarcely have been adopted in the one line, and not in the other. It is therefore apparently a clerical slip of the copyist. For these mss. are often copied the one from the other, and Runic Alphabets and other scribbles *we know* were in the same way transcribed again and again, usually with ever-added barbarizings. Nothing would be easier for a later scribe than to pass over one short side-stroke, in a piece which he perhaps imperfectly understood<sup>3</sup>. I cannot refer to any facsimile of this bookfell. It is one of those used by our lamented Mr. Cockayne in his "Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England", in which volumes so much quaint lore has been brought together. But he gives no plate of this codex. Hickes engraves the staves in 2 lines, as they stand. Kemble copied them in 3 lines, for convenience in his narrower page. To ensure perfect accuracy, Mr. Bond obligingly procured me a full-size Autotype facsimile of both lines direct from the Ms. This has been photoxylograph by Hr. Rosenstand, and is as follows:

YORIT YTRBNTR YTRBNTR YTRBNTR YTRBNTR YTRBNTR YTRBNTR YTRBNTR YTRBNTR YTRBNTR

YTRBNTR YTRBNTR YTRBNTR YTRBNTR YTRBNTR YTRBNTR YTRBNTR YTRBNTR YTRBNTR YTRBNTR

If we wish to translate this remarkable and sudden entry, in runes, in a codex containing Latin and Old-English texts, we must first carefully fix the value of the letters, their transliteration. Dietrich makes *h* sometimes *u* and sometimes *x*; *t* sometimes *a* and sometimes *e*. This system, in one and the same line, is scientifically inadmissible. The Futhork (or runic alphabet) is plainly the later or Scandinavian, and must be treated as such. The writer had no stung *t* for *d*, and *t* therefore stands for both *d* and *t*. He has a stung *k* for *g* (*Y*), and therefore *Y* is *k* and *Y* is *g*. Otherwise the characters are as usual at this period; *t* is *a*, *h* is *u*, *f* is *o*. Taking things to be so, the runes give us:

KURILSARPUARAFARDUNUFUNTINISTUDURUGIDIK

DORSATRUTINICRILSARPUARAUDPRADRAUARI

<sup>1</sup> *Linguarum Vett. Sept. Thesaurus*. Auct. G. Hickesio. Oxoniæ 1705. Pars 3. Gram. Isl. Pl. 6. Folio.

<sup>2</sup> *Anmärkningur i anledning af Herr Prof. Müllers Afhandling om Guldhornen*. Af P. Tham. Stockholm 1817, 4to.

<sup>3</sup> As of *Runes* so of *Drawings*, copied and recopied in our ancient English Mss. In his excellent treatise on the famous Cotton Ms. Claudius C. VII, now in Utrecht and called the Utrecht Psalter, Mr. Walter de Gray Birch says: "The History, Art and Palæography of the Manuscript styled the Utrecht Psalter, 8vo, London 1876, p. 121), with regard to the Utrecht codex (of about the year A.D. 800): "From this interesting passage we are now cognizant of the fact that the Utrecht Psalter gave rise to at least four copies executed with more or less faithful adherence to its archetypal teaching, in the tenth, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries." In illustration, Mr. Birch gives one drawing from the original skinbook, with the corresponding plates from 2 of the later manuscripts, all in autotype.

As far as I am aware, only 5 attempts have been made to read this difficult inscription. Two of these were by Tham, in his pamphlet on the Golden Horns (at p. 7 and again at p. 39); the 3rd was by M. F. Arendt (published by Tham as above, p. 38); the 4th by F. Magnusen in his *Runamo*, p. 604, 605; the 5th by Prof. Dietrich as afore said. Of late I have again and again directed my attention to these lines, and now believe that I have read them. As is my wont, I alter nothing, take the staves as they stand. I make them to be in an *Old Danish dialect*, and to give us a missive or message or note or report, transmitted by a heathen Dane in England to a friend, perhaps a kinsman, probably also in England. Pagan Danes and other Northmen swarmed in England in the 10th and 11th centuries. This runic message was doubtless at first cut on a little Cavel or tiny stick or tablet, and from this wooden flake it may have been copied on to parchment for *family reasons*. Of the Northmen many in the same family were pagans, others already Christians. They rapidly embraced Christianity, and a converted Scandinavian may have preserved this notice as being a document which in earlier days had announced the safety of a lady very nearly allied in blood or friendship. Runic alphabets &c. were often recopied for hundreds of years. This heathen telegram may be much earlier than the leaves on which it now stands. At all events, as Mr. Bond has shown, it cannot be later — but may be much older — than the year 1075. At this time, say in the last half of the 11th century, commotion was universal both in Scandinavia and England. All the British Isles thro, pitch battles and dreadful bickerings and accidents and inroads and murderous attacks were taking place. Many inquiries would be made as to the fate of individuals and families, and *thousands* of these carved "bits of news" would be sent by trusty hands. Often this would be by "underground railway", which has flourished in every age. We have many notices in the Sagas and elsewhere, from the earliest times down to the middle-age, of these letter-slips and other runic wooden notifications and annals and poems. In the shape of parchment and paper they continued, here and there in Scandinavia, down to the 16th century. But nearly all these wooden rune-cavels, which *have* existed by tens of thousands, have naturally disappeared. We know the extreme difficulty, at times, of translating inscriptions which are not divided into words. This especially in a period which had little of a conventional book-language, but naturally used many and mixt dialects of which we know so little, and as to which we *must* allow ourselves a certain latitude both as to spelling and form, sometimes even as to words. For certain words *may* have existed in localities and talks from which, from mere paucity of material, we have pronounced them absent. And in a writing of this kind, very many combinations of letters may be made, giving a meaning more or less possible or probable.

In the face of all this, the following attempt may not have succeeded. All I can claim for it is, that it is simple and natural and reasonable and "grammatical", and fits in with the movements of "the Wiking period", which lasted longer than is generally supposed. If the runes are not an idle scribble, they must have been meant to say *something intelligible*, and we know *so* much of the comparatively late dialects of the 10th and 11th centuries, that we ought not to be quite helpless. Should my reading be rejected, some other student may be more fortunate. The tiny rune-tane, which may have been hidden in the hair of the carrier, in my opinion said:

KURIL SARD UAR A FARDU.

NU FUNTIN (= FUNDIN) I STU.

DUR UGI DIK, DORSA TRUTIN (= DRUTIN)!

(K)URIL SARD UAR A UDRADR A UARI

<sup>4</sup> Or written, but usually cut. Parchment and inkhorns were as yet a rarity everywhere, especially among the Northern freebooters. In Shakespeare's Hamlet the young prince is sent to Britain with a letter, carried by his two comrades. But he re-writes the letter and saves his life. In the original Amleth legend of Saxo Grammaticus the two companions of Amleth carry a *WOODEN RUNE-CAVEL* ["*litteras ligno insculptas (nam id celebre quondam genus chartarum est)*"]. But he cuts away some staves and adds others, so that the letter now tells the British king to slay the messengers and to give his daughter in marriage to Amleth. *Saxons Grammatici Hist. Danica*, ed. Velschow, Vol. 1, Lib. 3, p. 145. In "The Hystorie of Hamlet", London 1608 (p. 246 of W. C. Hazlitt's "Shakespeare's Library", 2nd ed., Vol. 2, London 1875) we read: "Now to beare him company, were assigned two of Feugon's ministers, bearing Letters ingraued in wood, that contained Hamlets death, in such sort as he had aduertised the King of England. But the subtille Danish prince (beeing at sea) whilst his companions slept . . . . . rased out the letters that concerned his death, and in stead thereof graued others."

KURIL SORED (*wounded*) WAS ON her-FERD (*journey, passage, expedition*).

NOW she-is-FOUND IN STOW.

May-THUR WIH (*bless*) THEE, he-the-THURSES' (*giants*) DREETEN (*lord, ruler, smiter*)!

(KURIL SORED (*hurt*) WAS ON (*at*) the-WITHER-REDES (*debates, consultations, parleyings*) ON (*at*) WARE.

Thus the Lady KURIL was long expected in vain, never arrived. Enquiries were set on foot by her friends, and she was found at Stow, whither she had escaped. She explained that she had been in danger of her life, having been attacked and wounded at Ware. Then the affectionate greeting to the sorrowing father or husband or friend: — *May Thur, the giant-tamer, bless and comfort thee!* Further thoughts suggest a "postscript", of additional detail. The debates between the Wikings and the English, or between two Wiking-bands, at Ware, where a formal parley was held, ended in violence, and even the Lady KURIL was not spared.

I make KURIL a female name because it must be so. It is clearly in apposition with SARD and FUNDIN, and both these words are in the nom. sing. fem. But I have never seen this name before. It may be a diminutive of KUR, a worm KURILA, or a slurred popular or pet form for KURHILDR, both of them unknown to me. There was a Gothic king CORILLUS<sup>1</sup>. — SARD is a "correct" Old-Danish and Old-Swedish participle, nom. sing. fem., (masc. SARDER, fem. SARD, neut. SART). — UAR is common, for the earlier UAS. — A common, for the earlier AN or ON. — FARDU, dat. sing. fem. Doubtless Old-Danish. The nom. sing. is in O. Swedish FÆRD, N. Icel. FERD, O. Engl. FERD, FYRD, O. Fris. FERD. But the M. Goth. FARDO, Ohg. FART and O. Sax. FARD have preserved the older unweakened vowel. All are feminine. — NU, common in all our dialects, NOW. — FUNDIN, p. part. n. s. fem. FOUND. — I, common, for the older IN. — STU. I cannot *prove* that this is a place-name. But if we really have STU between I, the end of one section, and DUR, the beginning of another, I cannot see what else it can possibly be. In England and up thro the old Northumbria we have several places called STOW, spelt in O. E. stou and stow, and Latinized STOWA. The most famous is STOW or STOW-MARKET in the Hundred of Stow in Suffolk. It is on the river Gipping, a tributary of the Orwell, between Ipswich and Bury. It is quite near the sea at Ipswich and Harwich, and is not very far from London.

DUR, the heathen god DUNOR, DUR, DOR, followed by the verb UGA. This verb, so common in Scandinavia, has not yet been found in O. Engl., tho we had the noun and endless compounds. Here it is in the 3 s. pr. subj. The whole phrase, DUR UGI, *may Thur bless*, we have already seen on two Danish heathen runic stones. But we have here — for the first time in all the North, on stone or parchment, in runes or Roman letters — the doubtless once common phrase, DUR UGI DIK, *may Thur bless thee!*

DORSA, gen. pl. masc. Of the THURSES, ettins, giants, goblins, monsters, helpless and fools tho so burly and big. This is the N. Icel.: DURS, DORS, DUSS, the provincial Norse TUSSE, TUSS, the provincial Danish TOSSE, the provincial Swedish TUSSE, TUSS, TASSE, TASS. In O. Engl. we have DYRS, in Early E. DURS, in Mid. E. THURS, DURS, DRISSE, in provincial Engl. THURS, THURSE, THYRSE, THRUST, and a rock-den or stone-shelter is called a THURSE-HOUSE. In Ohg. there was DURS and TURS. — I have never before seen this fine epithet, doubtless once widely used, DORSA DRUTIN. — DRUTIN, obsolete in Denmark, the O. Swedish DROTIN, DROTEN, N. Icel. DROTENN, O. E. DRYHTEN, DRIHTEN, Mid. Engl. DRYCHTEN, DRICHTIN, DREETEN, Ohg. TRUTIN, O. Sax. DROTIN, DRUTIN, O. Fris. DROCHTEN. — UUD-RADR, ac. pl. fem., a compound hitherto found only in the Norse-Icelandic VID-RÆDA, fem., talk, conversation, parley. — A UARI, ON, at, WARE. Analogy would seem to show that this also is a place-name. But again I cannot *prove* it. Should it be so, again there were several spots called WARE in olden days. We should expect that the one here referred to would be in the same county as STOW. And accordingly in Domesday Book<sup>2</sup> we have in Suffolk, in the neighborhood of Bungay and Flixton, Hundred of Waneforda, a place in WARI. With his usual kindness Mr. Bond, then Keeper of the Mss. in the British Museum, referred to the Ordnance Survey for me. But there is no WARE there, and he suspects it may have gotten a later appellation, and be the spot now known as Eartham near Bungay. — Should this be *not* a stead-name, it can only be a word answering to the N. I. VÖRR (older form VAR, gen. VARAR) fem. and masc., and VER, neut., O. E. WÆR, Engl. WARE, WEIR, a haven, station, fishing-place. The general meaning will be the same, but it will not be so sharp and clear as in the former case, which I therefore prefer.

<sup>1</sup> We have in England the names CUREL, CURLE, CURLL. in Denmark CRILLE, CRILLESSEN. — <sup>2</sup> Vol. 2, fol., London 1783, p. 380, col. 2.



Till a better can be found, I therefore hold fast the interpretation here offered. Should it be substantially correct, it puts into our hands the earliest bit — by about 225 years — of *parchment Danish* yet known to us. And not only so, it is about 125 years older than any such fragment in Norse-Icelandic, a couple of whose vellums are the most antique left to us in any Scandinavian tongue. — This is also the first THU(NO)R invocation yet found on vellum.

#### FERSLEV, N. JUTLAND, DENMARK.

Vol. 2, p. 673. — I now agree with C. Sæve and S. Bugge (*Aarb. f. N. Oldk.* 1870, p. 193) that LUTARIS is a genitive. In Aug. 1878 Prof. M. Petersen made a new drawing, and found a T before the UKI, thus TUKI. I therefore read:

LUTARIS SUN, TUKI SATI STIN DONSI APT OSTA, SON SIN.

See Petersen's drawing Pl. 35 in Thorsen's Vol. 2, Part 1, text Vol. 2, Part 2, p. 109.

#### FJUCKBY, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 675. 955. — I agree with several Scandinavian scholars that it is simpler and better to take AN as = HAN, HE, as is so common. These old verbs of motion and energy often governed an accusative. KUAM is therefore *came to, reacht, visited*. KUAM AN KRIKHAFNIR, *reacht he Grecian havens*. In this case there is no AN, *on*. — For a second Fjuckby stone see under Tune, Norway.

#### FLATDAL, UPPER THELEMARKEN, NORWAY.

Vol. 2, p. 678. — In "Thomas Saga Erkibyskups", 8vo, Christianja 1869, p. 2, we have: "En er moder hans uar af ðERSO life framm faren", (d. s. n.). — At p. 8, "ÐESSOR kona" (n. s. f.). — At p. 13, "sem hann hœyrir ðESSOR konungsens orð" (ac. pl. n.). — At p. 20, "Sonn var ðESSOR syn" (n. s. f.). — At p. 21, "er ðESSOR hans háttr öllum monnum væl virðande" (n. s. m.). — At p. 22, "huerium þeirra er ðESSOR vægr til hœyrer" (n. s. m.), "engum auðrum vttan mer æðum hœyrer ðESSOR vægr til" (n. s. m.). — At p. 30, "ÞISA nest" (d. s. n.), "ÞESSORR læresvæinn" (n. s. m.). — At p. 43, "ÞISA nest" (d. s. n.), "i ÞISA" (d. s. n.). — At p. 45, "ÞISA nest" (d. s. n.). — At p. 50, "ÐESSOR Herefordensis" (n. s. m.), "ÐESSOR oc engen onnur" (n. s. f.). — At p. 51, "ÞESSO" (d. s. n.). — At p. 52, "ÞISA nest" (d. s. n.), "ÐESSORR hinn mickle mæistare" (n. s. m.). — At p. 55, "ÞESSOR er su hin fyrsta sundrlyndis sok" (n. s. f.), "ÞESSOR var onnur sok" (n. s. f.). — At p. 74, "Skólk ðESSORR stormreunn stolpa kristnennar" (n. s. m.), "ÞESSOR þin orð" (n. pl. n.), "ÞESSOR orð" (n. pl. n.). — But I stop here; the volume has between 500 and 600 pages. What has been given refers to only *one* word and in *one* manuscript.

#### FLEMLØSE, FYN, DENMARK.

Vol. 2, p. 678, 885. — In Vol. 3, p. 175—189, of Suhm's "Nye Samlinger til den Danske Historie", Kiøbenhavn 1794, 4to, are given extracts from a Daybook by Holger Jacobæus, 1671. At p. 178 is mentioned the Flemlose Runestone, as then lying in the churchyard. But the information adds nothing remarkable to what we know.



## FOLE, GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 684. — This homestead is hight to this day LILLA FOLE, the men are LILL-FOL-BOAR, and they are yet bound to give right of way, church-way, free passage, thro their fences, which must not be quite closed. *Carl Sæve*.

## FORSA, HELSINGLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 684. — April 7, 1877, I communicated to the Royal Society of Upsala the following article, as an appendix to my remarks on "Some Runic Stones in Northern Sweden from the papers of the late Prof. Dr. Carl Sæve", and it appeared in 1879 in their Transactions (Nova Acta Reg. Soc. Sc. Ups. Ser. III. Vol. 10, Pars 2, Upsala 1879).

## THE FORSA RING.

It is now more than a dozen years ago, when real Runology was so young and we were all so inexperienced in this new archæological-philological science, that I hastily workt out my short paper<sup>1</sup> on the Forsa Ring. This remarkable piece, on whose iron surface a cunning rune-smith has puncht-in 245 staves, I had never seen, nor have I to this day. But it had been examined and carefully copied by Prof. Carl Sæve, at that time the greatest living Runologist. The only transcript that could come into competition with his, was that by Arendt (1806). But it is no secret that all the older runic drawings are usually more or less doubtful, often lamentably incorrect, and the general excellence of Arendt's work was then not suspected<sup>2</sup>. No authority was at that time equal to Sæve's as a *working* runologist, one used to handling real stones and other runic old-laves, not mere *printed* copies. I therefore adopted Sæve's text. Just so now with Sophus Bugge. He has become an illustrious rune-man, and *has workt on the Ring itself*. So I now follow him loyally and blindly, as I then did Sæve. And this the more as, in his treatment and translation, he of course has the advantage of building on all who have gone before, making use of their good "hits" and avoiding their mistakes, as every wise man does.

Not only has Prof. Bugge shown that there were some serious errors (no fewer than 10) in the copy I followed (Sæve's)<sup>3</sup>, but I went on a false principle, that the Ring was a *heathen* relic. This was the universal belief then, and misled me. Bugge has made it clear that this is a mistake, that the piece is *Christian*. Hence my translation in many places falls away of itself, and Bugge's takes its place.

For in Sept. 1877 appeared Bugge's 4to essay<sup>4</sup> on this iron roundle, with a separate facsimile of the runes drawn and lithographt full size by Mr. C. F. Lindberg. The first key to the whole more mysterious section was my identification of the word LIUDRIT(1). The next was Prof. Olaf Rygh's excellent idea that AKU could only be = ÅGU, *own, have*. The third was Prof. Bugge's admirable LIRIR, thus stamping the whole as Christian and enabling him so to use his great learning and ingenuity as substantially to solve this difficult problem. In this he was also assisted by the accident of his being a Norwegian, for his philological instinct has recognized in certain things in the risting *traces of Old-Norse peculiarities*, explained by the fact, also pointed out by Bugge, that the folk-speech of olden Helsingland had some features in common with Old-Norse. Thus, on the whole, his version is in my opinion triumphantly happy and probable. Hard points will always remain, and I differ from him as to some words; but in general we must, I believe, undoubtedly follow him in his construction and translation. All honor to him for this his latest and ripest gift to Northern linguistic science!

Carl Sæve made his drawings on the 4th and 5th of Sept. 1851. They were engraved by me in my work. He himself never attempted or publisht any translation. I therefore here repeat my 2 engravings of the Ring, but I have had the runes *CORRECTED according to the copy given us by Bugge*<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The Old-Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England. 2 vols. folio. See vol. 2, pp. 684—9.

<sup>2</sup> Arendt's drawing of the Ring is so good that, as compared with Prof. Bugge's, it has only 8 faults.

<sup>3</sup> Sæve could only give some *few hours* to the Ring, as it hung on the door, and had then never seen Arendt's beautiful copy. Bugge had the Ring for many days in his own hands, and was familiar with Arendt's drawing.

<sup>4</sup> "Rune-Indskriften paa Ringen i Forsa Kirke i Nordre Helsingland". Christiania 1877. 58 pages, with plate.

<sup>5</sup> On these 2 blocks the runes (like as the Ring itself) are only 2-thirds of the full size, and they are sometimes more stiff than in Bugge's lithograph, to which therefore, in this respect, I refer for minutiae.

I add my own *new* version, chiefly based, as I shall show, upon Bugge's, where he differs from my former text (for in some things we of course all agree), but offering some changes, perhaps rectifications, of his reading. — Otherwise, for further details, I refer to my vol. 2, p. 684, and to Bugge's exhaustive paper. As we see, following Bugge's corrected text, the runes are:

FRONT OF THE RING.



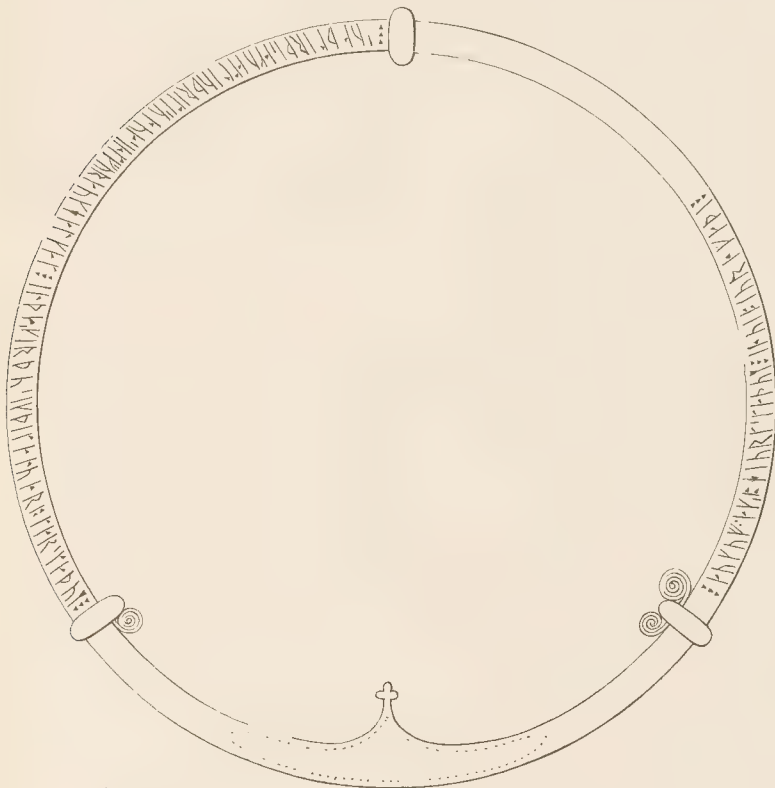
: : UKSATUISKILANAUKAURATUOSTAFATFURSTALAKI  
 : : UKSATUOAUKAURAFIURATADRULAKI :  
 : : INATPRIMALAKIUKSAFIURAUKAURATASTAF  
 : : AUKALTAIKUIUARIFANHAFSKAKIRITFURIR

These staves I now divide and interpret as follows:

1. UKSA, ac. s. m. *An Ox, one Ox.* — TUIS-KILAN (= TUIS-GILLAN), ac. s. m. *TWICE-GILL, full-grown and strong, worth 2 common beasts.* Thus I here follow Brocman, Liljegren, Rydquist and Bugge, and banish our friend the god TU (TY, TYR), who appeared here in my first version. Cannot help it. Peace be with him! — AUK, *EKE, and.* — AURA, ac. pl. m. *ORES, ounces of silver.* — TUO, ac. pl. m. *TWO.* I again must object to Bugge's fancy of transliterating the plain rune for o by A (which he makes to be a kind of nasal A). The rune for A must be given by A, the stave for o by o, however we may *theorize* (often, as here, unfoundedly) as to the pronunciation of this or any other letter in certain cases. All who like may accept Bugge's theories. I and most others decidedly reject them. But he has quite simply no right to bolster them up by altering the runic values of any letter. — STAF, inf. *(One shall) STAVE, fix as with a stroke of the Judge's staff, decree, levy as a mulct, demand as a fine.*

I take STAF here to be the usual N. I. verb so frequently employed for — to ordain, fix, determine, sentence to any fine or punishment *even death itself*. As Bugge truly says, this is perhaps the hardest word in the whole risting. I now divide STAFAT as STAFAT. Bugge thinks this is inadmissible, as, in the next place where it occurs, there are 3 points between the f and the following a. But there are

BACK OF THE RING.



: SUAPLIRMAKUATLIUDRITISUAUASINTFORAUKHALKAT  
: INDAKIRPUSIKDITANUNROTAARSTADUM :  
: AUKUFAROHURTSTADUM INUIBIURNFAD : :

hundreds of examples on our runic pieces of much greater freedoms than this, so necessary was it to spare space or hard cutting-labor or both. And, when the rune-stamper came to the other place

ATASTAF : AUKALT

how was he to proceed? If he had written

ATASTAFA : UKALT

it would have been much harsher and more unintelligible. Including the twice-taken but once cut L in TUISKILAN, there are 8 letters thus twice redd in the usual runic way on this roundel. The whole sentence is undoubtedly in the accusative, and I take STAF to be the governing verb (with the indefinite *man must* or *one shall* understood as the nominative, a construction so very common in our old tungs). Bugge divides STAF AT FURSTA, and takes STAF to be a hitherto unknown word meaning a *fast* (fast as a staff) *sum* or *norm* or *fine* or *mult*. STAF, with him, is therefore a second accusative, in apposition with UKSA — TVO, and he gets his verb by supposing an understood *One shall pay* — an idiom too hard and

harsh to be approved. — AT, prep. gov. dat. AT. — FURSTA, d. s. n. sup. *The-FIRST*. — LAKI (= LAGI), d. s. n. LAY, rate or tax or share or price laid on, levy, here *tithe-rate, tithing*. This is one well-known sense of the word, all whose many meanings fall back on the primitive LAY, LAYER, place where or manner how things are laid. I am not aware that it has ever meant *time*, as Dieterich and Bugge will. The constructions noted by Bugge stand for *way, manner, not time*. But even if the word ever had been exceptionally used for *time*, this would be a very meagre sense here. And besides, I know of no example of this expression (*time*) with AT. Therefore, *unpaid rating, the year's tithe-rate not yet sent in*. Thus: *One-ox TWICE-GILD (worth 2 simple ones) EKE ORES TWO to-STAVE (shall one stave out, pay out, as a fine) AT the-FIRST LAY (for the first year's unpaid tithe-rate)*.

2. UKSA TŪO AUK AURA, as before. — FIURA (the vowel doubled, FIURAT = FIURA\_AT), ac. pl. m. FOUR. — AT, as before. — ADRU, d. s. n. *The-OTHER, the second*. — LAKI, as before. Thus: *OXEN TWO EKE (and) ORES FOUR AT the-OTHER LAY (unpaid levy)*.

3. IN. adv. IN. AN, but. — AT, as before. — DRIDIA, d. s. n. *The-THIRD*. — LAKI, as before. — UKSA FIURA AUK (FIURAU = FIURA\_AUK), as before. — AURA (AURATA = AURA\_ATA), as before. — ATA, ac. pl. m. EIGHT. — STAF (STAFAK STAF\_AUK), as before. Thus: *IN (but) AT the-THIRD LAY (unpaid levy) OXEN FOUR EKE ORES EIGHT shall-one-STAVE (seize as a penalty)*.

4. AUK, as before. — ALT, n. s. n. ALL, the whole. — AIKU, g. s. f. (Bugge). Of-AGE (O.-E.); EIGA (O.-N.); AIGA (Gotl.); EGHA (O.-Swed.), *ownings, property, substance, possessions*. — I, prep. abs. (Bugge). IN, in it, therein, in that case, with regard thereto. A Norwegianism. — UARB. 3 s. pr. (Bugge, with elision of *u*, = UARDR = UERDR = UERDR = UIRDR), *WORTH to be there, becomes to be there, is lost, is forfeited*. A Norwegianism. — This is, in my opinion, correct and very ingenious. But it is so "violent", in the eyes of the modern mechanical-phonological school, that if I had proposed it, I should have been excommunicated at once, as I have so often been for many such things, now silently "annex" and admitted and used as true linguistic facts. I myself have repeatedly pointed out the many floating dialectic sounds, the frequent slurrings of the *u*, and the striking interchanges of *a* and *i* on our monuments. — IF, adv. (Bugge). IF. This word was once, in various forms, quite common in Old-Scandinavian as in English. — AN, n. s. m. HE, the-tithe-refuser. Bugge takes the word here as AN, but makes it equivalent to IN, *ÆN, yet, still further*. In this I cannot follow him. We have this IN, but, yet, in 3 other places on this Ring, and it is always IN, never AN. Nothing is a more common dialectic usage, old and new, than for *h* to be added or omitted, and there are *hundreds* of runic and parchment AN for HAN. We have the same thing reverst in the next word, by Bugge's own showing, HAFSKAKI for AFSKAKI. There can be little doubt therefore that this AN is the frequent AN for HAN, HE, which the sense also requires. — HAFSKAKI (= AFSKAKI), 3 s. pr. subj. *Should-OFF-SHAKE, altogether shake off, entirely refuse*. Bugge makes this the word here, but looks upon it as standing for AFSKAKKI, which he would translate, *twist, make unequal, cut off or away, and thus not give so largely as one ought*. I think the word quite a different one, and the meaning as demanded by the context very much stronger, *absolutely refuse*, after 3 notices, 3 warnings, 3 fines for non-payment. *Not to pay fully*, thus deduced from (H)AFSKAKKA, is also terribly forced, and is quite unsupported. But (H)AF-SKAKA to OFF-SHAKE, SHAKE OFF, *entirely ignore and get rid of*, has been a common word and idiom in all our dialects from the beginning, and is so still. — RIT, ac. s. m. (So Bugge). I had taken it, less correctly, as an adverb. RIGHT, *law*, the just claim of Holy Church. — FURIA, prep. gov. ac. FORE, BEFORE, opposite to, contrary to. This meaning, a Norwegianism, is another of Bugge's "happy inspirations". — SUA (SUAD = SUA\_AD), rel. pron. ac. sing. indecl. (Bugge). SO, that. — AD, rel. pron. ac. s. indecl. (Bugge). AT, THAT, which. Bugge parallels this SUA AT, SUAT, SUAD, by DUI AT, DUIT, DUID. — LIRDIR, n. pl. m. (Bugge). A decisive and admirable identification, the well known epithet given to the Clergy (O.-E. LERDER), especially in Scandinavia. In Old-Swedish, also BOK-LERDIR MÆN and KLÆRKÆR. Thus the LEARNED, the Priests, Ecclesiastics, Holy Church, in contrast to LAY MEN, LEWD MEN. — AKU (= ÅOU, ÅGHU, ÅOHU), 3 pl. pres. (Prof. Ol. Rygh and S. Bugge). OWE, own, have, possess, rightly enjoy. Icel. EIGU. — AT, prep. gov. d. (Bugge). AT, by, in accordance with. — LIUDRITI, d. s. m. (Bugge rightly adds the last *i*). LLE-RIGHT, O.-E. LEODRIHT, Folk-right, Folk-law, as I pointed out. Bugge proves that the N.-I. LYRITR is the same word, only with the *u* elided. — SUA, rel. pr. n. s. m. (Bugge). SO, as, which. — WAS. 3 s. pret. (Bugge). WAS. — INT, p.p. n. s. n. (Bugge). Carried IN, proclaimed IN the folk-moot, publicly enacted and announced. — FUR, adv. (Bugge). FORE, BEFORE. — AUK, as before. — HALKAT, p.p. n. s. n. (Bugge). HALLOWED, set



apart, specially allotted, *fiat*. Thus: EKE ALL of-AGÉ (his property) IN-it (therein) WORTH-is-to-lie (is lost) IF HE OFF-SHAKE (should finally refuse) RIGHT (just payment) FORE (against) SO-AT (that which) the-LEARNED (the Clergy) OWN (have) AT (by) LEDE-RIGHT (folk-law), SO (as) WAS INNED (proclaimed) FORE (before) EKE (and) HALLOWED (*fiat*, solemnly enacted).

We have seen that in this sentence *FURIR* is taken by Bugge himself to be a preposition governing the following *SUA*. And yet the two words are separated by a *divisional stop or ornament* (:); another proof, to the many we have before, of the frequent insignificance of such marks in the construction of the language. See what I have said above about *STAFÄ*.

5. IN, *but*, as before. — *DAR*, n. pl. m. *THEY*, the persons to be named, those or these men, namely *ANUND* and *UFAG*. We have hundreds of such instances, variously spelt. Confining ourselves to runic pieces and to those which have the *D* and the end-*R*, we have *DAIR*, *DER*, *PAIR* (the commonest form, nearly 100 examples), *PAIRR*, *DAR* (7 stones), *DAUR*, *DAUR*, *DEIR*, *DER*, *DIER*, *DIR* (the next commonest form), *DOIR*. — Prof. Bugge takes this *DAR* to be the adverb *THERE*, and makes it bear the meaning *HERE, on this ring*. — *KIRDU* (= *GIRDU*), 3 pl. p. *GARED, made*; probably here, as so very often, equivalent to *let make, ordered to be made*. — *SIK*, refl. pr. d. pl. *For-themselves*. Instead of the older *SER*, *SIR*. The reflexive pronoun gen. *SIN*, dat. *SÉR*, ac. *SIK*, died out so early in England that no example has yet been found. But it doubtless once existed, as it is known in all the Scando-Gothic languages. — *BITA*, ac. s. n. *THIS, this piece, this ring*. — *BITANUNR* = *BITA-ANUNR*. — *ANUNR*, n. s. The common mansname *AN-UND* (the *D* slurred). — o. prep. gov. dat. *ON, of, at*, the *N* now nasalized — *TARSTADUM*, d. pl. m. *TARSTATH*. Bugge says that this village is now called *TÄSTAD*, in Hög Parish (Söcken), and is  $\frac{5}{8}$  of a Swedish mile from Forsa Church. — *AUK*, as before. — *UFAKR*, n. s. The not uncommon olden mansname *UFAG*. Spelt in many ways on the monuments, also, (the *N* not yet nasalized) *UNFAKR* (*Stärkeby*, Upland). — o, as before. — *HIURTSTADUM*, d. pl. m. (Bugge). *HIURTSTATH*. Bugge fixes the place at *HJÖRSTA*, in Hög Parish,  $\frac{5}{8}$  of a Sw. mile from Forsa. It would be *HARTSTED* in English. Thus: IN (*but*) *THEY GARED THEMSELVES THIS, ANUN ON (of) TARSTATH EKE UFAK ON HIURTSTATH*.

6. IN (*but*). — *UIBIURN*, n. s. Mansname; common. — *FADI*, 3 s. p. *FAWEL (executed)*. Of course no earthly man can know whether *FADI* here refers to the Ring AND the Runes, as I have said, or to the *Runes alone* as Prof. Bugge thinks. It is most unlikely that the 2 wealthy landholders unitedly made the roundel *with their own hands*. It was probably made at their request and for their money, *in the usual way*, by some skilled artificer, a class often mentioned on the monuments as *SMIDR*. We know that such words as *RAISTI* (sing) *RAISTU* (plur.) and *LIT RAISA* (s.) *LITU RAISA* (pl.), *GARDI* (s.) *GARDU* (pl.) and *LIT GIRA* (s.) *LITU GIRA* (pl.) etc. etc. are used almost promiscuously, and doubtless often with the same signification. The actual stone would usually be sought for and transported, the grave-hew raised, the stone or stones set up — all which would usually be several days' hard work — by some one accustomed to the business and who had regular helpers, all which would be *paid for*. Where, as frequently, a Mother or Wife or Widow or Sister or Daughter is the "raiser", it is *certain* that she did not do this herself. Sometimes it would be one of the family or a friendly neighbor; but usually, rich people, then as now, *bought* the services of others. With the runes it was different. We have too many instances of the direct assertion that the lamenting father or son or friend cut the runes, to doubt that it was often so, for this would indeed be a labor of love. But here also, as we know, others were employed, and the names of some have come down to us who were clearly regular professional stone-cutters. And this would sometimes be necessary also from the elegant and complicated patterns used, which it was not in every body's power to accomplish. — And so of this *FADI*, one of the many words employed for *MADE* and for *CUT*, and which is several times found on things bearing Old-Northern staves. Usually it is *N. SATI* (s.) or *N. N. SATU* (pl.) followed by *N. FADI*. Now we have, as the whole risting, *N. FADI AT N.*, where the dear friend *was also* the rune-cutter. Now we have the full *N. SATI* followed by *N. FADI RUNAR DISAR*. Sometimes it plainly means *the whole piece, runes and all*, as on the Church-door at Väfversunda, East Gotland, *ASMUNTER FADI TYR DASAR*, and Jättendal, Helsingland, where *N. N. SATU* but *N. FADI STIN DINA*. Pieces with the Old-Northern staves are still more decisive. On the Norse Finang stone, *N. RUNO FÆIHIDO*, it means *inscribed*; as it does on the English Alnmouth stone, *PEGDE* contrasted with *WORHTE*; while on the Ruthwell Cross it means (*ME FAUPEO*) *composed the poem* there cut. But on Bracteates 49 and 49 b, *FIHLÆDU*, it signifies *made this piece and stamp these runes*, as it does on Bracteate 89, *FÆLÆDE*. On the Norse Charnay Brooch it

means, *FYDÆI*, made and inscribed, as it does on the English Osthofen Fibula, *FUDE*. So on non-runic pieces. On the English St. Edmund's Coin, *N. MI FIET*, it is *coined and stampd*, while on the English palimpsest block at Lincoln it, *FIET*, signifies the *enlarging of the Steeple* (*EIRTGN*) of the Church. — So I see no reason for altering my opinion, that *FAM* here means: *FAWED* (made this Ring and stampd these runes). Thus: *IN (but) UIBIURN FAWED*.

The whole then will be, in freer and modernized language:

1. ONE FIRST-RATE OX AND TWO OUNCES-of-silver SHALL BE THE FINE FOR NON-PAYMENT-of-tithe, WHEN THE FIRST tithe-LEVY IS MADE

2. TWO SUCH OXEN AND FOUR OUNCES FOR NON-PAYMENT OF THE SECOND YEAR'S RATE

3. BUT FOR THE THIRD unpaid-tithe-LEVY, FOUR SUCH OXEN AND EIGHT OUNCES SHALL BE THE MULCT

4. AND ALL THE DEFAULTER'S PROPERTY IS FORFEITED, IF HE ALTOGETHER REFUSE HIS LEGAL-tithe-rate, CONTRARY TO WHAT THE CLERGY CLAIM BY OUR FOLK-LAW, AS WAS BEFORE PUBLISHT AND FIXT.

5. BUT THESE had-THIS-ring MADE FOR THEMSELVES, NAMELY, ANUND OF TARSTAD AND UFAG OF HIURTSTAD.

6. BUT UIBIURN MADE (THIS RING AND STAMPT THESE RUNES).

ANUND and UFAG, the two powerful Thanes here mentioned, were doubtless the two Church-wardens, called in the Old-Swedish Provincial Laws *KIRKIU-DROTNA*(R) or *KIRKIU-WÆRIENDÆ*(R). The West-Gotland Law (*Schlyter*, p. 104) says:

Twer skulu kirkiu drotna uæra

Two shall the-Church-drihtens ware (be).

As such, and as both probably large proprietors and zealous Christians, it would be their wish and duty to stand by their priest and their church, and see that the tithes (to Bishop, Priest and Parish, or however else divided) were not kept back. They might therefore well take an opportunity of placing on the Church-door, in an alphabet and a tung understood by all the parishioners, the kernel of that legal enactment which secured to the clergy their full right of tithe, a right which had already been gradually introduced into the Swedish folklands. Prof. K. Maurer (*Bugge* p. 43) thinks these two landholders may have been patrons or owners of the church. One may have so been. I doubt whether such foundationship and ownership would have been in 2 hands.

With regard to the Act itself, Prof. Bugge (p. 43) reminds us that by the Norwegian Elder Eidsiva Church-law (*Norges Gamle Love*, I, 386): "He who neglects to discharge his tithe for 12 months, shall pay 3 marks; the second year he so refuses, 6 marks; and the third year, 9 marks. Then shall the Bishop's deputy summons him to pay within 5 days; if he has not then done so, he has forfeited his frith (peace) and all his property." Also by the Norse Frosteting Code (*Norges Gamle Love*, I, 137): "The fourth year, he has lost his frith and his goods."

I here add Prof. Bugge's free paraphrase (p. 26): A TWO-GILD OX AND 2 ORES (SHALL ONE PAY) AS FAST AMOUNT THE FIRST TIME: 2 OXEN AND 4 ORES THE SECOND TIME: BUT THE THIRD TIME 4 OXEN AND 8 ORES AS FAST AMOUNT: AND ALL OF ONE'S PROPERTY ONE FORFEITS, IF ONE THEREAFTER CROOKEDLY CUTS OFF RIGHT (— OMITS FULLY TO PAY WHAT ONE IS BOUND TO PAY) THUS SETTING ASIDE WHAT BELONGS TO THE CLERGY ACCORDING TO THE LAW OF THE LAND: THIS WAS BEFORE NAMED AND UNBROKENLY FIXT. BUT THERE (ON THIS RING) MADE ANUND OF TAASTAD AND UFEG OF HJORTSTAD TO THEMSELVES THIS: BUT UIBJORN WROTE THE RUNES<sup>1</sup>

Prof. Bugge (p. 51) fixes the date of this piece at about 1150, or between 1150 and 1200, which all the circumstances render likely. I refer to him for other details, an enquiry when Tithes were introduced into Scandinavia and especially into Helsingland, a list of certain words in olden Helsingland probably connected with old Norwegian, an examination of the term *LIUÞRITH* with the remarks of Prof. K. Maurer thereon, etc. He winds up by remarking (p. 53) that this Ring is the oldest extant Legal Document yet discovered in Scandinavia.

<sup>1</sup> "En tregild Okse og 2 Ører (skal man erlægge) som fast Beløb første Gang: 2 Okser og 4 Ører anden Gang; men tredje Gang 4 Okser og 8 Ører som fast Beløb: og alt af Eiendom fortaber man, hvis man fremdeles -kjævt afskærer Ret (d. e. undlader fuldt ud at yde hvad der er Ens Pligt at yde) med Tilseesættelse af hvad der tilkommer de Geistlige efter Landets Lov dette var forhen nævnt og ubrodelig fastsat. Men der (d. e. paa denne Ring) gjorde Anund paa Taastad og Ufeg paa Hjortstad sig dette: men Vibjorn skrev Runerne."

While these last lines are passing thro the press, has appeared Dr. Harald Hjärne's paper on this Ring in Part 3, Vol. 5, of *Nordisk Tidskr. f. Filologi*, 1880. Herein the learned author offers a new reading. STAF he makes a subst. in the dat. s., meaning *bishop's STAFF = the Bishop*. LAKI he translates, as dat., *for a thrust or stab*. AT AIKU I means, he thinks, *for all the property therein* (the church). UARR is = UABDR, *the churchwarden*, HAFSKAKI is HAFSK, *is had, exists* (AKI, 3 s. pr. subj.), = *let him, the churchwarden, have*. INT is *carried in* (to the church). DAR is = *at the public meeting*. KIRDU is *they legally obtained*. Thus the fines are for murderous assault in the church, the first, second and third stab, and for any damage to the property in the building. The fines go to the Bishop, while the Churchwardens are entitled to compensation for injury to what has been taken in to the building and consecrated. This is ingenious, but I think unsatisfactory for several grave reasons.

FORSHEDA, SWEDEN. See under VALLEBERGA.

FOSIE, SKÅNE, SWEDEN.

In September 1876 Prof. M. Petersen and Dr. Wimmer found a new runic stone in this parish, bearing a fresh example of the old *n* in ANS:

ANSBURN RISMI STIN PANI IFTIR T(1)UARK. FILAKA SIN, TRIK KUDAN.

ANSBURN RAISED STONE THIS AFTER THUARK, FELLOW (comrade) SIN (his), a-DRENG (soldier) GOOD.

FRAMVAREN, NORWAY. See under VÆBLUNGSNÆS.

FRESTAD, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 689. — In the word RYIHI I now think it impossible that the second rune can be *λ*, which is always *†* on this stone. It can therefore be scarcely any other than the usual *γ*, and we must read the place-name as SUIA-RYISI.

FRÖSÖ, JÄMTLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 626, 7. — In Dec. 1879 appeared Part 1 of "*Sveriges Medeltid*", by Riks-Antiquary Dr. H. Hildebrand, Stockholm, 8vo. At p. 45 he copies the woodcut in Bautil, but with the runes corrected by Lector P. Olsson of Östersund. The result is that Bautil's is an excellent text. The only difference is that some letters have suffered further damage or have fallen away *at the breaks on the stone*, and that instead of *FRIN* Olsson gives *†RIN*. Dr. Hildebrand queries this *TRUN*, and I think rightly. Why should Bautil's otherwise faultless drawing be incorrect just here, and to introduce a name so unlikely? I fancy that Lector Olsson has mis-interpreted some scathes on the block at this spot.

## FUGLIE, SKONÉ, SWEDEN.

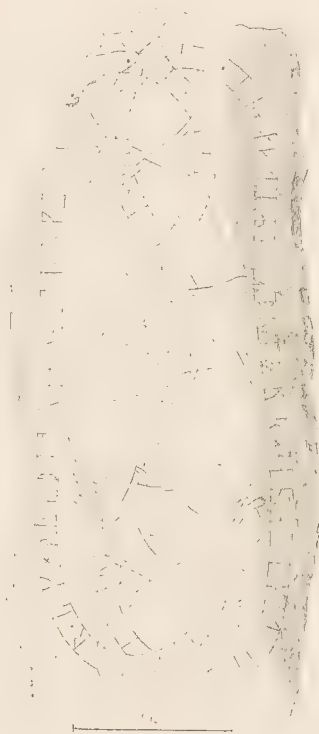
Vol. 2, p. 690. — Has been recopied during the runological tour thro Skåne of Dr. Wimmer and Prof. M. Petersen in Sept. 1876. From the drawing of the latter the risting seems to be:

AUTR RISDI STIN BONSÍ AUTFIR AU(KIR). BRUDUR SIN. HAN UARÐ TAUDR O KUTLATI. KUD HIALBI HANS SILU.

The KIR in AUKIR is very doubtful, the stone having suffered so much, especially here. Hlifefing gave the word as AULIR. The SUNU goes out; the word is clearly BRUDUR.

## GARN, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

I believe we have another example of the *infinitive in -AN* on this Garn lave in Garn Socken (Parish), which I dare not use before as I was not sure whether Göransson's REISN = REISAN really was on the stone. Liljegren, in his usual off-hand way with difficulties, simply writes it RAISA. (See Göransson's Bautil No. 233, Liljegren No. 591). But Dybeck's folio "Sverikes Runurkunder", Section II, Part 4 is now (Jan. 1870) to hand, and his No. 169 is the block in question. I therefore give it here, Heliotyped by Pacht:



SIHATR UK ÞURBIORN UK ÞURKRIM UK ERINMONTR LITU REISN STEIN AFTIR BRUDUR SIN SIKSTN. IN HN  
TO I VIBURKUM.

SIHAT EKE (and) THURBIORN EKE THURKRIM EKE ERINMONT LET RAISE *this* STONE AFTER BROTHER SIN  
(*their*) SIKSTIN. IN (*but*) HE DIED IN VIBORG.

The stone has suffered somewhat since the time when the drawing was made which was used by Göransson. In his woodcut the *u* in the last UK was not so much broken but a plain *u*. In the



same manner he gives the *h* in *HN* as a clear *h*, and the second *u* in *UIBURKUM* as distinctly *u*. Observe the *i* and *ɹ* everywhere for *s* and *t*, and mark how very near to *h* (*u*) is the *k* in *UIBURKUM*. This last word (in the dative plural as usual in our old times) is the wellknown ancient and famous city of *VIBORG* in North Jutland, Denmark.

Now it is certain that on this block the *ʃ* and *ʒ*, the *l* and *n*, are *always* carefully distinguished, *never* used the one for the other. We must also see and admit that 3 words here are sounded short or contracted for shortness, a vowel being understood or slurred as so often. No one will say that *SIKSTN* is *SIKSTA* or that *HN* is *HA*. But, if *SIKSTN* is undoubtedly *SIKST'N* or *SIKSTAN* (or *SIKSTIN* or *SIKSTEIN* &c.) and *HN* = *h'n* or *HAN*, then *REISS* is as surely *REIS'N* or *REISAN*. All this is more than probable; it is almost certain. — By Dybeck's scale this monolith is about 9 feet high. It lies on the ground below the steps to the southern porch in Garn Church.

### GÄLLSTAD, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 614. — Jan. 1869. Have received Part II, No. 3 of Dybeck's folio *Sverikes Runrunder*. No. 103 is this stone. Dybeck's plate shows that it has *FADUR*, *not* *FADURI*. This example therefore *goes out*.

### GLAVENDRUP, FYN, DENMARK.

Vol. 2, p. 700. — Add to what is here (and at pp. 89, 90, 292) brought together on the Grave-imprecations of olden times, a couple of modern instances. On our own Shakespear's grave-slab in Stratford Church, Warwickshire (1616):

"Good friend, for Jesus sake forbear  
To digg the dust encl'osed heare:  
Blest be y<sup>e</sup> man y<sup>t</sup> spares these stones,  
And curst be he y<sup>t</sup> moves my bones."

Part of the epitaph to the memory of Nils Bagge, 1708, Church of Marstrand, near Goten-burg: "*Male percat, insepultus jaceat, cum Juda partem habeat, si quis sepulcrum hoc violaverit.*" (*Wretchedly perish, unburied lie, with Judas take his share, whoso shall violate this grave!*)

In the Swedish Westgotland and Eastgotland Laws another word, of the same meaning as this *WRATAN*, *RATA*, *HRATA*, *RATE*, and as the (*SINDA*). *SIDA*, of the Skjern stone, is employed, namely the old verb *BETA*, to *BAIT*, *hunt down*, *drive away into banishment*. Thus in the Eastgotland Law, *Drapa-balk*, 4, 3, the one codex has "*at han do i FRIDLÖSU*", *that he died in FRITHLESSNESS, outlawry*; but another Ms. has "*at han do sottir och BETTIR*", *that the died sought-after (pursued) and BAITED (driven into banishment as a Warg or Wolfshead)*.

### GLIMMINGE, SKÅNE, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 701. — I have never seen this stone. In 1876 it was examined by Dr. Wimmer, in company with his artist Prof. Magnus Petersen. At p. 14 of his "*Sprogliche iagttagelser*" in "*Kort Udsigt ov. d. philol.-hist. Samf. Virksomhed*", Kjobenhavn 1878, Dr. W. states that the block ends:

UIRDI AT [h]RATA  
HUAS UB-BRUTI  
WORTH (be) AT (to) RATI (an outlaw)  
WHO-AS (whoso, he who) may-UP-BRETE!  
(Let him be an outlaw who breaks open this grave!)

This gives an excellent meaning, and a formula exactly similar to the *SIDI SA MONR IS DUSI* *KUEL UB-BIRUTI* of the Skjern stone, which see.

## GRANA, VALLENTUNA, UPLAND.

Vol. 2, p. 702. — In Dybeck's folio "Sverikes Runurkunder", II, 3, just received (Jan. 1869), this stone is No. 107. My engraving is quite correct, only, as I hinted, the  $\Delta$  in  $\Delta UK$  is the usual  $\ddagger$ .

## GRANBY, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 703. — Altho Mr. Dybeck does not give one word of explanation, it now appears that the Granby stone is not broken to pieces and lost (all but one small bit). For in that runesmith's last part (Section II, Part 3) of his "Sverikes Runurkunder", just received (Jan. 1869), the Granby stone is No. 148, and is nearly perfect tho in 3 pieces. The only letter of any consequence which is doubtful is the  $\ddagger$  ( $\Delta$ ) in  $UIAT$ , which is quite plain in Bautil but unfortunately was lost when the stone was smasht about 25 years ago. As now given, Dybeck's text is in several places different from Bautil's, and particularly the archaism  $ON-BOTUN$  disappears. On the block  $ANUMUIAT$  is written in one, and perhaps we had better divide  $ANUM UIAT$ , not  $AN UM-UIAT$ , in which case  $UIKMUNTR$ , not  $BIURI$ , was the manslayer. Taking the first 6 lines as in staverime, I would read:

DURSTIN UK RAKNFRIR

DU RISTU STIN DINA

IFTIR BIURI I KRANBU,

BRUDUR KALFS.

ANUM UIAT

UIKMU(NT)R.

KUD IHLBI ONS OT UK SALU BITR DAN ON KARDI.

THURSTIN EKE RAKNFRIR

THEY RAISED STONE THIS

AFTER BIUR IN GRANBY,

BROTHER of-KALF.

HIM had-WIGG'D (slain, = him slew)

WIKMUNT.

GOD HELP HIS OND (spirit) EKE SOUL BETTER THAN HE GARED (did, acted, deserved).

BIURI in Dybeck is BIURN in Bautil. Which is right? Carl Säve asks: — "Is  $UIAT$  an old reduplicated past tense of a verb  $UIFA$ ?"

Vol. 2, p. 704. — Very similar in Layamon are lines 30.459 & foll. (Layamons Brut, ed. Sir Fr. Madden. Vol. 3, London 1847, 8vo, p. 223):

burȝes he barnde [burned]

castles he ualde [felled]

his here [army] wrohte on londe

harmes vninoȝe [enough, numberless].

Vol. 2, p. 705. — An English Nith-Song from about the year 1608 (Notes and Queries, Jan. 7. 1871. p. 7):

"Mary acusinge Robb wrongfullye for the wch Robert prayeth for hire after this man', and wishethe him self noe better end yf ever adid [he did] deserve yt.

"I fferuently beseeche

the thundring God of might

that all the plague of heven & erthe

oppon the wrettche maye light

that fury frette her gall

her payne maye never cease

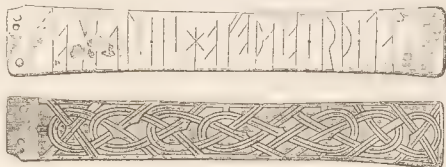
norr fynd noe frend in her distresse

that may her woe releasse."

## GREENMOUNT, LOUTH, IRELAND.

A most interesting find has turned up, October 27, 1870, in Ireland, a piece bearing plain runes, the first yet discovered in that country. For this happy addition to our stores we have to thank the zeal of Major-General J. H. Lefroy (now Governor of the Bermudas), who opened and examined a grave-mound near the coast, on the estate of Lord Rath-donnell. The how thus dug into, called *Druinn catha*, Ridge of Battle (*Dorsum prælii*), or also Greenmount, is in the County Louth, 1 English mile south of Castle Bellingham, 10 miles south of Dundalk, and 5 from the Danish settlement of Dunany on the Bay of Dundalk. Earlier *cremated* interments were laid bare at the bottom of the tumulus. On sinking a shaft from the top, an interment was found *unburned*. About 9 feet below the surface were remains of a mouldy substance (a leathern belt, unhappily thrown away by the workmen), and a bronze plate or fastening attacht, about 5—8ths of an inch broad and 4 inches long, evidently the fitting of a *Swordbelt*. It is admirably cast, and bears on the front an elegant intertwined thong- or cable-ornament of seven loops, once inlaid with silver *mechanically beaten in*, of which 4 small patches remain.

Details of this curiosity were instantly and kindly forwarded to me by the accomplished old-lorist Major-general Lefroy, together with beautiful light-bilds of the piece, full size. The runes are sharply and elegantly risted on *the back*, as is usual with such things. A couple of them have suffered slightly from corrosion, but the rest are very clear, even in the photograph, and *all* can be well made out. There are no marks of division, tho we have the stung  $\dagger$  for E. The ornamentation on the front is of the class which perhaps may best be called Kelto-Northumbrian, and much resembles the chain-cable patterns on many of the Crosses in the Ile of Man. The bronze surface has plain traces of gilding, and the cuts on either side the silver line have been filled with a white paste. This paste also shows itself in two places where the silver should be, probably only a repair. I here give both sides, full size, Heliotyped by Hr. Pacht from the Journal of the R. H. and A. As. of Irel., April 1871, p. 484:



Lying near this piece was a lump of oxide of iron, possibly the remains of an axe. There were also found, besides great quantities of bones and animal-teeth, a bone or ivory Harp-peg, and a Bronze Axe of the type peculiarly Irish, hundreds of them being found in Ireland while they are so scarce elsewhere. I copy this also, from the same work p. 479, one half the size of the engraving there:



The date of this fitting and of its runish risting it is of course impossible to fix. I think it cannot be later than the 10th century. Altho it has the stung E, it has not the stung D. I cannot see that HOFOD for HAFOD or HAUFUD should necessarily bring it down to the 11th century. SOERTH (SWERTH) is a form which this word has also in Old-English. However this may be, I take it that we can only read and divide:

TOMNAL SELS-HOFOD A SOERH-ÞETA.

TOMNAL SEAL'S-HEAD OWNS SWORD THIS.

TOMNAL (had the dotted T been used, DOMNAL) is the older form of the well-known Celtic mansname DOMHNALL, now usually spelt DONNELL, and curiously enough this lave was found on the land of Lord RATH-DONNELL. This name has always been very common in Ireland, especially in the 9th and 10th ages. But the owner was doubtless a Scandinavian, probably a Dane. Nothing was more common — from friendship, intermarriage and other causes — than for Northmen to take up in their families the names of the strangers abiding among them or among whom they lived.

This interesting relic was shown by Maj.-Gen. Lefroy to the members of the Archæological Institute Dec. 2, 1870, and was first noticed in "The Athenæum", London, Dec. 10, 1870. A short account of it, by the Rev. G. H. Reade, was publisht in the Journal of the Roy. Hist. and Arch. Assoc. of Ireland (Vol. 1, 4th Series, Oct. 1870, p. 279). But soon after appeared a long and learned treatise on the whole find by the fortunate digger himself, Maj.-Gen. Lefroy, in the Journal of the Archæological Institute, 8vo, London 1870, — reprinted in the Journal of the Roy. Hist. and Archæological Association of Ireland, 8vo, April 1871, Dublin, pp. 471—502.

#### GRYTA, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 707. — Prof. C. Sæve rejects KUY-UIR and prefers KUS-UIR, possibly masc. He adds: "In Lilj. 32, 36 we have KUS (nom. and acc.), which I take to be = Icel. GUS or GUS'S, GUS being the root in the verb GIÓSA (GAUS, GUSUM), whence GUSIR (giant), GUSTR, m. (gust) (a dwarf). Rather so than from KIÓSA (KAUS, KUSUM). There may have been a real KU-, KU-RIDR, like as KU-TIRFR Lilj. 469, and Lilj. 155, 319 KU-LIFR (LAIFR) distinct from KUN (= GUNN-) -RIDR, -TIRFR, -LAIFR. I look on this as GU, GÜ. What it means I do not know, but in the Ynglinga Saga is the name GY-LAUGR. Perhaps this is Lilj. 159 KI-LAUK, f., and Lilj. 151 GI-LOK, f." And again, quite correctly: "KRUTUM is merely the old name of GRYTA, KRUT (g. KRUTA, d. KRUTUM, ac. KRUT) neut. pl., Swed. ett GRYT, stone-heap, rocky place. Many places are called GRYT, Icel. GRIÓT, neut. sing. Accordingly we see that this stone stands in GRYTA parish." C. Sæve, 1868.

#### HABBLINGBO, GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 708. — At p. 709 I said (in 1867): "Can the symbolical carving signify the arrival of the fallen Sea-king — summoned and chosen by (W)oden, and mounted on his war-steed, which had been buried with him — to the Halls of Walhall, one of the Heavenly Nymphs (the Walkyries) welcoming him thither with a Horn of Mead?" The same opinion has now (March 1880) been exprest by Dr. H. Hildebrand, the Swedish Riks-Antiquary, quite independently, for he had never seen my article Vol. 2, p. 708, 709. In the February No. of the "Månadsblad", Stockholm, 1880, that learned old-lorist publishes 3 Swedish metallic pendants, small ornaments, female figures, two of which offer a Drinking-horn, and a silver Ear-picker from Björkö bearing a similar winged bild holding the Horn. All these he ingeniously and I think truly explains as Walkyries with the Horn of welcome to Walhall, and connects them with the like Horn-bearing mayas on the old Gotland Bildstones. See also *Tjängvide*.





(Lilj. 794, Bautil 1087). Dec. 1876. This Christian stone has been re-engraved by Dybeck (Runrunkunder, fol. I, II, No. 296). The only doubtful place — at the end — is now clear, and gives yet another instance of the verb *si*, here *a-si*, *to bless*. So in Early Swedish we have *FORE SE* and *FORSE* for *to see for*, *care for*, *help*, *bless*. For formulas of *Blessing* see ABRAHAMSTORP, and the list added there.

ASKIR UK MEKINBIARN UK LITLI LITU RISA STIN AT TUBA, FADUR. (ASI sil ku)D!  
 ASKIR EKE MEKINBIARN EKE LITLI LET RAISE this-STONE AT (in memory of) TUBI, their-FATHER.  
 ON-SEE (look on, keep, bless) (his-soul go)D!

In Norra Tjust Härad, Västernorrland. No. 1283 in Liljegren, who follows Count G. Bonde's old drawing, a copy of which is now before me. A couple of words are obliterated at the beginning and one at the end. Otherwise everything is apparently faultless. The resting is:

( . . . . auk ) FASLAUG, DAUN BION, LITU IFTIR UIALFA, SUN (sin).  
( . . . . eke ) FASLAUG THOSE HIWAN (spouses, man and wife) LET AFTER UIALF, SON (sin = their).

DAUN, n. pl. n., with the N, on a block apparently heathen. — LITU, the verb, (*raise*, &c.) omitted, as elsewhere. — FASLAUG for FASTLAUG, with the slurring of the T, as so often. Thus we have here an undoubted old accusative in a vowel which afterwards fell away (UALFA = UALF), unless we say there *was once* a form UALFI, of which no one ever heard — and if found, which would be an equally great archaism, only of another kind.

In 1874 appeared at Kendal Part 3 of "Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society", 8vo. At p. 318 is a paper by the late Rev. John Maughan, Rector of Bewcastle, announcing the finding of a second runish rock-rising in Cumberland, this time at Hesselgil Crags, only about half an English mile north of the Barnspike rock carving, given by me Vol. 2, p. 648. Mr. Maughan says: "During the summer of 1872 a Scandinavian Runic Inscription was discovered by a shepherd, named John Davidson, on one of the Hesselgil Crags, on the Highgrains Farm, in the parish of Lanercost. — — — Like the Barnspike, the Hesselgil Inscription faces the north, and is well protected from the weather by another crag, which stands close to it, and forms a barrier against the shower and the blast." He gives an engraving of the runes. But I had doubts whether these staves were quite correctly copied, and applied for help to my learned brother Canon James Simpson, Rector of Kirkby Stephen. He kindly forwarded me 2 rubbings, taken for him by a gentleman now deceased. We are so much the more thankful for this assistance, as we now see there were faults in Mr. Maughan's transcript. The runes are about the same size and shape as those at Barnspike. As corrected by the rubbings, they are as follows:

[illegible]

ASKR HRITA HEIL KIL, HIMPIKÆ  
HESSIL (? HESSILS).

ASK WROTE (runs-carved) this-HILL (rock) to-GIL, HOME-THIGGER (house-carl, henchman, hirdman, guard)  
to-HESSIL (? or of-HESSIL).

Unhappily, the gentleman who made the rubbings *accidentally forgot* the under line. We cannot therefore know at present whether any spores are left of an s after the last word. Maughan

has only HESSIL. Should only HESSIL have been carved, we must take the word as a dative, the vowel fallen away, a very uncommon construction. The practical *meaning* will be the same.

ASKR, ASK with the Scandian nominative-mark -R, is an excessively rare name in Scandinavia, and is here found in runics for the first time. In O. Engl. it is still rare (ÆSC); in modern English it is rather common, ASK, ASKE, ASH. Mr. Maughan says hereon: "We have a remarkable trace of him in the word ASKERTON, the name of one of our noted Border Castles, and probably the ancient residence of this ASKR. — — — The township of Askerton lies on the north side of the parish of Lanercost, is about ten miles long, and five miles broad, and contains the Barnspike and Hessilgil inscriptions, which are about three miles from the farfamed inscription on the Bewcastle Cross. In very old records Askerton appears to have consisted of two Askertons, so that we may assume that the family of ASKR had flourished in these parts, as the Bueths had done on the north side of them, where they gave the name to the large district of Bewcastledale." This pre-supposes that ASKER is ASKAR for ASKARS, the genitive. In any case, ASK is a scarce Old-Scandinavian name.

HRITA, 3 s. p. This is the 4th example of this guttural form in runics, HRAITA Barnspike, Hrita here, Hrita at Hamunda in Upland, and Lit Hrita at Forkarleby in Upland.

The runish HIL, HEL (rock, slab) has dozens of forms. I only know one other instance with the diphthong, the Björnsnäs stone, East Gotland, Sweden, whose local dialect affects this sound. It has HAILI PAISI, KAIRDU BURU PAISI and AIFTR. This Cumberland piece has HEIL.

KIL, a slurred dative (for GILE, GIL') is probably not a shortened KITIL or a side-form of KAL, but a Keltic name, now GILL, GILLE, which means a boy, youth, son, and is excessively rare in Scandinavia. Mr. Maughan observes: "About fifty yards on the north side of the inscription is a distinct trace of a ring-barrow — probably the last resting place of this GIL, from which, if he could only raise his head, he could see the glistening waters of the Solway."

HIMPIKÆ, dat. sing., in apposition to GIL'. Found here for the first time in England. Only as yet met with on 7 other runic grave-minnes, all of them in olden Denmark.

HESSIL. Also a mansname never before found in runes. Chiefly in England (HESEL, HESELE, HESIL, ESELL, &c., fem. ESSEL, now HASSELL, HASSILL, HAZELL, HESSEL, &c.) and in Denmark (HÆSLÆ, HESEL, now HASSEL, HESSEL, HASLE, &c.). Mr. Maughan says, p. 320: "Near the Highgrains Farmhouse are the remains of a very old and strong stone dwelling — about four feet high — with thick walls and very low and narrow doors. It may have been the stronghold of this Hessel." Or it may not.

On the whole this rock-rising is a very remarkable monument of the Wiking period, is heathen, and would seem to date from the 10th century.

HIERMIND, see TULSTRUP.

# HILLESJÖ (or HILLERSJÖ or RUNEBERGET), UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 716, 855. — I think this costly block, with its many forn word-falls, may be redd without break with the help of Dybeck's drawing. For I would fill-in the lost letters as follows:

SIPAN DA FRAUDRIK; HAN (uarþ) tanþr in bu þJINSA. DA FINKU DAU BARN (tu; in) MAR AIN LIPDL. HUN HIT INKA. SITHANCE THEN (thereafter had they a son) FRAUTHRIK; HE (worth dead [died or fell] in boo [home-stead or hamlet] th)IS. THEN FENG (got) THEY BARNs (two; but) a-MAY (girl) ONE-ly LIVED. HOO (she) HIGHT (was named) INGA.

The carver, THURBIARN SKALD, also gared the Bro stone, Upland, Liljegren 626. — The lady INGA raised 4 stones to her husband RAGNFAST, three at Snottstad (I SNUTASTADUM), Lilj. 496, 497, 498, and one at Vreta, Lilj. 2010, all 4 in Markim Parish. She commemorates her deceast sons by ARIK on the Hanstad stone, Upland, Lilj. 2011. — Men and things are always the same. As KIADAR's wealth went back to his Grandmother KAIRLAUK, so, says "The Guardian" for Aug. 14, 1872: "The Duc de Guise, who was the only remaining child of a family of eight, was to have inherited £ 800,000 from his mother. The inheritance will now revert to his grandmother, the Princess of Salerno."

## HOFGÅRD, EAST GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 785. — Prof. Carl Säve, of Upsala, has just (Feb. 1868) sent me a transcript of a drawing by Student K. A. Hagson, showing a runic block lately found by him. It stands by the homestead Hofgård, in Hof Parish, Göstring Hundred; its greatest height about 6 feet 6, its greatest breadth about 6 feet. The whole middle bears a Cross-mark, round which runs a runic band inscribed:

TUNA SATI STIN D(ana) AFTR SIN UAR, DUFFAST.

UAS HAN MAN

MIST UNIME.

TUNA SET STONE THIS AFTER SIN (*her*) WERE (*husband*), THURFAST.

WAS HE a-MAN

MOST UN-NOTHING.

(*Free-handed and kindly was he always.*)

Only the *upper half* of the last rune is left in the injured pronoun; the word may have been DANA, DINA, DISI. &c. &c. The last words have no nominative-mark.

## HOFVA, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

This stone, No. 223 in Dybeck's Sveriges Runurkunder, folio, II, has

R/IN/

for RYISA, the second rune being clearly Y.

## HÖGBY, GÖSTRING HÄRAD, EAST GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

Granite, about 11½ feet long by about 2 broad. The 2nd and 3rd side first made visible in 1874. As I have publisht this monument separately, with large engravings<sup>1</sup>, I need not repeat it here. In my monograph I have shown, or endeavored to show, that this noble stone, which contains many lines in both prose and verse, was raised about the middle of the 11th century, and that KARI — one of the chiefs whom it commemorates — fell at Dundee under the banner of Earl SIWARD, in that battle which struck the sceptre out of the hand of MACBETH, king of Scotland. — Linguistically noteworthy is the masculine nominative noun TREKS = DRENGS, *dreng*, *soldier*, *hero*, with the old nominative-mark still left as -s, instead of the later -R (= DRENGR, now DRENG). All runologists have acknowledged that this is an undoubted and clear instance of this lingering -s for the later -R.

## HONUNGSBY, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 721. — We *may* possibly read DIUSA, as well as DIANSA. Therefore: LITU RISA STEN DIANSA (or DIUSA).

HUNE, N. JUTLAND. See under Freerslev, Denmark.

<sup>1</sup> Macbeth, Earl Siward and Dundee. A contribution to Scottish History from the Rune-finds of Scandinavia. By Prof. G. Stephens. London 1876. pp. 27. Imp. 8vo. With 2 Chemitypes. Price 2 sh. (Williams and Norgate, London.) — Macbeth, Jarl Siward og Dundee. Et Bidrag til Skotlands Historie, &c. &c. Pris 1 Kr. (H. H. J. Lyngo, Kjøbenhavn).



## INGLA, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 722. — Dybeck's copy is bad. It has been amended by Hr. K. A. Hagson, of Upsala, who has also found runes on the edge and back. See *Upplands Fornm. För. Tidskr.* 3, Stockholm 1873, p. 72, where Prof. C. Sæve gives the risting as follows:

HULMKAIR AUK SIKRIDR A(U)K (A)H(FASTR) ÐAU L(itu raisa stai)N AFTIR KUNAR, (s)UN HULMKIRS.

On the one edge: . . . I. ÐAR. U. . . On the back, wend-runes:

OSMUNTR, S(uin), Ð(Al)R MARKADU ÐISAR RUNO.

HULMGAIR EKE SIGRITH EKE AÐFAST THEY L(et raise sto)NE-this AFTER GUNAR, the-SON of HULMGAIR.

Observe the internal declension in nom. HULMKAIR, gen. HULMKIRS.

OSMUND and-S(uin) THEY MARKT (inscribed) THESE RUNES.

It is certain that the name was SUAIN, or SUIN, for we have on the Hämlinge stone, Gestrikland, SUAIN UK OSMUNRT ÐIR MARKADU, and on the Flärång stone, Gestrikland, SUAIN OUK OSMUNRT MARKADU STIN ÐINO. — Mark, HULMKAIR not AN HULMKAIR; and (s)UN, not KUNAN.

## IRELAND.

Vol. 2, p. 611. — Should Dr. Smith be exact, there is a striking Scando-English instance of the nom. -s on a Hiberno-Danish coin lately found. In the *Athenæum*, London, Feb. 26, 1870, p. 296, we read, in connection with a meeting of the Numismatic Society: "Dr. A. Smith exhibited a coin of Sitric with the obverse legend SITRIC CUNUNG DYFL, and the reverse GODWINE MO WINT, the head to the left, like that of Ethelred the Second. Also a penny of Anlaf, with the reverse legend ANLAF CUNUNGS, and some other Hiberno-Danish coins." — "Olaf, said to have been a son of a king of Denmark, came to Ireland, with his brothers, Sitric and Ivar, and was accepted as king by all the foreigners there in 853; and he is noticed in the years 859, 861, 862, 863, and 869."<sup>1</sup> After 871 he is mentioned no more in the Irish Annals. — The coin was probably struck by this Anlaf; if not, by Olaf the son of Guthfrith I and brother of Sihtric (about 930—935), or by one of the other kings in Ireland named Anlaf.

## JÄDER, SÖDERMANLAND, SWEDEN.

The stone (? 11th century) in the Church here (Lilj. No. 981, Bautil No. 745) has been taken out, and a word has become visible which gives another instance of the old gen. sing. feminine in -UR. I have to thank the late R. Dybeck for this communication. (See his *Runa*, I, 6, 89.) What is left reads:

(. . . . . raisti stain þinsa) AT BEGLI, FADUR SIN, BUANTA SIFUR. HAN UAR FA(rin miþ . . . . .)

(. . . . . raised stone this) AT (to) BEGLA, FATHER SIN (his), BONDE (husband) of-SIFA. HE WAS FA(ren  
= out in service, with . . . . .).

## JERNA, SÖDERMANLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 739. — Apparently we have now a second instance of BU, BIUFA in the sense of to bless. Richard Dybeck has just (Dec. 1871) favored me with a drawing of the Jerna stone, also in Södermanland. It has suffered much since the bild was made for Bautil (No. 687, Lilj. No. 807). Comparing the two copies, the risting was:

(. . . . . R) RAISTI STAIN ÐANSI AT UIKAIR, FADUR SIN. UINR (krist) A-BU H(A)N!

(. . . . . R) RAISED STONE THIS AT (to) UIKAIR, FATHER SIN (his). o-WIN (friend) (Christ) BOO (take, help, bless) HIM!

<sup>1</sup> D. H. Haigh, *Coins of the Danish Kings of Northumberland*, p. 5.

This is followed by a Calvary Cross. Unhappily we are not sure what was the name that followed UNR, but as this is masculine KRIST is more likely than MARIA. As we have ARISA, &c., in the English manner, for RISA, &c., so we have here ABU for BU. — We have several times THY SOUL, THEE, &c. instead of HIS SOUL. — See p. 739, and Korpebro, further on.

#### KÄLLBYÅS, WEST-GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 725. — I have since found a drawing of the Källbyås stone, taken in 1670, in Elias Brenner's Runteckningar, 4to. Ms. in the Riksbibliotek, Stockholm. It is independent of Bautil's, but agrees with it in everything, except that the A in POR has not the dot above on each side, the I in RISDU is whole, there is a damage on the middle of the R in ORPA, and there are no points after that word.

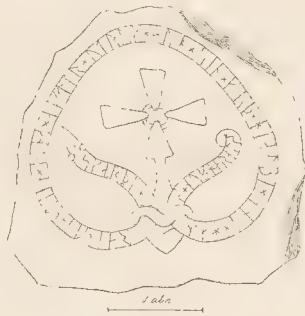
#### KÅLSTAD, SWEDEN. See under VIRRING.

#### KAREBY, BOHUSLÄN, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 665. — In "Göteborgs och Bohusläns Fornminnen och Historia", 1876, 1877, 8vo, Stockholm 1877, pp. 425—446, is a charming chapter on the Fonts of this province, with engravings from drawings by G. Brusewitz and text by Dr. O. Montelius. The 4 sides of this Dip-stone stand p. 432, 3, and p. 445 are fresh efforts to translate the runes by Prof. S. Bugge and Docent Leffler.

#### KARKSTAD, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

From RICHARD DYBECK'S *Sveriges Runurkund*, folio, No. 88. Heliotyped by VILHELM PACHT.



An elegant stone in fine preservation. Greatest height and breadth about 6 feet. Is No. 721 in Liljegren, No. 640 in Göransson's Bautil. Lies as a threshold-block in one of the southern buildings in Karkstad, Sparrsätra (not Vårfrukyrke) Socken. It is commonly called the Testby stone, but Mr. Dybeck tells us that it has never been there, and consequently this name should fall away. The inscription has always been misunderstood from taking the last word as a genitive, which of course gives no meaning; AUK is evidently here the 3rd p. past of the verb HAUKUAN, one of the endless variations assumed by this verb in the p. t., and of which in this shape we have many examples. HARALS is therefore in the nominative, and is a fresh instance of the nom.-mark in -s, the later -R. I therefore read:

SKARDI RAISTI STAIN DINA AFTIR UTRÜK, SUN SIN. KUD HIALBI ANT HANS. AUK HARALS.

SKARTHI RAISED STONE THIS AFTER UTRÜK (= UTRYGG), SON SIN (*his*). GOD HELP OND (*soul*) HIS. HEWED  
(= sculptured this stone) HARALS (= HARALD).

The usual later forms (in the nominative) of this HARAL(T)s are HARALTR, HARALTÆ, HARALT. Here (HARALS) the T is elided; on the Söndervissing stone, N. Jutland, (HARATS) it is the L which is slurred. On the broken Skjern stone, N. Jutland, (Thorsen Vol. 2, Part 1, No. 67) which begins with HARALS A(?uk).... and ends with USBIAUR(N)...., we cannot see whether HARALS is nominative or genitive; probably the former.

# KILBAR, BARRA, HEBRIDES, SCOTLAND.



For some 800 winters has this venerable grave-minne stood where it was first uplifted, in the old and now disused burying-ground of Kilbar in Barra, a remote island in the outer Hebrides, off the N. W. coast of Scotland<sup>1</sup>. It was first found in 1865 by Alexander A. Carmichael, Esq., of Strathavon, Oban. But the carvings were first drawn by his artist-wife, Mrs. Mary Francis Carmichael in 1875. and since then they have both repeatedly examined it. I have to thank them for the friendly help of drawings of both sides, and a full-sized facsimile of the runes on linen. In August 1880 this costly block happily reached the Edinburgh Museum (= Forn-hall), and its Keeper, J. Anderson, Esq., F.S.A.Sc., after having cleared away its lichen, obligingly favored me with light-bilds and other valuable aid. For all this generous assistance I am deeply grateful, as also for clichés of the careful woodcuts, for which I have to thank the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, Edinburgh, in whose Transactions (Vol. 15, pp. 33—36) the substance of this paper first appeared.

The stone measures 6 feet 5½ inches in length, its greatest width being 15½ inches above and 10 below. It is the first example of runes in the Hebrides, and hence is doubly valuable.

<sup>1</sup> In a letter this moment received (Oct. 1881), Mr. Carmichael kindly informs me that — by tradition — this monolith was perhaps "first uplifted" elsewhere. He says: "I am inclined to think that it was brought from Iona to Barra about the beginning of the 18th or end of the 17th century. When I can first trace it, it stood at the head of a *tunga* — a built grave — made by a son of Macneill of Barra for himself"



As to the names. UR is a well-known but scarce Old-Northern mansname; DUR (short for THUNOR) is more common; RISKURS (if so it be, for Mr. Anderson writes me that the 2nd letter may possibly be 4 (A) is dialectic for RASKURS, gen. of RASK-UR, the *RASH* or *RASK*, or *bold* or *daring* UR, one of several names compounded with -UR, found here as I trow for the first time. RASK is still a common mansname in Scandinavia. Highly interesting is the *genitive formula* here, the name of the forthfaren in the possessive, of which construction some few examples are found both in Old-Northern and later runes. — The expression STANIR, *stones*, in the ac. pl., may refer to a block at each end of the grave, or may be equal to *stone-setting*, a ring or line of stones, foot-ring round the grave, as so often. — The use of SIE for *bless* is also costly, as being so rare in runics; from heathen times it lives-on into Christian days. I have spoken of it Vol. 2, p. 660 and 738, and refer to ABRAHAMSTORP, farther back. — The last word, perhaps ANTI or ATI or something such, in the 3rd line, is so worn away that it cannot be made out. The well-known formula, however, demands this, or its equivalent SALI (or SILI or some such form) in the accusative; OND (spirit) and SOUL interchange on the monuments.

With the exception of the last word, only *one letter* is doubtful, the ʀ (K) in KRISTR, for the stem is broken away. CHRIST, in various spellings, is frequent on runic monuments, especially in a final prayer as here. The last stave in KRISTR, the -R (softened from the older -S), is merely the later Scandinavian nominative-mark, long since fallen away, tho yet largely left in Icelandic. As to the forms of the runes, the staves for S and T belong to the shortened and later types, the mark for E being a still younger "stung" or "pointed" rune. We therefore get:

UR, DUR, KIRDU STANIR RISKURS (or RASKURS). SIE (K)RISTR (anti)!

UR and-THUR GARED (*set up*) these-the-STONES of-RISKUR (or-RASKUR). May-CHRIST SEE (*see-to, bless, save, guard*) (*his-soul*)!

The Western Ilands were early settled by a Scandian, chiefly Norwegian, population, and the Kings of Norway took care that they adopted the Christian faith. We may therefore safely call this a Norse monolith, from about the *eleventh* yearhundred. The large Cross on the back reminds us of several on the rune-pillars in the Ile of Man, and the Keltic and Northern styles are curiously intermingled in its decoration.

#### KIRKEBÖ, FÆROES, DENMARK.

Vol. 2, p. 728. — With regard to the mansname UNIRUO on this stone, and the URU on the Hárnacka pillar (vol. 1, p. 340), add that the Diplom. Svec. 3, p. 423 has a "dominus Hermannus UNRUWE".

#### KORPEBRO, SÖDERMANLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 736. — We have this old phrase as late as 1677 (The Lovers Quarrel, 12mo, London 1677, in W. C. Hazlitt, Early Popular Poetry, Vol. 2, 8vo, London 1866, p. 260):

"God be with you, master, said Tommy pots.

Now Jesus Christ you SAVE AND SEE;

If ever I come alive again,

Staid the Wedding it shall be."

So again in William of Palerne (William and the Werwolf), about A. D. 1350, ed. W. W. Skeat, 8vo. E. E. T. Soc. London 1867, l. 1757 and l. 3166:

preide ful pitnosli. to þe prince of heuene

to LOKE [save, guard] fro alle langour [pain].

þo [those] louely makes [mates, companions].

..... siþ [if] i þis time miȝt trust. trenli to ȝour sawe [saying, word],

so þat ȝe wold lelli [loyally, truly] my lemman [sweetheart]. saue and LOKE.

Another notable example is in "How þe Hali Cros was fundin be Seint Elaine", in a West-Midland Ms. version of *Cursor Mundi* (Early E. Text Soc. Legends of the Holy Rood, ed. by Richard Morris, 8vo, London 1871), p. 113:



God LOKE [bless] þe, cros, precious þinge,  
on þe hange [= hung] þat heiest kinge.

We have this LOREN and WITEN (for *to keep, guard, protect, save*) also in "De Liflade of St. Julian", ed. by Rev. O. Cockayne, from 2 Mss. of A. D. 1230, 8vo, London 1872, (Early Engl. Text Soc.). As an example of the way in which they may be interchanged, we may refer to a passage at p. 34, where the Royal Ms. has: "WITE me from his lað" (hatred), while the Bodleian Ms. has (p. 35): "LOKE me from his lað".

The Bräckestad stone I now take in another way, and accept the plain MESKU of Bautil and Dybeck. I think it must be redd:

STHOTBIARN AUK ISTAIN LITU STIN ÆFTIR FADUR SIN KUTA. MESKU GRISTR LITIN SAHLI HOS! KIULIN RISTIR RUNO  
DAS. KETILUHA HIT KUINO HAS. AUK UIELF.

STHOTBIARN EKE ISTAIN LET-raise this-STONE AFTER FATHER SIN (their) KUTI. MENSILY (mildly) may-  
CHRIST LETE (see, bless) SOUL HIS! KIULIN RISTS (carves) RUNES THESE. KETILUHA HIGHT QUEEN (wife)  
HIS. HEWED UIELF.

Compare the fragmentary Kumla stone, Upland (Dyb., 8vo, p. 90), which has the same formula, tho a couple of words between MANISSKU and SAL are broken away: DUKI AUK (? RUNA LITU RAISA stain þina aftir . . . .) FADUR SN. MAN(I)SSKU . . . . . SAL HANS. — Here MESKŪ and MANISSKU are dat. s. f. or an adverb, with *mildness* or *mildly*.

In some Early English Homilies of the 12th century (but transliterated from originals of the 11th) we have WITICRIST, WITECRIST, often used as *Help Christ!*, *So help me Christ!* or *By Christ!* See Old (read Early) English Homilies, &c. Ed. by R. Morris. Early Engl. Text Soc. 8vo, Vol. 1, London 1868, p. 27 and passim. Instead of this WITICRIST the author also uses the equivalent SWA ME HELPE DRIHTEN! — At p. 199 of the same volume we have:

þereuore ich þe bidde þet þu me WITE (bless) and werie (guard),  
þet þe deouel me ne drecche (afflict) ne dweolde (error) me ne derie (hurt).

So in the Lay of Havelok the Dane (Early E. Text Soc. Ed. by Skeat, London 1868) p. 13, l. 405, we have:

Ihesu crist, that makede mone [moon]  
On þe mirk [dark] nith [night] to shine.  
WITE [save] his soule fro helle pine.

And in Joseph of Arimathie (E. E. T. S. Ed. by Skeat, London 1871) p. 9, l. 221:

And wustest [didst save] daniel in þe put [pit, den]  
þat he was inne I-worpe [cast into].

Another striking English instance of this SEE, I-SEE, is in The Childhood of Christ, from a Ms. of about A. D. 1300 (C. Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, 8vo, Paderborn 1875, l. 514, p. 19):

"A god schal i-bore beo (= be born)  
þat al schal warde and al ISE."

For formulas of *Blessing*, see ABRAHAMSTORP and the list added there. We now see that HELP and SEE were used both in Heathen and Christian invocations.

KORSØDEGÅRD, NORWAY. See under GILTON, England.

KRONOGÅRD, SWEDEN. See under VIRRING.

KRUSE, GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

A letter from my learned friend Dr. P. A. Sæve, of Visby, announces the find of a limestone pillar, 4 feet high by 17 inches broad and 5 to 6 inches thick, at Lilla Kruse in Alva Parish in that island. In a semicircular band above is a line of runes. Below is a Cross filling the whole stone, the

stem united by a circle. It has been used as building material, and the one side has been cut away, whereby some letters (the first name) have perisht. It reads (adding, for instance, KARL, as the missing word):

(karl) HUEPARFI A MIK.

(Karl) HUETHARFI OWNS ME.

Thus another example of this ownership-formula. Dr. Sæve adds that this piece has now (Oct. 1878) been given to the Visby Forn-hall. HUED-ARFI, originally a mansname, became a homestead-name, in the usual Gotland manner. The name HUEDR or HUADR is now extinct in Gotland, but lives in HVATLINGS, the name of a farm in Fole, Gotland.

#### KUMLA, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

R. Dybeck's folio "Sverikes Runurkunder", II, Part 4. (Jan. 1870). No. 165, the Kumla stone, gives yet another old accusative in a vowel. It is No. 238 in Bautil, No. 599 in Liljegren. Dybeck's text is:

FASTBIURN LI(T) RITA STAIN IFTIR MINTIL, FADERO (FADUR) SIN.

FASTBIURN LET WRITE (carve) this-STONE AFTER MINTIL, FATHER SIN (his).

#### LÄDERSTAD, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

After continual enquiries I can still hear nothing of this stone, which was in Kalmare parish (Liljegren 34. Bautil 321). But I cannot see a single fault in Göransson's woodcut, which shows that the block had suffered in a couple of places. It bears a Christian Cross, and reads:

SNARI : AUK : KITILBIURN LITU<sup>U</sup>ARISA S(tain) IFTIR ULF, FADUR SINA, KU(r)ID BUNTA SIN.

SNARI EKE KITILBIURN LET A-RAISE this-STONE AFTER ULF, FATHER SIN (their), and-KURITH after

BONDE (husband) SIN (her).

Here the old A-RISA is plain enough. AT or IFTIR is often omitted before a second noun, as here, the worm-scroll being crowded.

#### LAGNÖ, SÖDERMANLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 741. — I have just (April 1871) been favored with a large and fine drawing of this remarkable rock-rising by Baron O. Hermelin, of Örebro, Sweden. There are some slight variations in the ornamental part, such as that there is a claw-limb on the top-right. The only difference in the runes is, that for SAK-AL the rock has SAKAT. Between the following N<sup>U</sup>A and <sup>U</sup>N<sup>U</sup> there is a long deep stroke which may be i. We must therefore continue to take NUK for AUK as so often, or else we must read IN UK, (IN = but, EKE = also). Instead of SAK (= SANK) AL, SANK (boggy) ALL, we must therefore translate SAKAT UAR, DAMAGED WAS, i. e. made good the causeway with sand and shingles wherever it had begun to sink. Should SAKAT not be this word, as in N. I. and in Swed. dialects, it is doubtless the popular Swedish and Norse SACKA, SAKKA, English SAG, to sink gradually, settle down. The meaning will be about the same.

Thus the dyke was old, and was now repaired, restored, in memory of THORTH. As KISLAUK is a female name, she was probably his mother or widow, and SLOTHI may have been THORTH's brother or son. This grand MARK would seem to date from the close of heathendom, say about the year 1000. If so early, this is the only heathen votive "bridge-building" known to me.

#### LAURBERG, DENMARK. See under VIRRING.

## LAWS, MONIFEITH, FORFARSHIRE, SCOTLAND.

In the "Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland", 4to, Edinburgh 1880, appeared a paper by J. C. Roger, Esq., on the remarkable old-lave here before us. As it is rune-written, Joseph Anderson, Esq., F.S.A.Sc., was kind enough to forward me the following descriptive text, and at the same time the Roy. Soc. of Scot. Antiquaries generously presented me with clichées of their blocks, for use in this work. For these favors I and my readers are most thankful.



"Mr. James Cruikshank Roger has sent to me a drawing made by his father of a very remarkable object, which he describes as a bronze plate dug up at Laws in the parish of Monifeith in 1796. He states that some time after 1856, his father, Mr. Charles Roger of Dundee, mentioned to him that when a very young man, residing on his father's farm of Laws in that parish, he had made a drawing of a bronze ornament found in a large mound which had been intersected by a newly formed drain. Within this tumulus, Mr. Roger understood him to say, there was found a complete skeleton surrounded by a cist formed of stone slabs, some implements of bone, and this bronze ornament, of which he knew he had the drawing although he searched for it without success. In looking through his father's papers after his death in 1865, Mr. Roger found the lost drawing inside an old letter into which it had been accidentally folded. The obverse and reverse of the object are represented on opposite sides of the sheet and apparently of the actual size, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches from side to side. The obverse of the crescent shaped object bears a representation of the curious crescent symbol, crossed by the V shaped rod with floriated ends, which occurs so frequently on the Sculptured Stones of Scotland. The crescent is filled with a diaper of depressed squares, with a central dot placed in bands obliquely across the surface. A double scroll in one corner and a border of T shaped ornament complete the decoration. But on the lower margin of the plate, which is unfortunately broken, the artist has shown most unmistakably the remains of a Runic Inscription. This is the feature that will be of special interest for you.

"The reverse of the plate is less elaborately ornamented, but the ornament is of the same special character as that of the obverse. It bears in the centre another symbol, consisting of two circles joined by two parallel bands, crossed in the centre between the circles by a rod, which is acutely bent to right and left and floriated at both ends. The circles are filled with ornament of specially Celtic character, and the symbol is one that occurs more frequently than any other (except the crescent) upon the Sculptured Stones of Scotland. It occurs also in some of the caves on the coast of Fife, and it has been found twice on small oval silver plates discovered in a mound at Largo in Fife, and once on the terminal ring of a massive silver chain of circular double links found at Whitecleuch in the parish of Crawfordjohn, Lanarkshire. In the Largo plates the symbol is also accompanied by a beast's head placed under it, which bears a strong resemblance to the beast's head placed near the one point of the crescent. A scroll similar to that on the other side and a slightly raised border completes the ornamentation of the reverse of this singular object.

"The Laws, where it was found, is a very interesting place. It is an ancient fortification, consisting of massive walls of uncemented stones, drawn round the summit of the hill, and enclosing an oval space about 500 feet long and 200 feet broad. Within this enclosure are the ruins of many

buildings. One of these is circular, about 30 feet in diameter and the wall about 15 feet thick. Others are smaller and less regular in shape. Both the exterior walls of the fortification and the walls of the buildings within it have been largely vitrified. These remains have been greatly destroyed by being used as a quarry for stones, but they are now carefully preserved by the present proprietor Mr. James Neish, F. S. A. Scot., who has given a good account of his extensive explorations, with plans, in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. III, p. 440. Many objects in stone, bone, bronze and iron, some of which seem to be from the early Iron Age, were found by Mr. Neish; but, unfortunately, they are not engraved and therefore not available for comparison. The bronze plate, of which the drawing gives a representation, was said to have passed into the possession of the proprietor, the late Sir Alexander Ramsay Irvine of Balmain; but the present representative of the family, Sir Alexander Ramsay, informs me that he has no knowledge of the existence of such a bronze plate, and had never heard of its discovery."

After these excellent remarks, I have only to add a few words as to the Runic risting. This is in the usual later or Scandinavian staves, and may well be from the Wiking period. Some letters having fallen away at the beginning, the first word is now the mansname ... MKITIL. This KITIL is a very common old Scandinavian-English name (now our KETTLE, and short KELL), and has many compounds. But only 2 or 3 of the prefix words end in -M. Let us take the commonest, GRIMKITIL. This, or some other whose first link ends in -M. must have been the name. — Then come 2 runes, ÐA (TH and A), the rest broken away. The whole word here was doubtless the usual ÐANA (or some such form), ac. sing. masc., THIS, followed by 2 divisional dots. — What came next, we shall never know. Perhaps the common formula-word A, 3 sing. pres. indicative, as on scores of other such pieces, OWES-me. OWNS-me. Or there may have been another usual formula of ownership, RAIST, 3 sing. past. RISTED, cut, inscribed. In any case this -MKITIL wrote these runes as owner of the ornament, whether he got it as war-spoil or by marriage with a Keltic lady. But the piece itself may be older than the 10th century, when perhaps it received the inscription, of which all that is now left is:

... ʏ ʝ ʝ ʝ ʝ : ʝ ʝ ...

We have a similar writ of ownership by a Scandinavian on a Keltic jewel incised on the famous and beautiful Hunterston Brooch (Vol. 2, p. 589). And, not to speak of the Maeshowe runic scribbles, there is another such in St. Molio's Cave, Holy Island, Lamlash Bay, Arran, Ayrshire (D. Wilson, Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, 2nd ed. 8vo, London 1863, Vol. 2, p. 279):

ʝ ʝ ʝ ʝ ʝ : ʝ ʝ ʝ ʝ : ʝ ʝ ʝ ʝ .

NIKULOS AHENE REIST.

This the learned Norwegian Prof. P. A. Muuch translated, I think most successfully, NIKULOS (= NICHOLAS) ON (of) HEEN RISTED (cut these runes). Heen or Hein being a homestead in Gryten Parish. Romsdal, Norway.

LID, NORWAY. See under BROUGH, England.

#### LOFÖ, DROTNINGHOLM, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 624. — No. 362 in Liljegren, who is not correct. Much better is the woodcut in Bautil, No. 283, which in fact agrees with the best of all, publisht in Stockholm 1751, an excellent copperplate engraving, by the famous Swedish Historian and Poet Olaf Dalin. As we know, he was full of fun and persiflage and was a great writer of occasional verses and comic prose. One of these his humorous pieces was a rare pamphlet in 4to, of which only 30 copies were printed, in commemoration of the namesday of the Swedish king, Adolf Fredrik. It appears from the text that His Majesty and his Queen, Louisa Ulrica, who had often seen this Rune-stone (apparently long since destroyed), were curious about its contents, and had askt Dalin — who was Royal Historiographer — to give them an account of it. This he has here done, in a very laughable manner, roasting the pedantic learning then



in vogue. But he has prefix a *careful engraving*, which has hitherto been entirely overlookt, even by Liljegren. I here give it photoxylograph by Rosenstand. There can be little doubt of its absolute



correctness, partly because it is the same as the old woodcut in Bautil (also overlookt by Liljegren), but still more because the King and Queen, who saw the stone every day for months together when living at Drottningholm, and were specially interested in it, would at once have detected and resented any attempt to falsify the inscription. And there was no reason for any mistake, for it all looks plain enough. It may well be heathen, from the 10th century, and is interesting for the 2 animal figures introduced, but especially for the distinct ON BE. the old ON for the later o or a. The risting is, in both Dalin and Bautil:

IKULBIARN OK UIBIARN OK HUKBIARN RAISTU STAIN AT GUBA. FADUR SIN, ON BE.

IKULBIARN EKE UIBIARN EKE HUKBIARN RAISED *this*-STONE AT (*to*, in memory of) GUBI (= GUBBE, FATHER SIN (*their*) ON (*of*, at) BE.

BE is apparently the dat. s. of the common word BU(R) or BY(R), hamlet, homestead. It occurs repeatedly on the stones in the dative, almost always in compounds, in the forms BAI, BI, BO, BOI, BOA, BU, BÜ, BY, &c. But what particular farm on Lofö this BE was, I do not know. The 2 animals carved on the stone are perhaps Dogs.

#### LUND, SCONE, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 749. — Last line. *For* Stobach *read*: Stobaeci. — P. 750. "Compare the MANDR of the Guta Lag and the MANTR SUINS of the Torup stone, N. Jutland." *C. Söve*. — P. 751. Add that, tho the N. I. dialect has MENN as the indefinite form, it has always MENNIR-nir in the definite. — Line 29, *read*: SUNAR, SUNER, SUNIR. — Line 33. *read*: SUNA, SUNI, SUNU.

#### LUNDA, GESTRIKLAND, SWEDEN.

This fine block, in Lunda village and Valbo parish, has lately been carefully drawn and publisht by the learned Rector (unhappily now deceast) C. F. Wiberg of Gefle. (See his "Gestriklands Runstenar", 4to, Gefle, Part 1, 1865, p. 3, Part 2, 1867, p. 7). The only drawing hitherto known to us is that in Göransson's Bautil, No. 1100, but *without the signature of any copyist*. The reason for this suppression is evident. The lower part of the risting is largely worn away, and here the transcriber has imprudently foisted in a lot of runes (for which there is no room in the worm-wind) to support certain absurd hypotheses then in vogue. All this has been blindly accepted by Liljegren (No. 1050). But this stone was also copied by the learned Bure, and is found in his Ms. Runahäfd, No. 537, written between the years 1630 and 1640. In this transcript by Bure, as well as in that of Olaf Celsius (Monumenta quædam, Acta Lit. Sveciæ, 4to, Stockh. & Ups. 1726, p. 215), all these forged

runes are wanting! — As I have said, some words on this stone have fallen away. Supplying them in brackets and small letters, in analogy with what is found on other such monuments, we get:

IPALTRE LIT RITA STIN DINO ABTIR IBIURN, SUN SIN, DER CAR H(aima taupr; en s)UAIN AUK ARNFAST AUK

AI(Rik, bruþr,) ÐAIR R(aistu kumbel).

KUD HALBI HONS SALU UK AUPS MUDIR!

RUNOR-RITAR HULMS R (= risti).

ITHALTRE LET WRITE STONE THIS AFTER IBIURN, SON SIN (*her*), THER (*who*) WAS (*at home dead*) (*who died in his mother's house*); (*en*) (*but*) SWAIN EKE ARNFAST EKE AI(Rik, his-brothers), THEY RAISED the cumbel (*grave-marks*).

GOD HELP HIS SOUL EKE (*and*) GOD'S MOTHER!

The-RUNE-WRITS (= winds and runes) HULMS R(isted) (*carved*).

ITHALTRE (= *Noble-tree*), reminding us of the old Scando-Gothic female names ADALLINDA and ADALROT, is here found for the first time. As we see, she was a widow, and the mother of IBIURN, whose brothers were SUAIN, ARNFAST and AIRIK. — But (besides the IBIURN, with the tip *i*) the important part of the inscription for our purpose here is — the last line. This is carved for itself in the neck and head of the snake at the top of the stone, and without any division of the words, thus:

RUNORRITARHULMSR

Now what can this signify? In the first place there is no doubt as to the first well-known group, RUNOR-RITAR, which we have elsewhere. The 3rd rune in the next word is now illegible on the block. In Bautil it is *R*, which gives no meaning, for HULMS is nothing. But in Bure's copy it is a clear *ʀ* (*L*). — We have then only *R* left, evidently a contraction for RISTI, for there is *no room* left in the space to carve a *single other letter*. Thus we have here the mansname HULM with the olden nominative-mark *s*, HULMS, the later Norse-Icelandic HULMR, afterwards HULM.

As to the closing word-fall, it occurs on other stones. So on the Frössunda stone, Upland, OSMUNR MARKADI RUNAR-RITAR. On the Gärstad block, Gestrikland, OSMUNTR . . . MARKADI RUNOR-RITAR. On the Åker stone, Upland, OSMUNTR HIU RUNA-RITAR. The parallel-phrase is RUNA-RAD, *the rune-row*. So on the Kongs Husby stone, Upland, BALI RISTI RUNARAD ÐIR. On the Tuna stone, Upland, NASI OK RITIL ÐEI IOGU RUNIRADI SASU. On the Åker block, Upland, LITU R(un)i-RODO IR(ista) AT ARSUA. — Within the worm-wreath is a Double-Cross.

### LUNDBY, SÖDERMANLAND, SWEDEN.

The large folding-plate No. 46 in Richard Dybeck's Octavo "Svenska Run-Urkunder", Vol. 1. Stockholm 1855 (text p. 48), shows a splendid Barrow with its pillar-stone, and several other hews. On one of these stands a Runic block of hard graystone, found by Dybeck himself. It bears the Cross-mark, and is doubtless from the early Christian period. The staves read:

SBIUTI, HALFTAN. ÐAIR RAISDU STAIN ÐANSI IFTIR SKARDA. BRUÐUR SIN.

FUR AUSTR HIPAN

MID RUARI.

O SIKKLANTI LIKK

SUNR UINUR.

SBIUTI and-HALFTAN, THEY RAISED STONE THIS AFTER SKARTHI. BROTHER SIN (*their*).

FOOR-he (*he fared, went or sailed*) HENCE

MITH (*with*) RUAR.

ON (*in*) SARKLAND LIGGETH (*lieth*)

that-SON of UINA.

What particular wiking-foray or expedition or Crusade<sup>1</sup> this was of which RUAR had the chief command, I do not know. Captain SKARTHI fell in "SARACENLAND", North Africa and a part of Spain.

<sup>1</sup> If a Crusade, probably one of the many marauding half-pirate half-military Christian adventures from Scandinavia in the last quarter of the 11th and the 1st quarter of the 12th century. See Paul Riant, "Expéditions et Pèlerinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte". 8vo, Paris 1865, p. 183 & foll.

But the linguistic point here is the old feminine genitive *UINUR*, nom. *UINA*. This is plain enough. In olden days the matronymic was frequently borne by the child, when the mother outlived the father; or the mother, *UINA*, may have been especially famous or high-born. Whatever the reason, we have *many* instances of men being thus called after a distinguisht *mother*, NOT after the *father*.

## LUNDBY, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Part 3 of the second section of Dybeck's folio "Runurkunder" is now (Jan. 1869) in my hands. Its No. 139 (Bautil No. 11, Liljegren No. 495) is the block at Lundby, Markim Socken, a rune-token which offers yet another example of *ANS*, with the *N*. Dybeck shows that this elegant pillar is quite perfect. It is from the early Christian time, and tells how a daughter *KURID* raises the minne-stone to *UNIF* her father, while a lady *KUDLUK* shares in the raising in memory of *ONSUR* (= *ONSUAR*, *OSUAR*, *ANSUAR*, &c.) her husband. *UNIF* and *ONSUR* may have perisht together in some storm or fray, and may have been father and son or two brothers. As the order of the runes is intentionally complicated, the artist has archly added, as so often in such cases, *RAÞ ÐISI* = *REDE THIS*, interpret this if you can! As most commonly, the risting begins at the head of the nadder:

*KURID UK KUDLUK ÐAR LITU RISA STIN ÐINA IFTIR UNIF, FADUR SIN, UK IFTIR ONSUR, BUNTA SIN. — RAÞ ÐISI.*  
*KURITH EKE KUTHLUK THEY LET RAISE STONE THIS AFTER UNIF, FATHER SIN (her). EKE AFTER ONSUR. BONDE*  
*(husband) SIN (her). — REDE (decipher) THIS.*

## LUNGERS-ÅS, NÄRIKE, SWEDEN.

No. 1025 in Liljegren, who prints it very incorrectly. It has since been engraved by Dr. Herm. Hofberg, in his "Nerikes Gamla Minnen", Örebro 1868, 8vo, p. 82. But I here give it from Dybeck's Runa, I, Pt. 6, p. 91, Pl. 20 No. 2, folio, Stockholm 1873. This stone, in Lunger village, Götunda parish, stands in a ship-setting, now injured at the eastern end, 24 feet long by 8 broad. Its greatest height is about 4 feet, its greatest breadth about 2 feet 10. It is a heathen block, particularly valuable to us as giving another example of the rune *ᚱ* for *Y*. Besides Dybeck's and Hofberg's, Prof. C. Sæve has communicated to me a third drawing, by the Rev. O. G. Blomberg. They all agree in the word *YRΛΛYΛΛ*. The text is:

*OELGULFR AUK KYRLIFR ÐEIR KIDRU EFTIR SIGMUNT. BRUÐUR SIN.*

*OELGULF EKE KYRLIF THEY GARED (made this. let raise this) AFTER SIGMUNT, BROTHER SIN (their).*

## MÄLLÖSA, NÄRIKE, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 759. — In 1868 appeared in Örebro, Sweden, Dr. Herm. Hofberg's "Nerikes Gamla Minnen", 8vo. At p. 87 he engraves this Stora Mällösa stone, but his copy is not quite so good as Mr. Wætter's, from which I engraved it in my vol. 2, p. 759. Since then, in May 1869, I have been favored by the Swedish runesmith Dybeck with a new drawing by himself, taken in 1863 (publisht by him in his Runa, I, 6, p. 92, folio, Pl. 21). Greatest height about 6 feet 6 inches, greatest breadth about 3 feet 4. I saw the stone myself for a moment in July 1878, and think it reads (the *Λ* being *Y* or *Ö* as usual):

*IKΛ LIT RITY EFTY ASL. S(T)ORKN SIN.*

*IKΛ (= INGA) LET WRITE AFTER ASL, STEP-SON SIN (her).*

I have never seen this name *ASL* before. It might be thought a short slurred form of *ASKISL*, *ASKITIL* or *ADISL*. But I think it more likely to be from [ANSWULFS] *ASULF*.

## MALSTAD, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Among the many new stones for which we have to thank the energy of Richard Dybeck, is also the block at Malstad, in Lyhundra Härad. It is of pale red sandstone, and was found by him leaning against the western wall of the church, having been recovered some years before during repairs of the building. The top or inscribed half is left, about 3 feet high by about 2 in greatest breadth. The runic resting and ornamental winds are quite perfect, save that in the word SUN, which is at the left side of the top, about half the  $\mathfrak{N}$  and  $\mathfrak{T}$  (including the cross-stroke on the latter) are broken away. The staves are elegantly and regularly carved.

[illegible]

I HAR LIK SNAÜBIARN, SUN ANSUARS, KUD HIALBI ANT.

HERE LIETH SNAÜBIARN, SON of-ANSUAR. GOD HELP his-OND (soul)!

Not only does this stone bear a Christian formula, but it has also the word **LIETH**, showing that it is a comparatively late grave-minne, and yet it has the very old name-form **ANSUAR** for the usual **ASUAR**. For this piece see R. Dybeck's *Runa*, folio, Part 4, Stockholm 1871, Plate 14, No. 15, and the text at p. 59, and his *Runrunkunder*, fol. I, II, (1876), No. 260. — Father and Son had like striking names — **ANSUAR** and **SNOWBEAR**.

## MARMA, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Bure's Ms. Runan. No. 237, Bantil's No. 206, Liljegren's No. 577, and the rune-lines given by Ol. Celsius in "Acta Lit. Svec.", 4to, Upsala 1730, p. 97. are excellent copies of this stone, still better than in Dybeck's folio "Sverikes Runurkunder", II, 4, just arrived (Jan. 1870). It is Dybeck's No. 184 in this part, which shows that the block has suffered a little since the old transcripts were made. The runes have been, one or two having nearly perished since Bure's time:

DROTI UK INGULFR LITU RITA STAIN IFTIR SIRUID, FADUR SIN, UK INKIFAST AT BONTA SIN, IN OFAIGR. ÜBIA RISTI.

THROT1 EKE INGULF LET WRITE *this*-STONE AFTER SIHUIITH, FATHER SIN (*their*), EKE INKIFAST AT (*to*)

BONDE (husband) SIN (her), IN (yon, the) UNFEY (bold, gallant). ÜBIR RISTED (carved the runes).

Observe here the **P** and **D** for **p**, the bind-rune for **as** in **INKFAST** the name of the widow, and the well-known half-vowel (whether written with **Λ** or as here with **R**) ending the accusative singular masculine **OFAIGR**. Of this particular half-vowel we have *scores* of runic examples.

## MEJLBY, DENMARK. See under BRENNER.

MÖRBY, SWEDEN. See under FREERSLEV, DENMARK.

NÖBBELÖF, SKÅNE, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 762. — "We may also assume a weak form ULFI (BUTULFI), ac. ULFA, like as BIÖRN BIARNI, KARL, KARL. In Liljegren No. 1064—5 we have FISULFA [read FIIHULFA] as both gen. and ac." *C. Sæve*. — This is quite true, as I have said myself more than once. In some cases we cannot finally decide which is which. — At p. 14 of "Kort Udsigt over det philolog.-hist. Samfunds Virksomhed", 1876—8, 8vo, Kjøbenhavn 1878, Dr. Wimmer states that this stone, which I have never seen, bears:

TUFI RISDI STIN DAINSI IFTIR AUPKA, BRUPUR SIN, HARDA KUDAN.

In this case BUTULFA disappears, and the stone goes out as to that word.



## NÖMME, SMÅLAND, SWEDEN.

As we know, we may easily be misled by Liljegren. Not only were his copies (by himself or others) often incorrect, but he sometimes could not catch their import, sometimes printed them faultily, sometimes *altered* letters which he did not understand. This is the case with the stone now under notice, the remarkable block at Nömme in Björkö Socken (Parish), Östra Härad (Hundred), Njudingen. It was first mentioned by Rogberg (Smålands Beskrifning, p. 740), but a drawing was first made by the Curate in Svartorp G. C. Lagergren, in 1813. Copies of this got about, but in 1822 Wallman made a fresh drawing, still more correct, and this was engraved by Sjöborg (Samlingar, Vol. 3, p. 118, fig. 190) altho he mistakenly says that it is taken from a copy by Major Ennes. All these materials are now before me, and Liljegren follows none of them. See his No. 1214. He has also misunderstood the order of the lines, whereby he has made the whole into gibberish — as we may see in the translations offered by him (Runlära, p. 86, 87) and by Sjöborg. — The following is Lector J. H. Wallman's *correct* transcript of the runes, for in doubtful cases it is supported by all the other copies, but the lines for the first time are here printed in the proper order:

RUFRA RISTI STIN DANSI AFTIR SUNI SINA SIN AUK THURSTIN, AUK AT SAM; RUBIR AT SIN TIURKA, KUDA FADURA.

RUFRA RAISED STONE THIS AFTER SONS SINE (*her*) SIN EKE THURSTIN, EKE AT (*to*) SAM; RUBIR AT (*to*)

SIN TIURING, *his*-GOOD FATHER.

Thus the Lady RUFRA had two sons, SIN and THURSTIN. The kinship of SAM is not stated; perhaps he was the cousin of SIN and THURSTIN. Probably they all three perished together in some feud or foray or storm. The widow then commemorates her sons and kinsman, and her grandson RUBIR joins in remembering his father. — TIURKA I look upon as — TIURKA = TIURINGA, DIURINGA, DYRINGA, with the very common slurring of I, thus a patronymic. SIN's father was TIUR, DIUR, or TIURI, DIURI, a very common mansname. Consequently TIUR's son was SIN TIURING, TIUR's or DIUR's SON. This patronymic in -ING (-INGON, -INGÆ, -INGI, &c.) so frequent in the oldest days, is also sometimes found on the later stones. — Certain it is that as SUNI, ac. pl. is interesting in one way, so is FADURA (in which *all* the copies agree) in another, it being undoubtedly *an older* form of this word with the accusative-vowel still left. Whether this *lingua rustica* be *very* old or not, and lives-on in *present* local forms or no, — the facts remain. As to Norway, Ivar Aasen says that the vocalic accusative (and nomin.) sing. ending is now always -E, when it occurs.<sup>1</sup>

## NORRALA, HELSINGLAND, SWEDEN.

This block, greatest height and breadth about 5 feet, is known to me in Liljegren No. 1061 and other sources, but especially in a drawing by Prof. Carl Sæve dated Sept. 6, 1851. All the copies agree in the first word. This name, ANASUIR (OSSWID, OSWITH in O. Engl.), also occurs on the Kolind stone, Jutland, Denmark, where it is said of TUKI that he was SMIDR OSUIDAR. Thus we have here not only the antique ANS for AS, but the (at least as to outward form) still older ANAS for ANS. — Prof. Sæve's transcript<sup>2</sup> reads:

ANASUIR AUK KUTRIK AUK SIKBIURN DÏR LÏTU RITA IFTIR KATILBIURIN, AUK ANUNT SUN HANS AUK SAUFARAR.

KUD HIALBI A(TU þaira . . . . . faþi mar)KI DITA.

ANASUIH EKE KUTRIK (= GODRIK, GUNDERIK) EKE SIKBIURN THEY LET WRITE *this*-STONE AFTER KATILBIURIN.

EKE-after ANUNT (= ANUND) the-SON of-HIM (= Katilbiurn) EKE (and) of-SAUFAARA.

GOD HELP OND (soul, their! . . . . . fawed (= inscribed) grave-mar)K THIS.

Several copies have KATILBIURN. This chief and his son ANUND perish. The 3 surviving sons raise the stone to their father and brother. SAUFARA is a woman's-name taken from an epithet, the SEA-FERE, sea-strong, ocean-daring.

<sup>1</sup> "De forekommende Levninger af Hankjensordenes gamle Nominativ paa R (som: LIAA-R, SKO-R), eller blot med halvlid (som DAC'E, HEST'E), ere forhen omtalte, og kunne neppe betragtes som Kasus, da de, saavidt bekjendt, bruges ligesaaavel i Akkusativ som Nominativ." Det norske Folkesprogs Grammatik. 8vo. Kristiania 1848, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> Published by me in "Some Runic Stones in Northern Sweden. From the papers of the late Prof. Dr. Carl Sæve", p. 28 of "Nova Acta Reg. Soc. Ups. Ser. III, Vol. 10, Pars 2", 4to. Upsala 1879.

## NYBLE, SÖDERMANLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 910. — Refound by R. Dybeck in 1860. I have his and several other drawings, as also one by Baron O. Hermelin in 1871. It is Bautil 737, Lilj. 947. This splendid monument reads, in stave-rime:

SAN HIUK ESBERN;  
 STINTE AT UTTUM.  
 BAT MID RUNUM.  
 RAISTI KULA  
 AT KAIABIRN, BOANTA SIN,  
 AUK KOFRID AT FADUR SIN.  
 HAN UAR BOANTA  
 BESTR I KILA.  
 RAPI SAR KUNI!

*This-SOOTH-stone (= true memorial) HEWED ESBERN;  
 let-it-STAND AT the-WITTERS (beacons),  
 BEYT (adorned) MITH (with) RUNES  
 RAISED-IT KULA  
 AT (to) KAIBIRN, BONDE (husband) SIN (her),  
 EKE KOFRITH AT (to) FATHER SIN (her).  
 HE WAS of-BONDES (yeomen)  
 the-BEST IN KILA*

REDE SA-AS (he-who) may-CAN. (*Let him unriddle this who can!*)

KILA is a village close by the stone, in Strengnäs stift (diocese). — SAN is plain enough.

## ODDUM, NORTH JUTLAND, DENMARK.

Vol. 2, p. 763. — Prof. J. M. Petersen has lately (1873) revisited and redrawn this stone. He finds that the first word is DURLFS, not DURALFS. Thus still more strikingly the old nom. s-mark still left. — Prof. C. Sæve says, Englist: "Besides here, I think I have seen this HIALBI HANS somewhere in Liljegren, tho I cannot now find it. If so, it is possible that the Northern HIALPA, of old, steered also a genitive, as did the M. Gothic HILPAN." — Lower down, read Öst-Götland. — Sept. 1879. Vol. 2, Pt. 1 of Prof. Thorsen's "Danske Runemindesmærker" has now appeared. Oddum block is No. 17. The engraving shows DURLFS.

## ODENSHOLM, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 1, p. 266. — Another and interesting example of the formula A, owns, has, is found in the just received (Jan. 1869) Part 3, Section II of Dybeck's "Sverikes Runurkunder", folio, No. 130. A Bridge having been built and named in minne of a deceased kinsman, his runic stone bears only these words:

DORDR A BRO.  
 THORTH OWNS this-BROW (bridge).

This stone, now at Harg, is the one known (but long lost) as the Odensholm block. Dybeck has not remembered that this is the missing monument copied by Lars Bureus, and referred to by himself in his 8vo series, Vol. II, p. 34.

ONSALA, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 661. 914. — Has now appeared in Dybeck's *Sveriges Runurkunder*, II, No. 217. The text is substantially the same as in Bautil, but I may as well repeat it here as amended in Dybeck's copy. The first word is *now* nearly all broken away.

(DOR) OK SIRID LITU KIARA MERKI EFTIR SUN SEN SIHDOR. KUD BERHI SIULU HANS.

ÖRJA, SWEDEN. See under VIRKE.

ÖRSUNDA, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 765. — "DINGFASTR may also mean FAST, firm, unshaken as *judge*, at the TING, law-court. *Carl Säve*."

OVER-SELÖ, SÖDERMANLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 769. — "KILAUM is belike \*Icel. GLAUM (cf. GLAUMVÖR in *Sæm. Edda*); so runic KIRIMR = GRIMR, SIMDR = SMIDR, &c. *Carl Säve*." — I have just (March 1871) received from Baron O. Hermelin, of Örebro, a new and large drawing of this stone, in some places showing that the copy by Dybeck was apparently incorrect. Hermelin reads:

IKIALR AUK UISTI, STAINULFR, DAIK RAISTU STAIN AT KARL, FADUR SIN; AUK KILAUM AT BOANTA SIN; AUK IKA AT SUN SIN; AUK HUNKAIR AT BRODUR SIN. ISBERN AUK TIDKUMI HIUKU RUNIR A RIKAN STRINK.

I have not before seen this last word in runics, but suppose it to mean *string, band, rune-wind, worm-ribbon* (between whose two lines the runes are carved). The last words therefore may mean: ISBERN EKE TIDKUMI HEWED these-RUNES ON the-RICH (= hard or elegant) STRING (rune-wind) — and this example of Y for Y in 4T714Y falls away, if Hermelin's 4TR14Y be trustworthy.

PIEDSTED, N. JUTLAND, DENMARK.

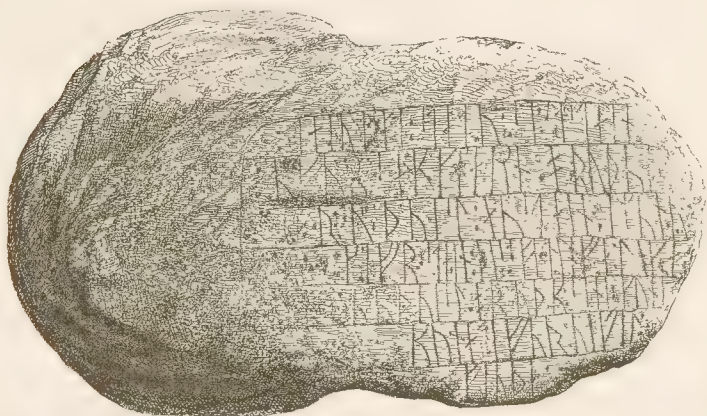
Vol. 2, p. 770. — Oct. 1879. In Prof. Thorsen's *Danske R. M.* Vol. 2. Part 1, this is pl. 16. and reads LAL RISTÆ. But a few days ago it reached the Danish Museum and I have examined it. Among other flaws on the surface, older than the inscription, is a rude streak or break running from below upward, slanting, from beneath the A to beyond the S, thro nearly the middle of the vowel after R. The question is, was this vowel I (i) or ƿ (æ)? If I, RISTÆ will mean *RISTED, cut* (the runes), and the whole will be an idle scribble. But this is seemingly impossible. The block is on this surface as hard as steel and as glassy as crystal, the very last material to be used for scribbling purposes. And the cartouche or frame is a mark of great antiquity. If a grave-miune at all, it must be very old. There is no Cross or other sign of Christianity. I have no doubt it is late pagan, say from the 10th century. — It is quite possible that the carver looked upon the flaw as sufficiently giving the ƿ. If he had dinted another side-stroke higher up, it would have looked like ƿ, probably then and there = 0, ø. The arm on the right (v) may have been sharpened by the writer, but this is not sure; and in the center there is a dot (t = e), possibly made by the stave-smith, tho this also is doubtful. I need not add that I had often, in the sound, the local power of E. In any case I believe that RÆTÆ (or RESTÆ) was intended, and that we must read

LAL RÆTÆ (or RESTÆ).

*Let-LAL REST-in-peace-here.*

This verb in this sense, so common in the southern Scando-Gothic talks, including the English, in which from old times it has been a regular grave-formula word, may well have lived-on in Jutland, which abuts on the Frisic and Saxon and other folk-lands. — The name, LALE, LALÆ, LAALE, LEHL, LOLLI, &c., Engl. LEAL, LEALE, is common in olden times, especially in Denmark.

PILGÅRDS, BOGE, GOTLAND, SWEDEN.



In 1871 the farmer Johan Niclas Nyberg found this block in a "stajn-kalm" (heap of stones) in his "hajm-akur" (home-acre, croft-field) about 200 paces from his house. Nearby, a few fathoms from the outbuildings, lay two large and heavy slabs, of which one is still left, bearing deep rib-marks made by the continual sharpening of stones and metal upon them in prehistoric times. The other is in the Visby Museum.

This rune-bearer is of light reddish-blue and pale-striped graystone, greatest depth (or length) 2 feet 1 inch, greatest depth (or height) 15 inches, and about  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick. It was given by Hr. Nyberg to the Gotland "Forn-sal" (Old-hall, Museum) in Visby in 1875, and has been mentioned<sup>1</sup> but never yet redd. For the above details I have to thank Dr. P. A. Sæve, the learned and energetic Founder and Keeper of the Visby Fornsal, who kindly gave me every facility for the daily examination of this lave during my antiquarian visit to the island in July 1877. I was so much the more anxious to read this piece if possible, as, with the exception of the small single-worded stone at Siglaifs in Nâr (C. Sæve, *Gutniska Urkunder*, p. 49, No. 161), it is *the only* runish monument of *granite* yet found in the island, whose very numerous rune-minnen are otherwise of the universal and excellent local material — limestone. It is also evidently among the very oldest inscribed pieces yet found in Gotland, dating as I think from about the 9th century.

Tho so small, the sarsin is very heavy. Unhappily, it has suffered much dint and damage, and the letters are in some places nearly worn away. The difficulty of deciphering it is also increased by veins and stains and false ruts, which may easily be mistaken for letter-marks or long lines. Add a remarkable peculiarity of scathe, an endless number (of which only a few could be given in my drawing) of various-sized holes and pittings, some of them very small. These render it impossible to say absolutely whether it has any *dotted* rune, which here applies only to the † (t). I think we really have here and there an † (ε); but I give the stone as I find it. In any case this † creeps in very early. — For the same reason these false points may mislead us as to the separation of the words.

<sup>1</sup> *Månadsbladet*, Stockholm 1875, 8vo. Mars. p. 42.



In my opinion, originally, there were divisional stops between almost every word. Now all is confusion; only in some places can we seemingly decide that the hole-marks *are* real stops.

The shape of the stone is singular, as well as its smallness. It never can have stood upright in any way. Apparently it has been placed *on* the grave-mound, with its flat written side upward. This would explain the multitudinous honey-combing, the disintegration of the surface thus fully exposed to centuries of sun and rain and frost. It would also account for the *worn* patches, for very likely people have endlessly *sat* upon it. — Things being so, I could only do my best. I spent many hours every day for many days in its study, and made a full sketch by measurement of every line and every letter. In the most doubtful places paper squeezes gave no satisfactory result. Some staves are so faint and the surface is at places so much injured, that an occasional error *may* have crept into my drawing. But such mistakes cannot be many. There is no doubt that my transcript is substantially correct.

The greatest difficulty is at the beginning. I have finally redd *IAIUKA A STATU*. The *IAIU* . A *STATU* are sure. The many dints and much wear render the other two staves doubtful. After the *IAIU* the obscure 1st rune is *not* F; the apparent lower limb is an abrasure, helpt on by two holes, *not* a cut line; the upper limb is seemingly the usual K-mark; it is regularly cut at the top close to the line, goes down (over a later pitting), and is then nearly worn away. The doubtful 2nd staff is *not* K; the apparent K-mark is *not* regularly cut, and does not go *up* to the line as it does in all the other K's on the stone, and does not join the stem; it is therefore only an accidental flaw. But the A-mark below is clear. I therefore fill in with KA. and read *IAIUKA*. Should we say that the K is not K but I, we get *IAIUI AA*, which is not likely, renders the whole construction different and harsh, and is not borne out — as I believe, after long and patient examination of the original — by the stone itself. But the meaning of *IAIUI* would be about the same, a nominal adverb, *IN-AYE, EVER, ALWAYS*. *IAIUKA* is an adverb from the adjective (*IAIUK*), answering to the *IKKA* of the Danish Freerslev stone, the O. Engl. *ECC* (= *EWICE*). Ohg. *EWICO*; modern Scandian *EVIGT*<sup>1</sup>. The epical formula itself is doubtless *in verse*, as usual. — What strikes us at once on this rune-clump is the type for B (\*), so rare elsewhere, so common in the ile of Man. We also find the short s-mark (\*), and the strange variety in the shapes of the R and the U. We cannot say what has stood in the worn spaces. Between *BRUDUR* and *RUDUISL* I suspect the usual *SINI*, as again lower down; between *MUNU* and *KIFR* was probably *HAN*; and between *LIKA* and *RUDUISL* we expect the usual *IFT* or *IFTI* or something such, for the preposition can scarcely have been omitted. — Even in this short inscription we have differences in the spelling of the same word, *BRUDUR* and *BRUDR*, *UFUR* and *IFUR*. This stone also gives another example of *RUNA* in the accusative plural.

I take it then that the words are: *IAIUKA, AYE, ever, always*. — A, *ON*<sup>1</sup> — *STATU*, d. s. f. *STEAD, grave-mound, barrow*. This word, which answers to the N. I. feminine *STADA*, still lives in Gotland (*STADA, STEDA*) particularly in the sense of a mound, high *stead*. — *SI*, 3 s. pr. subj. (the M. Goth. *SIYAI*, the N. I. *SÉ*, the O. Engl. *SÝ, SLÆ, SIE, SIO, SEO, SIG, &c.*), *let be, shall stand*. — *SA*, n. s. m. *this*. — *STAIN, STONE*. — *UFUR, OVER, in memory of*. — *SAR*, d. s. to *himself, to him*. Otherwise in runics *SÆR, SER*, and *SIR*. — *KIARN* (= *KIARAN*), ac. s. m. *dear, beloved*. Observe this early use of a word plainly derived from the Latin *CARUS*. — *BRUDUR, BROTHER*. — (? *sini*), *his*. — *RUDUISL*, ac. s. *mansname*. — *AUSTAIN*, n. s. *mansname*. — *I* (= *IN*), prep. gov. dative, *IN*. — *MUNU*, dat. s. f. *Place-name*. I do not know what place, in or out of Gotland, is intended. Dr. P. A. Sæve tells me there is no such locality now known in the island. It is possible that the Danish island now called *MØN* (whose olden spelling has never been found) may be intended. Thus *MUN*, wherever it was. — (? *han*), *he*. — *KIFR*, 3 s. pr. *GIVES*. — *STAIN*, ac. s. m. *STONE*. — *DIS*, *THIS*. This form, without a falling syllable (*DISA* or *DISI, &c.*), is quite exceptional. But it is plainly on the stone. — *SKAL*, 3 s. pr. *It-SHALL*. — *LIFA*, inf. *LIVE, last, stand*. — *LIKA* (= *LINGA*), adv. *LONG*. — (? *ift*), *after*. — *RUDUISL, RUTHUISL*. — *BRUDR, BROTHER*. —

<sup>1</sup> The earliest instance of this word which I happen to have seen and noted in Swedish is, as adjective, on the Grave-stone of a Swedish Knight in Upsala Cathedral. It bears:

HAR LIGGTA LARENS OLAFSON J BERRY OK HANS HVSTRU SOM STIKTAT HAUER EN EVIC SIVNGGÅNDE MESSA . HVAR MANADAG . HER . I . KLOSTER

This was in 1477, as is proved by his gift of land to Upsala Monastery for the above "Singing Mass". The parchment document has *RIL EWIGH TID*. See J. Peringskiöld, *Mon. Ullerakerensia*, fol., Stockholm 1719, p. 128. — I have since found a Swedish example of this word more than a century older than the above, but I have lost the reference. — In Danish it occurs in 1448, "till ewigæ tidh", in a vellum deed printed by Adjunkt A. Heise in his "Diplomatarium Vibergense", 8vo, Kjøbenhavn 1879, p. 38. How much earlier in Danish I cannot say.

SINI, ac. s. m. SIN, *his*. — KUNI-RUNA, ac. pl. f. *These-KEN-RUNES, memorial-words, marking-letters*. — IFUR, adv. *OVER-him, in his memory*. — UIFIL, n. s. *Mansname*. Very antique. On the Væblungsnæs Rock we have the longer form WIWILN. — FIUDE, 3 s. p. *FAWED, made, cut*. The F is not sharp, the stone being so much damaged here, but it is certain. The longest and oldest form of this word is on the Einang stone (ÆTHIDO); the shortest and latest is the common runic FADI. — The formulas TO GIVE A STONE which shall LIVE LONG with its KEN-RUNES are all found elsewhere. — Let us then draw the whole together:

IAIUKA A STATU

SI SA STAIN!

UFUR, SAR KIARN, BRUDUR (? sini) RUDUISL, AUSTAIN I MUNU (? han) KIFR STAIN DIS. SKAL LIFA LIKA (? ift)  
RUDUISL, BRUDR SINI.

KUNI-RUNA IFUR UIFIL FIUDE.

AYE (*ever*) ON this-STEAL (*barrow*)

SY (*shall-be, let-stand*) SA (*this*) STONE!

OVER, to-HIMSELF DEAR, BROTHER (? his) RUTHUISL, AUSTAIN I MUN (? he) GIVES STONE THIS.

It SHALL LIVE LONG (? after) RUTHUISL, BROIBER SIN (*his*).

*These-KEN-RUNES (staves of commemoration) OVER-him UIFIL FAWED (carved).*

Thus speaketh this heathen grave-block after 1000 winters!

#### RAMSTAD, SÖDERMANLAND, SWEDEN.

Among the scores of new Runic stones found by Richard Dybeck, is one from the earliest Christian tide, say about the year 1000 in up-Sweden, at Ramstad in Husby Socken and Oppunda Härad, Södermanland. It was publisht by him in the 2nd volume of his "Svenska Run-urkunder", 8vo. Stockholm 1857. p. 7, plate 57. The last word is AUDU. But in a letter just received (Dec. 1871) Mr. Dybeck kindly informs me (as he has since also stated in Runa, II, 1, p. 9, publisht in 1874) that — on referring to the large sketches from which his drawing was made for the press — he finds he has made an unaccountable mistake. He has lost a letter. The last word is AUDUR, not AUDU. This at once gives us one more example of the feminine genitives in UR. I have therefore the pleasure of at once transferring this grave-writ to my pages. The stone is broken in two, and has otherwise suffered. Hence several of the staves are partly chipt off or otherwise injured. But the whole resting can be substantially made out. The YT or ÖT is spelt ʒT.

AUDA AUK IKA, AUK IRINTIS BRIDI, HAPA MUDKU(NI)KUM KA(R)UT STA(IN) D(IN)A (A)BTIR SUAIN, FADUR SIN.

AUK YT KUDFAST, BRUDR SIN. H(A)N UAS SUN AUDUR.

AUTHA EKE IKA, EKE IRINTIS THIRL, HAVE with-their-MOTHER-KIN GARED (*made, let raise and inscribe*) STONE THIS AFTER SUAIN, FATHER SIN (*their*), EKE AT (to) KUTHFAST, BROTHER SIN (*their*). HE WAS SON of-AUTHA

SUAIN married a widow-lady. AUTHA, who had borne a son (GUTHFAST) to a former husband. SUAIN had issue 2 daughters, INGA and IRINDIS. On the death of SUAIN and GUTHFAST, the 2 daughters, with the help of the widow AUTHA (their own mother) and of her male kindred, raised the stone to their father and half-brother. The mother-and-her-kin were therefore AUTHA and the kinsmen of GUTHFAST. — All dialects have peculiar and expressive words of kindred. The old Scandian have many such, of which several have died out. Among these (confining ourselves here to offshoots from MOTHER) are the Norse-Icelandic MÖÐGIN, neut. pl. mother-and-son or sons, O. Swedish MÖÐGIN, neut. pl.: O. Swed. MÖÐGINI, n. pl., mother-and-son, father-and-daughter; N. I. MÖÐGUR, f. pl., O. Sw. MÖÐGUR, MÖÐGUR, f. pl., mother-and-daughter or daughters; N. I. MÖÐREYN, neut. mothers-kin. On the Danish Skivum stone MUDRKIN, apparently Mother-and-son or sons. We have the following Runish examples: Lingsberg, Upland, DAUN MIDKIN, those mother-and-her-sons (HULMFRIDR and her sons TAN, BUSKARL and SUAIN); Sandby, Öland, DAUN MUDKINI, those mother-and-her-sons (BALGUN and her sons KUDFASTR and NANIR); Skivum, N. Jutland, DAU MUDRKIN, those mother-and-her-sons (BURUI and her sons UDINKAUR and KUDMUNTR). This last somewhat injured block has BRIDI (*the third* who took part in raising the stone), in the same way as on this Ramstad stone: it has just been publisht and partly redd by Thorsen, in

his "Runemindesmærker", Vol. 2, Part 1, pl. 23, and Vol. 2, Pt. 2, p. 67. My own reading and translation is as follows:

PAU MUD(R)KIN DURUI AUK UDINKAU(R AU)K KUDMUNTR DRU(bi rai)s(DU) KUMBL DAUSI AIFT K(UNA H)IN HUDSKA.

HON UAS L(AN)TMONO BAISTR I TONMARKU AUK FURSTR.

THEY the-MOTHERKIN (mother-and-sons) THURUI (= THYRE) EKE UTHINKAUR, EKE GUTHMUND as-the-THIRD.

RAISED CUMBELS (grave-marks) THESE AFTER KUNI (= GUNNE) YON (the) HUTHISH. HE WAS of-LANDMEN

the-BEST IN DENMARK EKE the-FIRST

Whether LONDMON may here have the technical value of *Land-warden*, *Alderman*, *Earl*, we do not know. Nor can I say what the epithet HUDSKA (= HUDISKA, ac. s. m. defin.) means on this heathen minne-stone. It may be a family- or clan-name, more likely a stead-name (from the district called HUTH), or perhaps something else. Other finds may help us.

But on the Ramstad block we have a form never found before, ending not in -KUN or -KIN or -KINI but in -KUNIK (= -KUNIK = -KUNING), as tho in English KINING instead of KIN, KINDRED. The nearest parallel to this I have seen is the Ohg. KUNILING, "Verwandter Stammgenosse, *proximus, contributis*." (Graff, Sprachsch. 4, 442).

#### RIMBO, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

We have yet another example of this  $\mathfrak{F} = \gamma$  rune on the Rimbo stone, Upland, a block built in at the threshold of the church and therefore partly hidden. It is given in Dybeck's *Runurkunder*, fol. 2, No. 248, and bears, *inter alia*,

𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃𐀄𐀅𐀆𐀇𐀈𐀉𐀊𐀋𐀌𐀍𐀎𐀏𐀐𐀑𐀒𐀓𐀔𐀕𐀖𐀗𐀘𐀙𐀚𐀛𐀜𐀝𐀞𐀟𐀠𐀡𐀢𐀣𐀤𐀥𐀦𐀧𐀨𐀩𐀪𐀫𐀬𐀭𐀮𐀯𐀰𐀱𐀲𐀳𐀴𐀵𐀶𐀷𐀸𐀹𐀺𐀻𐀼𐀽𐀾𐀿𐁀𐁁𐁂𐁃𐁄𐁅𐁆𐁇𐁈𐁉𐁊𐁋𐁌𐁍𐁎𐁏𐁐𐁑𐁒𐁓𐁔𐁕𐁖𐁗𐁘𐁙𐁚𐁛𐁜𐁝𐁞𐁟𐁠𐁡𐁢𐁣𐁤𐁥𐁦𐁧𐁨𐁩𐁪𐁫𐁬𐁭𐁮𐁯𐁰𐁱𐁲𐁳𐁴𐁵𐁶𐁷𐁸𐁹𐁺𐁻𐁼𐁽𐁾𐁿𐂀𐂁𐂂𐂃𐂄𐂅𐂆𐂇𐂈𐂉𐂊𐂋𐂌𐂍𐂎𐂏𐂐𐂑𐂒𐂓𐂔𐂕𐂖𐂗𐂘𐂙𐂚𐂛𐂜𐂝𐂞𐂟𐂠𐂡𐂢𐂣𐂤𐂥𐂦𐂧𐂨𐂩𐂪𐂫𐂬𐂭𐂮𐂯𐂰𐂱𐂲𐂳𐂴𐂵𐂶𐂷𐂸𐂹𐂺𐂻𐂼𐂽𐂾𐂿𐃀𐃁𐃂𐃃𐃄𐃅𐃆𐃇𐃈𐃉𐃊𐃋𐃌𐃍𐃎𐃏𐃐𐃑𐃒𐃓𐃔𐃕𐃖𐃗𐃘𐃙𐃚𐃛𐃜𐃝𐃞𐃟𐃠𐃡𐃢𐃣𐃤𐃥𐃦𐃧𐃨𐃩𐃪𐃫𐃬𐃭𐃮𐃯𐃰𐃱𐃲𐃳𐃴𐃵𐃶𐃷𐃸𐃹𐃺𐃻𐃼𐃽𐃾𐃿𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚

The text on this Christian grave-slab is barbarously given by Liljegren (No. 1686), who had no other materials than Bantil's woodcut as above. Since then I have never seen any other drawing, and do not know whether the stone exists. Nor have I heard of any attempt to translate this epitaph, altho it is so late as the Christian middle-age. One reason for the difficulty is, that many of the letters are not divided into words. Another is, the rarity of some of the words actually employed. — Should my own attempt have succeeded, we have here a formula quite new to me. It reminds us of the similar somewhat fanciful epigraphs on so many olden Christian Latin stones, and would seem to have been dictated by an ecclesiastic (of which we have other middle-age runic examples). But the reason why I give it here is, that if I am right, the inscription not only has its invocation in rime, but offers us a fresh and clear example of the valuable word SEE in the sense of BLESS, spoken of Vol. 2, p. 738. It is here SI A, SEE ON, look on. — I take it then that the woodcut is apparently correct, if we only remember that A and Æ and E are carefully distinguished, as was so common at this period, and that we have the usual ornamental use in 2 places of † for ‡ (Æ), in the words DÆN and LIDÆN. I divide and translate thus:

GES-KRIST, DÆN ALT MA,

SIÆLI ÆSU SI A!

LIDÆN IS TIAO I STENNLI KAKA.

JESUS CHRIST, THAT ALL MAY (can do).

JESUS'S SOUL LOOK ON AY!

LITHEEN (*past, gone*) is the-TWEE (*doubt*) IN the-STONE-HILL (*the grave-vault*) to-GANG (*go*).

= *Past is the doubt, come is the certainty, the hard necessity, to enter thy tomb!*

TIAO answers to the N. Icel. TÝJA, fern., a slurred form of TÝJA, doubt, doubleness. — STENNLI is the usual STEN-(H)ILI, stone-kist. — For formulas of *Blessing* see ABRAHAMSTORP, and the list added there.

#### RÖRBRÖ, FINNHEDEN, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 785. — Prof. S. Bugge, who has seen this stone, says in Månads-bladet, Sept. 1877, p. 532, that we must take UMUNARTS as one word, and that this stands for UMUNASTR, and that this is to mean *the-most-unsparring*, all possible enough. He adds, that the stone also bears:

KUSTRU (= KUDS TRU)

GOD'S TROW (= Faith in Christ)

KUDA HAFEL.

that-GOOD-man HAD.

In the line UAR INTR MATAR Prof. Carl Säve would prefer to take UAR as the same as UOR above, namely WAS, the R redd twice, thus UAR-INTR MATAR, was a *lavisher of meat*. This would be in N. I. UAR \*HRINDR MATAR, a driver away of meat, HRINDR from HRINDA as BRÍÓTR from BRÍÓTA and others. So such N. I. expressions as MEN-GLÓTUÐR, jewel-disperser, BAUG-BROTI, beigh-breaker, BAUG-STOKKVIÐR, AUD-SLÓNGVIÐR, &c. — P. 786, l. 15. For S(U)S(TIR) read S(U)S(TUR).

#### ROTBRUNNA, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 1, p. 240. — An engraving of this stone has now (1876) appeared in R. Dybeck's Run-urkunder, folio, I, II, No. 277, which shows the block much damaged and with nearly all the Is-runes broken away. But it gives us AFTIR NUKA, AFTER NUKI, instead of the older AT IRLAUKA. — Prof. S. Bugge (Rök-stenen, p. 82) guesses that NRIKR may have been miscut or misredd for AIRIKR. But NRIKR (whether NI-RIKR or NIR-INGR) may also be a good old name.

#### SALMUNGE, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 776. — The Salmunge stone has now appeared as No. 249 of Dybeck's folio Run-urkunder, Section II. His copy agrees with that given by me from Bantil. The RITI IDUN, wrote, inscribed, this time, I now look on as an example of TIN, time, pillar-stone, and not a lisp-change of the word STIN. STUN.



## SÄRESTAD, SWEDEN. See under KORPEBRO

## SEDDINGE, LÅLAND, DENMARK.

Vol. 2, p. 780. — As I have said in my text, I have never seen this stone — I cannot do everything and go everywhere. I blindly followed the Kornerup-Worsaae copy, as it was then my duty to do. It has now (Aug. 1878) been again drawn by Prof. J. M. Petersen, and the result is — several important variations, doubtless corrections. The stone has suffered so much, that we never shall be sure as to certain details. But, following Petersen's new drawings, I now propose:

DURUI KA(T) KAURUAN STAIN DÄNSI (AFTI) (A)IRIK, UIAR SIN. IAN HAN UAS (K)ARMATR AUAR-SUTR SUIA.

AUK SUPRLANA K(R)AULATR UF(RIDAR-mini).

The *t* is as doubtful as ever in KA(T). The *ti* in AFTIR (which may have been AFT or AFTI &c.) is my guess, as is the *ar-mini* in UFRIDAR-MINI. — AFAR, *over, very, much*, and MINI (MANNI, MENNI), *man*, are frequent as the first and last word in compounds, but I have never seen these particular AUAR-SUTR and UFRIDAR-MENNI before.

THURUI (= THYRE) GAT GARE (*let make*) STONE THIS AFTER AIRIK (= ERIK), WERE (*man, husband*) SIN (*her*). IN (*but*) HE WAS a-CARLMAN (*soldier, chieftain*) OVER-SWEET (*beloved, = a darling Captain*) of-the-SWEDES.

EKE (*and*) of-the-SOUTH-LANDS the-GRAYLET (*ash-colored, fierce*) UN-FRITH-MAN (*foe*).

Perhaps others may light upon a better combination to explain this difficult risting. — At all events it is very far-fetched and very unreasonable, that — altho we have *hundreds on hundreds* of runic examples of this verb KAURUA in the *infinitive* (the *N* fallen away), and *not one* in its form as *p. part.* ac. s. or pl., m. or fem. or neut., yet — *just here*, because the *-N* is left, KAURUAN must be suddenly taken as *p. p. ac. s. masc.* agreeing with STAIN!

## SIGTUNA, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 782. — Jan. 1876. This stone has again been publisht by Dybeck, Sver. Run-urkunder, fol., II, 4, No. 196. It has been taken out of the cellar where it was laid, and other letters are now visible. But Dybeck's drawings are not exact, as Prof. C. Sæve informs me, on the authority of Docent E. Schwartz, Hr. P. J. Lindal and other runologists. It reads:

KILAUH AUK KUSI DAU LITU RAISA (stain) DINA EFTIR (? UI)K SUN ARNA.

KILAUH EKE KUSI THEY LET RAISE (stone) THIS AFTER (? UIK). SON of-ARNI

There is a dot after RAISA. The word is *not* RAISAN.

## SIGTUNA (B), UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 784. — Jan. 1876. Prof. C. Sæve informs me that this block has been re-examined by several runemen, and that the *last* words are:

MATU NO(U...)

Prof. Sæve proposes, with great acumen, to restore the broken place thus:

MATU-NOUT SIN. MEAT-MATE (*ness-mate, ship-mate*) SIN (*his*).

I think that there can be little doubt of this being absolutely correct. — P. 785. KILS RISIN. Compare the N. I. GEST-RISINN, GUEST-RISEN, *hospitable, generous*, and VIG-RISINN, WIG-RISINN, *war-noble, glorious*.

## ST. MOLIO, ARRAN, SCOTLAND. See under LAWS.

## SKAFSÅ, BRATSBERG, UPPER THELEMARKEN, NORWAY.

At p. 234 of his "Norske Fornlevninger, Kristiania 1862—6", N. Nicolaysen speaks of this stone. It was first given correctly by Prof. S. Bugge in his "Bidrag", Part 2, p. 49 (360) as follows: ORNAIRS SUNR RISDU ELU DESA EFTIR DIUDULB, BRODOR. KODMONT RIST RUNAR DESAR OUK DEIR ONLOTR, MERSIN. ORNAIR'S SONS RAISED BILL (slab-stone) THIS AFTER THIUTHULB (= THEODWULF), their-BROTHER. KOTHMONT (= GUDMUND, RISTED (cut) RUNES THESE EKE THEY ONLOT and-MERSIN (? = MAR-SWIN).

Thus KODMONT, ONLOT and MERSIN took part in this memorial to their deceased brother DIUDULB. — However we may interpret LOTR, whether or no, as I suppose = the usual Northern word LIOT, ugly, fierce (in which case ONLOTR is - the handsome, the pleasant), it is clear that ON is here the full olden negative ON or UN, which afterwards sank to O, U. MARSVIN (MAR-SWINE, sea-hog, porpoise, dolphin) is still a Scandinavian name.

## SKALMSTAD, UPLAND, SWEDEN.



I take it that we have IN once more on a stone which has never yet been redd. that at Skalmstad, Parish of Skånåla, Upland. This has now been re-copied by R. Dybeck, and has just appeared (Jan. 1869) in Part 3, No. 132. Section II of his folio "Sverikes Runurkunder". I here give it Heliotyped by Pacht. We can handle it the more securely, as it is practically identical with the text in Bautil (No. 38), No. 487 in Liljegren. The runes are plain enough. On the chief side of the large block, which bears the usual snake-winds and the Cross-mark, we read:

UITAN LIT KAISA STAIN DINSA EFTIR SUN SIN, (A)UK KARL EFTIR BRODUR SIN.

SIU TASIR IN MARNU

MID-KI EFTIR UTULF.

In deciphering this, all that I ask is that the 4th letter in the second risting shall be  $\tau$  carved ornamentally, as often, upside down — which of course it is (observe, in the same way, the 2 forms of the s) —, and that the KI shall be a familiar contraction for KIARDU, to save space, there being no room for the ARDU; — this is so natural and likely, and we have so many other similar shortenings

that it may well be granted. I then take SIU to be the number SEVEN, TASIR to be the nom. plural of a common Scandinavian and provincial English word now first found in runics and signifying *a wee lass, a young girl*<sup>1</sup>, IN to be the old form of what is now I, MARNU to be a place-name (MARN in the nominative). The name of the deceast, not on the first side, is very properly on the other, after all the sorrow-sharing kin have been mentioned. The dead man height UTULF; if we should take EFTIR, RUTULF, it would be RUTULF. We get then:

UITAN [ HUITARN] LET RAISE STONE THIS AFTER SON SIN (his), EKE KARL AFTER BROTHER SIN (his).

SEVEN TASSES (*lasses*) IN MARN

MITH-GARED (*took part, shared with their father and brother, in this memorial*) AFTER UTULF.

Thus UITAN had 9 children, of whom 7 girls were of tender years. At UTULF's death, his father UITAN and his brother KARL raise his minne-stone, and his 7 sisters — tho too young to be separately named — join in the pious act. The old home was at MARN. — Should this be so, let us note and compare the

MID KI[AR]DU], *mith-gared, shared in raising,*

of this epigraph with the

DELIDUN (SET)A, *dealed to-set, shared in setting,*

of the Norse Tune stone.

Nov. 1880. Another variation of this idea — *the sharing, taking part* in setting up or building anything, has just been found in Norway. I have to thank the kindness of Prof. Olaf Rygh, of Christiania, for making it known to me. During repairs in the old stave-church at Ål, Hallingdal, came to light the Builder's announcement, *painted* on the sill of the boarding, 3.50 meters long. He intended to cut the whole in, but for some reason never finisht more than the animal-figure, which is really "risted". All the rest remains in mere paint. A word or two at the end have perisht. The church was built about the year 1200, and the same man (THOROLF) also raised the similar stave-church at Torpe, which is only 1 Norse mile off. The last 3 words are a postscript, added *before* the animal-figure, which otherwise marks the beginning of the inscription. Prof. Ol. Rygh's beautiful transcript of the runes is, in Roman letters:

DOROLFR KÆRM KIRKIU DESA, EN KÆRÆSTÆIN UAR FILAKR, OK ÆIR KUNAR, UIDAR, ÆYINTR, ÆIRIKR, KUNAR. NU  
HÆFI EK RISTIT ALRA (? nafn þæira). ALFR UAR OK.

THOROLF GARED (*built*) CHURCH THIS, EN (*but*) KÆRÆSTÆIN WAS *his-fellow (comrade, took part, shared, in the work)*, EKE (*and, as well as*) THEY KUNAR, UITHAR, ÆYINT (= EYVIND), ÆIRIK, KUNAR (*a second GUNNAR*). NOW HAVE I RISTED *of-ALL (them the-names)*. ALF WAS EKE (*also one of my fellow-workers*).

I believe that this is the first time the name of the Northern God VIDAR has been found as a mansname, at all events in runics. And in the word FILAKR we have another proof of the fact, to which I have often drawn attention, that from the promiscuous use of the 2 R's (the half-vowel ʀ and the R) *both* are frequently found with a clear *vocalic* power. Thus here. A strong noun FILAKR (for the weak FILAKI) has never been heard of in Scandinavia, and the FILAKR is in fact equal to FILAKI, (FĒLAGI), the R being merely graphic for a dull indistinct vowel.

## SKÅNILA, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2. p. 787. — The Skånila stone is re-copied in Dybeck's folio "Sverikes Runurkunder", just received (Jan. 1869). I was right in my conjectures about \*IN†, which *is* the reading of the stone, and in the name INKIRUNT, which *is* INKIMUNT. Only Dybeck reads EFTR, not IFTR. The KISLAUH stands fast.

<sup>1</sup> The word TÖS (Swed. dial. TÄSS, TAUS, TASA; Norse d. TAUS; Dan. d. TÖS; Lombardic TOSA; O. French TOUSE; N. Engl. TASSY, TAZZY, a wild romping girl; not yet found in Icel.) is of high antiquity, Greek θῆσσα, Hindostanee DOSISA, Sanscrit DASI. The varied vowel. A, AU, O, o, is highly interesting. [I have since found this word in Icelandic, in the lately publisht "Skikkju Rimur" (Ms. about the year 1500), III. 38, in the line

Fram var leidd en fimta taus

Forth was led a fifth damsel.

See G. Cederschiöld & F. A. Wulff, "Versions Nordiques du fabliau Français Le mantel mautaillié", in Acta Universitatis Lundensis, Tom. 13, 1876—7, Lund.]

## SKARA, WEST-GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

In Plate 29, page 6, in "Westergötlands Runinskrifter, samlade af Karl Torin, 2dra Samlingen" (printed in Part 3 of Westergötlands Fornminnesförenings Tidskrift, 8vo, Lund 1877) is given a decorated grave-slab in Skara Cathedral. The runes have suffered from tramp. What is now left is:

† MEK A (þur)KDR IKIRS(un).

(han l)IKR (u)N(t)IR HAL(st)UN †

ME OWNS þURKUTH IKIRSON.

he LIES UNDER this-HILL-STONE (slab).

This ME HAS formula, of a tomb, is very common in Gotland.

## SKEE, SWEDEN. See Word-roll, FÆIHIDO.

## SKIVUM, DENMARK. See under RAMSTAD.

## SKJERN, NORTH JUTLAND, DENMARK.

Vol. 2, p. 789. — In October 1869 Prof. Magnus Petersen copied the Skjern stone afresh, for Prof. Thorsen's second volume. He then found that Kruse's excellent drawing is yet not quite perfect. Among other small things must be mentioned 4 places in the runes, SOSKIRDR not SOSKIRADR, FINULFS not KINULFS, the word MONR has the N as the usual ʀ, not as ʁ, and Kruse has misunderstood a break in the stone and thus given us DAUSI instead of DUSI. — Thorsen's Vol. 2, Part 1, is now (Sept. 1879) publisht. This monolith is No. 22. In his Vol. 2, Part 2 (text), it is p. 59. I cannot follow Thorsen in his transliteration and version.

## SKÖN, MEDELPAD, SWEDEN.

Another example of SUNU in the accusative singular has turned up in Sweden. (March 1870) I have received "Antiquarisk Tidskrift för Sverige. Utgifven af Kongl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitets Akademien genom Bror Emil Hildebrand", 8vo, Vol. 2, Stockholm 1869. With other valuable articles it contains a digest of the results obtained by Docent Karl Sidenbladh during his antiquarian visits to Norrland. Among these is, that he found 2 new rune-stones in the landscape Medelpad. The one was met with when the old church at Skön was taken down, and was placed in the foot of the tower in the new church. In a single wind we have as follows:

BIURN RITI STAIN DINN AFTIR UKUIÐ; AUK AT UN, SENU SIN.

BIURN WROTE (carved) STONE THIS AFTER UKUIÐ; EKE (also) AT (to) UN, SON SIN (his).

Possibly the stone has really ÐIÐ (ÐINO), not ÐIÐ (ÐINN). Several staves are round-about. While the name UN has here *no vowel at all* in the accusative, SENU is in one of its oldest endings! But all tungs and manuscripts and monuments are full of such things, the *ipse dixit* of school-theorists notwithstanding.

## SKRÅMSTAD, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 790. — This stone is now in Dybeck's Runurkunder, fol. 2, No. 229. His text is identical with Bautil's.



## SLAKA, EAST GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 791. — Has been taken out of the wall and re-red by Baron C. F. Nordenskjöld (Östergötlands Fornminnesförenings Tidskrift, I, 8vo, Stockholm 1875, p. 3). Three new words have been recovered, the whole being: ASKUR AUK DIR BRUÐ RESTU STEN DANI IFTIR SARTA, FADUR SIA (= SINA). — RESTU is therefore 3 pl. p. in the usual way after a plural, and *this stone goes out*. — Nordenskjöld has BRUÐR. L. C. Wiede (l. c. p. 116) has BRUÐR.

## SMÅLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 914. — I have since found another stone bearing this formula with BIRGA, O. E. BEORGAN, Mid. Engl. BERWEN, BERWE. But I cannot say in what part of Småland this block is or was. I found it in Ennes's valuable Ms. "Smålands Runor", 4to, in the National Library, Stockholm. I here copy the drawing, Heliotyped by V. Pacht. Ennes has accidentally forgotten to add the name of the hamlet where it stood. — The runes are in one place not correctly copied, for there can be little doubt that Ennes's SIN OSUR are a mistake for SINO KUD, the runes for s and k, for d and r, being so often misunderstood by persons ignorant of the meaning of what they transcribe. I therefore print them rightly here, but leave the drawing untouched.

IUFFI UK IU LITU HAKUA IDUN IFTIR OSIR, FADUR SINO. KUD BIRKI ANT.

IUFFI EKE IU LET HACK (*carve*) *this-TINE (pillar) AFTER OSIR, FATHER SIN (their). May-GOD BARG*  
(*bless, save*) *his-OND (soul)*!



Thus another example of the IDUN = TINE, and of the BIRKI = BLESS. — Since the above was written and engraved I remark that this drawing must have been copied by Ennes from the Atlas to Rudbeck's Atlantica, where it is fig. 108. It is referred to by Rudbeck in his Vol. 1, p. 833, but he neither mentions where the stone was nor does he offer any reading of the inscription.

SMULA, SWEDEN. See under FREERSLEV, Denmark.

SÖDERKÖPING, EAST GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 619. — Of course we may say, with Carl Säve, that the *u* in *HAU*, *IGGU*, *IKU* may be taken as the *-w* or *-v* in the forn forms *HAGGW*, (*u*)*IGGW*, as in the Gothic *STAGKW* from *STIGKWAN*, *SAGKW* from *SIGKWAN*, &c. But this is not the place for such enquiries. What I said and say is, that these stones have in the 3 s. p. *u*, not *i*.

## STAFSUND, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Is No. 359 in Liljegren, No. 278 in Bautil, and No. 57 in Dybeck's "Sverikes Runurkunder", folio, Sect. 2, where we see that part of the block has become illegible since the drawing in Bautil was made. The whole has apparently borne:

(S)UR AUK IS(A) RISTU TIN (D)INA EFTIR (IN)UINTTAR, MAK SIN KUDAN, I UIKI.

SASUR EKE ISA RAISED TINE (pillar-stone) THIS AFTER INUINTTAR, MAUG (son-in-law) SIN (their)

GOOD, IN WIK.

Another example of TIN, in which both Bautil and Dybeck agree. WIK is doubtless a place-name, probably in the parish (Åkerö) or at least the Hundred (Färentuna) in which this block stands.

## STAVANGER, STAVANGER AMT, NORWAY.

When handling the Norwegian Frei-Laubersheim Brooch (p. 112 above), I spoke of the feminine *gōdr*, gen. sing., a god-maiden, a priestess, whose nom. then and there was probably *gōdrā*. Its masculine, *gōdr* a priest-magistrate, the M. Gothic *gōdr* a priest, not yet found on any Swedish or English carved block and only 3 times in Denmark, has never yet been seen on any Norse stone, tho it occurs so frequently in Iceland, largely a West-Norse colony. The reason is simply, that so few really old Norse rune-laves remain. See the Word-row Vol. 2, p. 930. — I now think I can point out at least one instance of this *gōdr* also in Norway.

Among the many runic pieces in the Bergen Museum is a large granite minne-stone found near Stavanger about the year 1843. It now stands in the open air, outside the building, and is so much weathered and so injured that it has never yet been redd, as far as I could learn. When I was at Bergen in July 1881, I carefully examined it in all weathers and lights for more than a fortnight, twice every day. The result is, that I think I succeeded in making it out, more or less *certainly* as to the first line, more or less *probably* as to the 2nd. I submitted my reading to my runic friend Hr. B. E. Bendixen of Bergen, who went over the block with me several times, letter by letter. He agreed with me.

This old-lave, without ornament of any kind, has 2 lines of runes, both of them beginning from below. The right or lower line is the first in order, the left or upper line is the second and last. This block would seem to date from the 9th century. As far as I could make out, the runes are as follows:

[illegible]

The upper or left line, as I have said, is very difficult to read; the 2 staves after the 8 are quite broken away. As SIN and AFTI are at the top of the stone, which part has greatly suffered, these two words are obscure, the AFTI less so than the SIN. Interesting is the plain B for P. and the runic binds AR and OD in SPARKODI as well as NA in RUNA. My translation is:

UKR, SPARKODI, RAIT RUNA DISO AFTI DURMUDA, DIALFUNA KUDA, S(un) SIN.

UK, SPAR-GOTHI (priest-magistrate of the Spar-men) WROTE RUNES THESE AFTER THURMUTH,  
the-THIALFES' GOTHI SON SIN (his).

Should this be so, the father had the "Guth-ord" of one district, his son that of another, of which we have examples in the Sagas, this office being also obtainable by purchase. With regard to

the several words, UKR may be either = UK or UG or UNGER. — We have in O. Norse documents such places as SPEIRIN-GÅRD, SPERRESTAD, SPARUBU (now SPARBO), and there was doubtless a powerful SPARRE or SPAR family or clan, the modern Scandinavian SPARRE. If so, this is the earliest mention of this great Scandian house. — Of old we have a Norse place-name THJALFAHELLE, and DIALFI occurs in the Hárbarðsljóð st. 39, as well as in the Prose Edda, and in the Gotlands Saga we have the mansname DIELWAR. It is not unfrequent on Swedish runic stones. Thus, as nom., DELFI, Axlunda and Fardabro, Upland; DIALFI, Fockstad, Glia, Gryta, Svingarn, Upland; DIALFR, Skogkloster, Upland; as gen., DIALFA, Benhammar, Upland; as ac., DIALFA, Landeryd, East-Gotland; Vallsjö, Småland; Gryta, Upland; DIALFR, Kumla, Upland. — There is therefore no reason why DIALFUNA should not be a clan or settlement of this name, in the gen. pl. — RAIT, 3 s. past, is valuable as so near the still older WRAIT, and RUNA is another plain instance of this word in the ac. pl., as of old, without an -r. — For the present I will not insist on the left or upper or last line, which I think has KUDA in the ac. singular. But I believe there can be *no doubt* of the nom. sing. KODI in the first line. In this case we have here at least one ancient example of this interesting GUM in Norway itself. — But this whole question will be set at rest, when Professors S. Bugge and Olaf Rygh publish their long-announced "Runic Monuments of Norway". — Even should I have made a mistake in my reading, there is no harm done. I have at least drawn attention to this unknown Norwegian monument.

## STENQVISTA, SÖDERMANLAND, SWEDEN.





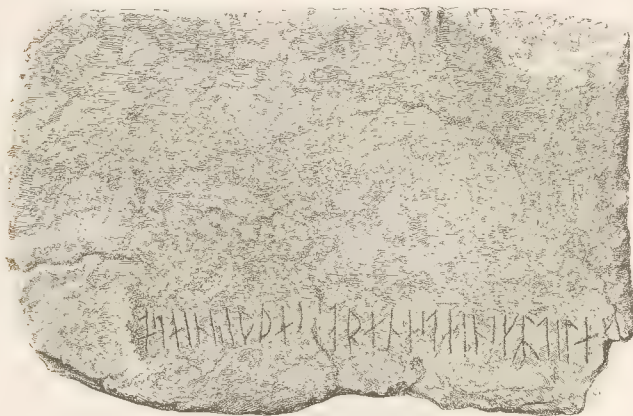
This fine block, now in Stenqvista Church-yard, is No. 34 in Dybeck's 8vo series. Besides this, I was favored with an excellent paper cast by Hr. Westerberg, then of Eskilstuna, in Nov. 1868. We can therefore safely handle it. It is remarkable as being *heathen* — bearing plainly and boldly carved THE HAMMER OF THU(NO)R, like the Aby stone, — and also the same SEVEN MARKS, the SEVEN again with the end-N as on the Aby stone (*hlant* = *sioun*), Vol. 2, p. 671:

HELKI AUK FRAUKAIR AUK DORKAUTR RAISTU MERKI SIOUN AT DIUDMUNT, FADUR SIN.

HELGI EKE FRAUGAIR EKE THORGAUT RAISED *these*-MARKS SEVEN AT (to) THIUTHMUND, FATHER SIN (*their*).

The above Heliotype is from the lithograph in Dybeck, but corrected in two places by the paper cast, which shows that the stone has HELKI not HALKI and MERKI not MIRKI. The Hammer of Thor, equivalent to the formula THU(NO)R BLESS or GUARD THIS STONE (or THESE RUNES), is very costly.

#### STRANDEBARM, S. BERGENHUS-AMT, NORWAY.



Little is known of this stone. It came somewhere about the year 1835 to the Bergen Forn-hall, as found in the stonefence round the churchyard at Strandebarm. I examined it in July 1881 in the Cellar of the Museum, as well as all the other runic remains there preserved. Myself and my learned friend the Norse Archæologist B. E. Bendixen, of Bergen, copied it in union, and we fully agreed on the letters which it bore, whatever their meaning may be. But it is not therefore said that our transcript is faultless. The minne-stone is a dark hard slaty slab, greatest length about 34 inches, greatest breadth about 23, average thickness 4, the runes being nearly 2 inches high. Apparently a piece has been broken off at the end. If so, tho the inscription seems complete as far as it goes, there may have been a continuation. I studied this memorial for several days, made a full-size facsimile of the shallow runes, and secured a faithful photograph. The result is before my readers, Chemityped by Prof. Magnus Petersen,  $\frac{1}{6}$ <sup>th</sup> of the natural bigness. — As to further details: here and there the surface is unusually worn, and in a couple of places small bits have fallen out, making a letter or two doubtful. This is particularly the case in the word KIRÆN. A film at the top of the *Y* has scaled off, and a chip or flaw in the center of the *l* makes it possible, not probable, that the *l* may have been 4, thus KARÆN. In either case the meaning is the same, and we have often both KIRA and KARA. — At the very end I take the last stave to have been <sup>4</sup> (s), which seems certain when we examine the slab itself. There is indeed a very slight and short mark or scratch or cut on the right, but this has not the look of the arm of a *Y* (k). Should the broken stave, however, really have been *Y*, not <sup>4</sup>, I think this *Y* must have been the first letter of a new word, following after SKÖLTILÆ — Some of the divisional points, as well as the dot at the foot of <sup>4</sup>, are uncertain as usual. — This funeral stone, carved to lie on a Christian grave, would seem to date early in the 11th century.





— here found for the first time — answering to the O. Engl. *EASTERWINE*, *AESTURUINI*, *EUSTERWIN*, and the Ohg. *OSTREWİN*, *OSTRUIN*, parallel to the Scandian *ASTRID*, *ASTRAD*, *ASTULF*, *AUSTMUND*, *AUSTUALTI*, *OSTANSIA*. There are Scandinavian names ending in *-UIN* and *-UINI*, as well as *-UINR*; the *-OINI*, therefore, is so far quite regular. — The 2nd difficulty is *SET*. The 3 s. p. of *SETA* on Scandinavian monuments is *SÆTE*, *SÆTI*, *SATI*, *SAITE*, *SETI*. I know of no example without the vowel-ending, which would seem impossible on so old a stone. Even in modern Scandian vulgar dialects I have never seen or heard this 3 s. p. *SET* or *SAT* for *posuit*. — The *SKYLTILÆK(a)*, = *SKYLDILÆG(a)*, with the *Æ*, for *SKYLDILIGA*, *SKYLDLIGA*, *SKYLDULIGA* or *SKYLDUGLIGA*, with the *i*, also appears very wonderful. Nor has this *SKYLDILIGA* ever before been found in any rune-rister's formula.

Should, however, — all the above notwithstanding, — Prof. Bugge's reading be accepted, that proposed by myself will fall away. We must hope that further finds will throw light on this question. At all events this is a good example how opinions may differ, especially when the piece — as here — seems defective at the end.

#### SYLLING, DRAMMEN, NORWAY.

Vol. 2, p. 794. — Prof. C. Sæve thinks that we should divide: *GÆTI E DINA*, *gait (keep) aye (ever) thee!* — Last line but one, for W. K. Skeat read W. W. Skeat.

#### THINGVOLL (or TINGVOLD), NORDMØRE, NORWAY.

P. LXIV. — B. E. Bendixen, of Bergen, has just (May 1879) published an engraving of this stone from a sunbild of the original. The block bears, as Prof. S. Bugge said, *ALLA*, not *OLLA*, and *MINNAR I*, not *MINNRI I*. This fresh copy is in Bendixen's valuable paper: "Fornlevninger i Nordmøre og Romsdal", Part 2, p. 68, in Aarsber. for 1878 fra Foreningen til Norges Fortidsm. Bevaring, 8vo, Kristiania 1879. See also p. 1, above.

#### TIBLE, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 797. — Prof. C. Sæve would prefer *HAN NUTI FIAR* to mean — *he took pay, he was in service* (as a soldier).

#### TILLIDSE, LOLLAND, DENMARK.

Vol. 1, p. 21; Vol. 2, p. 795; Vol. 3, p. 5. — Has been re-copied by Prof. Magnus Petersen. See Thorsen, *Danske Runem.* II, 1, pl. 33, and II, 2, p. 272. The Chemitypes give:

ISKIL, SULKA-SUN, LIT RES STEN DENA EPT SIALFAN SIK.

E MUN STANTA,  
MED STEN LIFIR,  
UITRINT SU  
LAR UAN ISKIL.

KRISTR HIALBI SIOL HANS AOK SANTA MIKAOL!

On the back is a large Cross. On another side:

TOKI RISTI RUNAR EF(T)IR EBU, STIUBMUDUR SINA, KUNU KODA.

ISKIL, SULKI-SON, LET RAISE STONE THIS AFTER SELF HIM (= himself yet living).

AYE MUN (shall) STAND,

MITH (while) this-STONE LIVES,

WITTIFREND (memorial, grave-rune) SU (that)

AS (which) WAN (raised) ISKIL (which Iskil carved and raised).

TOKI RISTED these-RUNES AFTER EBA, STEPMOTHER SIN (hūs), a-QUEEN (lady, wife) GOOD.

## TIRSTED, LOLLAND, DENMARK.

Vol. 2, p. 802. — Prof. C. Sæve suggests that UASTR-UAKM on the Haraldstorp (or rather the Härlingstorp) stone may be = WESTERN WAYS, *out west*, in which case we need not supply *ku* on the Jäderstad stone (p. 802 Vol. 2), but take what stands, I AUSTR-UIHI, *in-the-EAST-WAY*, *out east*. This is also clear from the I AUSTR-UIHI of the Hamra stone, Södermanland (Lilj. 864), and the I AUSTRUIKI of the Tyfstege block, further on: in both these places it is evidently *out east*, *in the eastern way*, *out in Russia*. &c.

## TJÄNGVIDE, GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 1, p. 224. — This stone has been removed to the Stockholm Museum. Fine paper squeezes, kindly forwarded to me by Dr. O. Montelius, and afterwards my own personal examination, have shown that it bears NO Old-Northern letters. It therefore goes out of that class, and its date may be about the 9th or 10th century. Five or six staves are broken away at the beginning. The first rune now left is half an R. I read and translate:

(sikui R)AISTI STAINIO AFTI URULF, BRUDUR SIN. SIKUI FOR TRINK URULFI.

(sikui R)AISED this-STONE AFTER URULF, BROTHER SIN (his). SIKUI FOOR (went, served, warred) as-DRENG (trooper, captain) with-URULF.

I here repeat the woodcut, but with the runes corrected as I think they really are on the stone.





Among other interesting peculiarities we have here <sup>1</sup> for s, 4 for B, 1 for r, &c. Prof. S. Bugge (*Ant. Tidskr. f. Sver.* 5, 2, p. 103) has found very different letters on this slab, and gives a very different version.

### TJURSÅKER, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Runic stones directly heathen are very scarce. Those bearing invocations of the Gods are scarcer still. I believe I can now add one more to the scanty list

In 1862 the late Swedish Rune-man Richard Dybeck, to whom the whole North is under such deep obligations, published Part 3 of his "*Sveriges Runurkunder*", folio. It contained also some newly found monuments. Among them is this, in Vårfrukyrka Parish. It is a large earthfast rock (hence the phrase *LET HEW* (carve) *not* *LET RAISE*), whose inscribed part has never been smoothed and has many rents and roughnesses. Still only a letter or two has perished or suffered, and this chiefly in the lower line, where the block is especially rugged. Besides the usual intertwined worm-winds, it bears the well-known elegant standing Griffin (or wingless Dragon or whatever else we may call this nondescript four-footed animal), is evidently heathen, and probably was inscribed in the 10th century. The risting is as follows:

ASTEN LIT AKUA STEN

ÖPTI ESMON FOD (= FODUR).

SAKSE-TUNDR IU(L)B(i)

SUNI SIN(UM)!

TITHKUMI IUK STEN DINO.

ASTEN LET HEW (*inscribe*) *this-STONE*

AFTER ESMON, *his-FATHER*.

*May-the-SAX-LORD (Sword-Captain) HELP*

SON SIN (*his*)!

TITHKUMI HEWED (*carved*) *STONE THIS*.

The prayer, as we see, is in verse, stave-rime. It is to THE LORD OF SAXES, the Chief and Ruler of Battle-blades. This kenning is so peculiar that it only can have one meaning. The great War-God, the Swayer of Battle, the Giver of Victory or Defeat, the Wise Leader who was always on the watch to fill Walhall with chosen warriors whose help he needed in the final conflict, was (w)ODEN<sup>1</sup>. Hence his endless warlike epithets, among them, besides that here before us (which I believe, occurs here for the first time) others — such as HJÁLM-BERI, helm-bearer; DRES-VARPR, arrow-finger; GEIR-TYR, spear-god; GEIRA DROTTINN, Lord of spears, &c., in olden Norse-Icelandic remains. — We have already seen that SEE was used on heathen as well as Christian stones for Bless. This block shows us that HELP was employed by pagans as well as afterwards by Christians. So old are many of these formulas! — See ABRAHAMSTORP, and the list added there.

### TORPA, VESTMANLAND, SWEDEN.

<sup>2</sup>Sculptures in relief from the *very* oldest Christian times in Scandinavia are of course rare. Some few of the simpler kind are known here and there, chiefly Heads with or without hair and beard, but pieces with groups or figures are seldom met with. Scarcer yet are basrelief figure-blocks with a

<sup>1</sup> One of the many names of (w)ODEN was ÞENOR in English, in N. Icel. ÞUNDR. This *thunder* is in Ohg. THONAR, TONIR, DONIR, &c.; in Mhg. DONER, TONER, &c.; in O. Fris. THUNER, TONGER, and so on. The þ, t and d continually interchange in the dialects. In N. I. we have several forms, ÞUNDR, f., a *thundering river*; ÞUNN, m., a *roaring fire*; ÞUNN, f., a *tumult, battle*; ÞUNDR, ÞUNDR, DUNN for Odin. Thus TUNDR, in O. Swed. also ÞUNNER, would be the *Thunderer*. But it was early used also for *God* or *King* in general, and later even for *Hero* or *Man*. On the Yttergård stone, Uppland, we have APT ÞUNTA ÞURKIL, *after the Lord (or Captain) Thurkil*; on the Hagelby block, Södermanland, AUK EDPMUT AT ÞUNTI SIN, *like Gudmund to Lord his*; and on the Linköping stone, East Gotland, IFTIR ANARI ÞUTY SIN, *after Anar, Captain his*.

<sup>2</sup> This paper appeared, in Danish, in the "*Illustreret Tidende*", folio, Kjøbenhavn 1874, Feb. 22.



Runic risting. One such I have engraved in my Vol. 1, p. 351. Another (at Skeberg in Norway) is copied in Sjöborg's "Samlingar", 4to, Vol. 1, p. 137, fig. 124, 125. But the former has only a couple of runes and a hairless mustachioed head; the latter, which is later, only a bald skull.

The Runic bildstone here made public is apparently the oldest ever yet found, as it is certainly the most remarkable. My attention was first drawn to it by the Swedish archæologist Baron Olof Hermelin, whom I have to thank for *all* the materials here made use of. With unwearied kindness he has from time to time forwarded me all the information in his power, as well as a pen-and-ink drawing of the slab, a still larger pencil drawing, another sketch taken in profile, and a very careful copy of the runes drawn *full size*. I have also been favored with a small outline of this stone by the distinguisht Swedish old-lorist Richard Dybeck. This striking specimen of "barbaric art" at the dawn of Christendom in central Sweden now stands in the oldest part of the wall in the very primitive Church of Torpa in Westmanland. It is a granite block about 2 feet high, 16 inches broad at top but only 15 below, and the greatest depth of cutting is nearly 4 inches above the level on which the runes stand. — Torpa Parish is on the other side of Arboga, near to Södermanland, and is in the bishopric



of Strängnäs. The Church is on the highway which runs to Södermanland. A small engraving of this simple building may be seen in Grau's "Wästmanland", 8vo, Västerås 1754, tab. VII. — The figures here so roughly but vigorously carved are full of character. The one is a Lion in gentle motion, its head in full face to the spectator. As far as we can see (for I will not be certain, it is often hard to say whether the head of a Lion in oldest art-work is or is not human) the head is that of a *Man*, a motive or symbolism rare and antique. In Scandinavia are some such man-faced Lions, but not many. This is here the more likely, as there is no trace of mane. Round the neck is what looks like a full band or ring, not the loose hanging locks of the king of beasts. The tail is boldly thrown back. — The other bild is that of a Woman, with long hair, clad in a kirtle. She is seated on the Lion's back, which she firmly bestrides, her face also turned right in front.

I believe that this group is symbolical, in the style of the earliest Christian days. *The Lion* I take to be CHRIST THE VICTOR, Christ the Mighty King of His People, as distinguisht from *the Lamb*, CHRIST THE REDEEMER. — The Woman I look upon as announcing THE CHURCH, the Bride of Christ, which rests secure on His strength and which He shall protect till time shall be no more. — The Runes vary in height according to the space. They begin on the right of the Woman's head, and run down

along the right side of the Lion to the very bottom of the stone, where one letter has apparently been broken off or has peeled away.

It has taken me a long time to decipher these characters, so much have they suffered from time and weather, and so greatly are we troubled by the *absence* of divisional marks. But I believe that my reading is now altogether trustworthy. At least I venture to lay it before my readers. — The first stave, on the right of the head, I at first took to be the sign of the Cross. But Baron Hermelin's full-sized facsimile has convinced me that this is not so. The seeming thwart-mark is a nearly horizontal break in the stone, which stretches over into the next rune. The letter was doubtless originally *l*. The whole *first word* — for there are no separating marks — is *IOÞU*, the last stave injured at the top. But even should this not be so, should the first word be taken as *ODU*, this would merely be a variation of the sound or spelling, the meaning would be the same. — *Word two* is sure. It is the mansname *SIKI*, tho the *k* has suffered above. — *Word three* is *AN*, the *N* also scathed at its upper half. — *Word four* clearly *PAIS*, the surface of the stone fractured between the *i* and the *s*. — *Last word*, *KIR* and the foot of a *k*. Thus only 1 letter wants, broken or worn away. — The whole then reads:

IOÞU SIKI AN PAIS KIR(KU).

HEWED (*workt*) SIKI (= SIGGE, ON THIS CHURCH.

(*Sigge was the Master-builder of this Church.*)

This risting is exactly what we should expect on a Church-slab, and has parallels on similar Church-articles and stones down thro the middle age. On the later block at Brynderslev, North Jutland, given in my Vol. 2, p. 659, and in my Runic Hall p. 16, after some pious words we have: *SUN SUN KARMUNTAR* (*SUN SON of KARMUNT*), evidently the name of the Builder of the Church, or possibly of the Lord at whose cost it was raised. This block has no figure. But the still newer slab at Skeberg, in Norway, is a Relief-stone, and the runes announce that the Church was dedicated to Christ, the Virgin Mary and S. Peter, ending with:

STEIN DÆNNA GERDE BOTOLFR STEIN-MEISTARÆ.

STONE THIS GARED (*carved*) BOTOLF the-STONE-MASTER (= Master-builder).

The first word, *IOÞU*, occurs again on the heathen Sparlösa stone, in West-Gotland, in the form *IAUDU*. Here it has the antique 3 person-Past-ending in *u*. The usual Norse-Icelandic form would be *HÁDU*. — *SIKI* is a name more common in Sweden than elsewhere. — *AN* is a venerable form for the later *A*, as the same word in the shape *ON* is form for the younger *o*. Of both *AN* and *ON* we have rare runic examples. — *PAIS* is ac. sing. fem. In East Gotland we have also the form *PAISI*. — The acc. sing. fem. *KIRKU* or *KIRIKIU* is found in many other places. — The date of this most costly Runic figure-block we may safely fix at about the year 1000, or a little later.

#### TORTUNA, WESTMANLAND, SWEDEN.

July 10, 1878, I had an opportunity of examining a broken rune-stone fixt in the outside wall of the church at Tortuna. It rained and blew heavily, and I had only a few moments to spare. But I believe my transcript is correct:

† R I H I I B I R N I \* I I † \* R I H I \* H † I \* N . . . .

HRISI IN BARUA LIT RESA STEN OF(tir . . .).

HRISI IN BARUA LET RAISE this-STONE AF(ter . . .).

IN (later *i*, the *N* still left) is plain. BARUA is a place-name, perhaps in this province. It is at all events known in Södermanland.

#### TRANSJÖ, VÄREND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 804. — The inscription is also given, but very badly, in A. Celsius (Erl. Colliander), *Dissertatio Ac. de Verendia Smolandorum*, 4to, Upsaliæ 1743. p. 19. — I have found and drawn this

splendid block, which is still on the whole passing well preserved. It is now re-raised in a field near Dalbygård, on the Transjö lands. In August 1869 I made a second visit to it, accompanied by my late learned brother Prof. Carl Sæve, and with his assistance took paper casts of all the listings. My transcript and translation, both of which were approved by Prof. Sæve, are as follows:

ᐃᑦᐱᑦᐸᑦ ᐱᑦᐸᑦ ᐱᑦᐸᑦ ᐱᑦᐸᑦ ᐱᑦᐸᑦ ᐱᑦᐸᑦ ᐱᑦᐸᑦ ᐱᑦᐸᑦ ᐱᑦᐸᑦ ᐱᑦᐸᑦ ᐱᑦᐸᑦ  
ᐱᑦᐸᑦ ᐱᑦᐸᑦ ᐱᑦᐸᑦ ᐱᑦᐸᑦ ᐱᑦᐸᑦ ᐱᑦᐸᑦ ᐱᑦᐸᑦ ᐱᑦᐸᑦ ᐱᑦᐸᑦ ᐱᑦᐸᑦ ᐱᑦᐸᑦ

KATR SATI STEN DANA EFTR KITIL, SUN SIN.

HAN FAR (= FAR = FÓR; or, possibly, = UAR) MANA

MESR O-NIDIKR.

ER A IKLATI

ATI TUNDI.

*KAT (= GAT) SET STONE THIS AFTER KITIL, SON SIN (his).*

HE FOOR (went, bore himself, was; or, possibly, WAS) of-MEN

*the-MOST UN-NOTHING (unsparing, generous)*

AS (when as, when, till) ON (in) ENGLAND

*his-OND (life) he-TINED (lost).*

Remark the peculiar ornamental κ, μ and λ, as also the slurring (here assimilation) of the τ in μεσ(τ)ρ. — ΤΥΝΑΝ (the N. I. ΤΥΝΑ, O. Engl. ΤΕΟΝΑΝ, ΤΥΝΑΝ, to vex, damage, destroy, suffer ruin) governs a dative. This dative is here ΑΤΙ = ΑΝΤΙ, which (besides the usual fem. ὀΝΔ (or ΑΝΔ, gen. ΑΝΔΑΡ) has thus existed also in the strong masc. form ΑΝΔΡ as well as in the weak masc. form ΑΝΔΙ, just as we have in the oldest times the masculines ΔΑΥΔ and ΔΑΥΔΙ. But ΤΥΝΑ ΛΙΠΙ, τ. ὀΝΔΥ [on this stone τ. ΑΤΙ], τ. ἔΦΙ, all meaning *to lose life, to fall, die*, are well known in Icelandic skinbooks.

Thus, as I hope, the last and uncertain part of this inscription is now duly corrected, and the whole epitaph restored to us. — I have only remarkt one other clear instance of this dative ANTI. (Others, where the final vowel has fallen away, I do not mention.) It occurs among the last words of the Sundby stone, Upland, (Lilj. 347, Bautil 299, Dybeck, fol. II, 64). The block has suffered somewhat where the last word is carved, so that in Bautil it is ††† and is now (see Dybeck) †††, the last letter having stood in a place now half peeled away both above and below. But the word could at first only have been †††, and the passus stood: KUD HIALBI ALÜRA ANTI, *GOD HELP of-them-ALL the-OND (soul)!*

## TRYGGEVÆLDE, SEALAND, DENMARK.

Vol. 2, p. 810. — In the Orsa dialect (Dalecarlia, Sweden) the word for *talkative* is GLAMUN; to talk, speak, is GLAMÄ. See "Dalarnes Fornminneförenings Årsskrift 1867", 8vo, Falun 1867, p. 57, 58. — To the KLÆMULAN MAN of this stone answers the DELAR of the Snoldelef stone. Prof. C. Sæve doubts any such Gotlandish word as GLAMULL, but knows of the verb active GLAMA, the neuter noun GLAM, and a stead-name GLAM-MUNDS from a name masc. GLAM-MUNDR. There is also the Estland Swedish GL'AMMA to talk, speak, boast. (C. Russwurm, Ueber die Sprache der Inselfchweden, 8vo, Reval 1855, p. 34). — "*Eloquent*, soingte. — This word is sometimes used as an adjective to denote "eloquent", and sometimes, as a noun substantive, to denote a Brehon or judge". — *John O'Donovan*, Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters. 2nd ed., 4to, Dublin 1856, p. 1707. — By a strange chance, I have omitted to translate the curse on this stone. It is:

SA (he) WORTH (be) AT (to) a-RATI (outlaw) (= Let him be an outlaw) AS (who) may-WELT (overturn.  
cast down) STONE THIS, OR HENCE may-DRAW-it!

See this formula explained in my remarks on the Glavendrup stone, Vol. 2, p. 698—701.

## TUMBO, SÖDERMANLAND, SWEDEN.

This stone, No. 988 in Liljegren and 758 in Bautil, bears, as compared with a copy of what is now left by Richard Dybeck in Prof. C. Sæve's Collections:

UI(BIAR)N (R)A(IT)GE IDYN GEFTGEH FRAITCENT, BRUDUR, IS GENDUGGE KÆKUM. DULGE IOK (RU)N(ar).  
*UIBIARN WROTE this-TINE (pillar-stone) AFTER FRAITCENT, his-BROTHER, AS (who) ONDED (breathed his last, died) in-GREEKS (in Greece). THULGE HEWED the-RUNES.*

Dybeck gives the 3rd word as  $\text{ID}^{\text{X}}\text{I}$ , thus another example of  $\text{z}$  as  $\text{y}$ . In the above I have transliterated  $\text{A}$  by  $\text{Æ}$ . As to the  $\text{Y}$ -variant for  $\text{Y}$ , I add that in 1878 turned up the largest Coin-find ever met with in Norway, at Græslid, Thydalen. They were of silver and more than 2200 in number, several hundreds bearing runic inscriptions. They were minted (with the exception of a few foreign pieces) in Norway, about 1050—70, under Harald Hardrede and his sons Magnus and Olaf Kyrre, most of them being struck by English moneyers. One large class, no fewer than 335, of the runebearers were from the mint of GUNNAR, and have the formulas KUNAR A MOT DISA, KUNAR A MOT DISY, KUNAR A MOT DIS, KUNAR A MOT DITA, KUNARS MOT DITA, KUNAR MOT DISA, &c.

As we know,  $\text{I}$  and  $\text{Y}$  often interchange in runic listings, and one of the many rune-variants for  $\text{Y}$  is  $\text{Y}$ . Accordingly on these coins KUNAR is also spelt KUNIR ( $\text{Y}^{\text{N}}\text{IR}$ ) and KUNYR ( $\text{Y}^{\text{N}}\text{YR}$ ). Now 87 of these pieces have  $\text{Y}^{\text{A}}\text{I}^{\text{Y}}$  (MOT DISY). In his description of this class ("Myntfundet fra Græslid i Thydalen, beskrevet af Dr. L. B. Stenersen, Bestyrer af Universitetets Myntsamling. Christiania 1881", 4to, p. 49) the learned Keeper, Dr. Stenersen, has inadvertently taken this  $\text{Y}$  ( $\text{Y}$ ) as a  $\text{Y}$  ( $\text{K}$ ), and has redd MOT DISK. But this  $\text{Y}$  for  $\text{Y}$  is found on Golden Runic bracteates, some Icelandic stones and in some old alphabets.

## TYFSTEGE, SÖDERMANLAND, SWEDEN.

The two runish blocks here have been examined by Dybeck, but no modern drawings are known. They are in stave-rime verse, and of great value. Our authorities for the first are, Liljegren No. 851: Bautil 780; Peringskiöld, Vita Theoderici, p. 459; P. Dijkman, Hist. Ann. p. 150; R. Dybeck, Berättelse för 1866 till Vitt. & Ant. Ak. i Stockholm; R. Dybeck, Runa, folio, I, 6, p. 86. The result is:

STÖRLAUGR AUK HI(L)MBR (possibly HI(AL)MBR)

STAINA RAISTU

AT BRUDR SINA,

BRAU(T)U NESTA.

DAIR ENTADUS

I AUSTRUIKI,

DURKIL, STURBIARN,

MAKNAR KUDIR.

STÖRLAUG EKE BILMB (= HELM)

these-STONES (this stone-setting) RAISED

AT (to) BROTHERS SINE (their),

the-BAIRD (forest-path, roadside) NEXT

THEY ONDED (breathed their last, died)

IN the-EAST-WAY (out East, in Russia &c.),

THURKIL and-STURBIARN,

those-THANES (captains) GOOD.

But the widowed Mother also raised them a minne-stone, for which we can use Liljegren No. 852; Bautil No. 780; R. Dybeck, Runa, folio, I, 6, p. 86:

LIT IGILIR

ANAN RAISA STAEN

AT SUNI SINA,

SI(I)N A KIARDI.

KUD HIALBI ANT DAIRA. DURIR HIU.



LET IGIKIR

an-OTHER RAISE STONE

AT (to) SONS SINE (her)

a-SOOTH-slab ON the-GARTH (enclosure, field).

GOD HELP OND (soul) THEIRI — THURIR HEWED (cut the runes).

Here again we have the well-known variously pronounced word for SANN or SONN, the SOOTH-stone, truth-speaking memorial. In Bautil the SI and N are still plain. Dybeck tells us that only the s is now left, the rest being broken away.

# URLUNDA, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 817. Bottom. — Read:

FULH-FILA

The-FOLK-FELLER (hero)

FAR AFLADI

FEE (wealth) ABLED (gat)

UTI KRIKUM

OUT-IN the GREEKS (Greece)

ARFA SINUM.

to-ARFA (heir) SIN (his).

We have a like kenning (FULKS-KRIMR, the folkgrim-one, foe-destroyer) on the Hamra stone, Södermanland, which ends:

HAN TRAU I ORUSTU

IN ORREST (bottle) DREW HE

I AUSTR-UIHI,

IN EASTERN WAY (= out East),

ADAN FULKS-KRIMR

ERE the-FOLK-GRIM (chieftain)

FALA ORDI.

to-FALL might-WORTH (came).

(= Ere that mighty foe-smiter fell).

# URSKOUG, AGGERSHUS AMT, NORWAY.

For yet another specimen of the formula with A, owns, I have to thank Prof. S. Bugge, who (July 1870) communicates a runic risting on a grave-stone at Urskoug (or Urskog) in Norway:

SUEIN A MIK A LÆDRI; EN HER HUILIR UNTIR ASÆ.

SUEIN OWNS ME, ON (at, of) the-homestead-LEATHER; EN (but) HERE WHILES UNDER (= hereunder, beneath this stone, rests) ASÆ.

# URVALLA, NÄRIKE, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 818. — Since the appearance of my vol. 2 this stone has been engraved by Dr. Herm. Hofberg, in his "Nerikes Gamla Minnen", Örebro 1868, 8vo, p. 80. But I here give the inscription from drawings taken by Richard Dybeck, who examined the block twice, last in 1862. Its greatest height is about 5 feet 2 inches, its greatest breadth about 2 feet 10. It stands where the village road northwards to Urvalla runs off from the parish road between Arboga and Glanshammar. Nearby, in the wood, on the east of the way, is a ship-setting of stones. This fine block is old and heathen, doubtless from about the 10th century. The reading is:

ULFR AUK ANUNTR LITU RAISA STEIN (back) EFTIR LIT(ulf, fap)UR SIN, BOANA KUNUR.

ULF EKE ANUNT LET RAISE this-STONE AETER (LITULE, FATHER SIN (their), BONDE (husband) of-KUNA.

Thus the fem. gen. KUNUR is plain. — The above stone has now (Dec. 1873) been publisht by Dybeck in his Runa, Sec. I, Part 6, p. 91, Pl. 20, fig. 1, a, b.

## VAKSALA, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 1, pp. 87, 88. — I have said that most of the stones raised by men *to themselves while yet living* were probably the work of persons who, by death or otherwise, had no son or other near kinsman on whom they could certainly depend for a grave-pillar to their memory. — We have a striking and decisive proof of this on the Vaksala stone, Sweden. This block was first engraved by Peringsköld, in his *Monumenta Uplandica*, fol., Stockholm 1710, p. 246, whence the same woodcut was transferred to Göransson's *Bautil* (Stockholm 1750) No. 394, (Liljegren No. 194). A careful examination of this piece has convinced me that the vital formula, SIK SILFAN KUIKUAN is clear, and that we have further the valuable technical phrase NIR HAN I LIDI STIKIR, giving us the important olden foray-formula STIGA I LIDI, *to go to the wars*. In olden days the warlike population served by sea or land as circumstances might require, the transition being then so easy, and the strict division between the army and the navy is a comparatively modern invention. The phrase LID, I LIDI, therefore then signified *war-service, active service*, whether by land or water. The beginning of this grave-minne is lost. What is left says:

(..... lit raisa STAN þina AT SIK SILFA)N KUIK)AN, NIR (HAN) I L(IDI) ST(I)KIR.  
 (..... let raise STONE this to HIM SELF (QUICK, living), WHEN HE IN the-LITH (host, war-force) STEEGS  
 (steps, enters) = when he joins the war-levy, = goes out to the wars.

This valuable stone has not yet been re-found and re-publisht. See another Vaksala pillar under VIRRING.

## VALDBY, NORWAY.

See Word-Roll, u. FÆIHDO.

## WALLEBERGA, SKÅNE, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 820. — At p. 248 of his valuable "Den Nordiske Kirkes Grundlæggelse og Forste Udvikling" (Pt. 2, Kjob. 1875) Hr. A. D. Jorgensen says that the expression for LUND IN SKÅNE was "(i) Lundi or (i) Lundunum", and that the "i Luntunum (= i Lundunum)" on the runic stone at Walleberga does *not* mean IN LONDON IN ENGLAND, as I have said, but IN LUND. This opinion of Hr. Jorgensen is erroneous. I observed, p. 821: "IN THE LONDS (groves) is meaningless, even supposing the post-article to have been in use thus early, of which we have no proof. IN LUND (the city in Skåne) is grammatically impossible." As the above short remark has proved insufficient, I enter into a little detail. The terms for LUND and LONDON are two quite different words. The one is LUND(R), (Latin LUNDUS), gen. Lundar, dat. Lundi, a *singular noun masculine*, a grove, a religious grove, a temple-station, a temple-town, and so at last the name of the place which became an episcopal city and the capital of Denmark in early times, so that *Dominus Lundi, alvaldr Lundar*, was once the same as *King of Denmark*. — The other is LUNDUNIR, (Latin LONDINUM), gen. LUNDUNA, dat. LUNDUNUM, a *feminine noun plural*, the whole a mechanical imitation of LONDINUM and LONDON. This *plural* form doubtless arose from the fact that the Scandinavians naturally and properly took the *two cities London and Westminster* as practically *the one* English capital, as they still are.<sup>1</sup> As examples of the old Scandinavian name of LONDON I will only cite from one single book (Munch and Unger, *Saga Olafs Konungs ens Helga*, 8vo, Christiania 1853) "LVNDVNA gramr" (p. 192), "Kvtr vann LVNDVNA-BORG" (p. 25), "til LVNDVNA" (p. 19), "I LUNDUNUM" (p. 244).

<sup>1</sup> For the same reason the oldest municipal record of England's metropolis — *De Antiquis Legibus Liber. Cronica Maiorum et Vicecomitum Londoniarum* — always has the name *in the plural*. See Mr. Stapleton's learned edition of this skinbook, which begins in 1168, as publisht by the Camden Society, London 1846, 4to. He says at p. 1: "In each instance of the Latin name of the city of London, where written at full length in this manuscript, the plural termination is used, and Roger de Wendover adopts this form in his Chronicle."

I will add one single example in verse, in the last stanza of the poem attributed to St. Olaf (as given in the oldest and best Ms., "Olafs Saga Hins Helga", a codex of the 13th cent., edited by Keyser and Unger, 8vo, Christiania 1849, p. 9):

knegom ver siz vigi	<i>now that is husht the horrid</i>
varð gny loket harðum	<i>howl of savage conflict,</i>
fyllar dags i fagrum	<i>in fair LONDON, lov'd-one,</i>
fit LUNDUNUM sitia.	<i>we can loiter glad!</i>

(The Walleberga stone, which I have never seen, as I have been informed, bears no head on the top limb of the Cross. Some breaks in the block there have been mistaken for a face.)

Thus these two words could not be confounded. On the oldest Scandian Coins and in the oldest Scandian documents *IN LUND* is *IN* or *I* or *ON* or *O* or *A LUNDI*, or *LUND*, singular masc. dat.; sometimes in the plural, *I LUNDUM* or *LUNDEN*, whence such Latin barbarisms as the *LONDONA* of Adamus Bremensis. It never is found with the post-article (*-UNUM*) as *LUNDUNUM*.

All must see that if *I LUNDUNUM* could have meant both *IN LUND* in Skåne and *IN LONDON* in England, no speaker or writer could have made himself understood, — which is absurd. Thus *I LUNDUNUM* only had and could have one meaning, *IN LONDON* in England.

Walleberga is only about 5 Swedish miles from Lund; there was therefore no reason for the decease to be buried there, if not desired, as they could so easily be transported to their kinsmen. Several examples of such removals of a corpse for burial occur on Runic Stones. I will give *one*, as it refers to Scåne. *Forsheda*, Småland, (Liljegren No. 1251, Bautil No. 1029, Peringskiöld, V. Theod. p. 405, Celsius, Acta Lit. Svec. 1730, p. 78, Dijkman, Hist. Ann., p. 127). Last and best, a drawing by Stud. P. Gust. Vistrand, kindly forwarded me by him April 30, 1881:

UÆULF AUK OSKLÆL RIFU STIN DONSI ETIA LIFSTIN, FUDUR SIN, ES UARD TUER O SKONU, N (— IN) KARÐSTOKUM,  
AUK FURÐR O FINHIDI.

UÆULF EKE OSKLÆL REDDE (ordered) STONE THIS AFTER LIFSTIN, FATHER SIN (their), AS (who) WORTH  
DEAD (died, or fell) ON (in) SCONE, IN GÅRDSTÅNGA, EKE FERED (and was removed, brought hither) ON  
(into, to) FINNHEDEN.

Now Gårdstånga in Frosta Härad, Skåne, is some 4 times farther from Forsheda in Finnheden, Småland, than Walleberga is from Lund, and yet there was no difficulty in carrying the body home. — In this risting the *æ* is *\*.*

If *LUNDUNUM* means *LUND*, it can only be the dat. pl. *definite* (i. e. with the affixt article) from the masc. noun *LUNDR*. But the stone is *too old* to have any such affixt article. It is not later than about the year 1000—50, when the post-article was only *creeping in*, not yet fully developd. Hence while we have so many old place-names in *-UM* (dat. plural, the foregoing preposition having fallen away), we have none in *-UNUM* (dat. pl. with the post-fixt article).

#### VEDA, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 628. — Dybeck's "Sverikes Runurkunder", fol., II, 3, received Jan. 1868, has, under No. 116, the Veda Rock, whose risting begins with the mansuame *DURTSAIN* = *FURSTAIN*.

#### VESTERBY, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

This stone has never been understood. The now *acknowledged* formulas with *DUR* and *SU* enable me to give an additional example of *SU* = *SEE*, *bless*, *hallow*, *keep*, but this time in connection with a heathen god. — The block before us is Lilj. 81, Bautil 371, Bure in his Ms. Sv. Runæ 187 and Runahäfd 487, and Dybeck, folio. 151. But since the old copies by Bure and the woodcut in Bautil, the stone has suffered immensely. About a third of the inscription has been broken away and lost. What is left in Dybeck's modern drawing proves that Göransson's woodcut was nearly faultless, and the stone *still shows* the costly invocation, *exactly* as it stood in Göransson's drawing — the block even

then being damaged there:  $\text{AN D\ddot{U}R SU KI...NOAR}$ . Bure has *R* between the *I* and the *N*, but not the other failing letters. From what we *now* know of this formula we can be *sure* that the block once had the words:  $\text{AN D\ddot{U}R SU KI(n)-R(u)NOAR}$ . — The stone, then, bore, and still as to 2-thirds bears:

AOSULFR UK $\text{K}$ KAIR,

ARFAR FASTILIFS,

STIN RITU D\ddot{U}R

SAOTE (I UIIK)Ü,

FURIR AOTMA $\text{C}$

$\text{AN D\ddot{U}R SU KI(n)-R(u)NOAR!}$

AOSULF (= ANSULF) EKE KAIR,

ARF-TAKERS (heirs. sons) of-FASTILIF,

this-STONE WROTE (carved) THEY,

SOUTH<sup>1</sup> IN VIK-EY,

FOR (in memory of) AOT (= ANUND).

AN (but) THUR SEE (bless, guard) these-KEN-RUNES (marking-letters)!

This SEE, like the HELP on the Tjursåker block, continued in use on Christian rune-stones. — There have doubtless been many places called VIK-Ö or VIKA in and near Upland, and we cannot now identify the exact locality here intended. This pillar was raised and taken care of by Count Essen in 1861. By a new division of the lands, Vesterby now belongs to the Parish of Kölfva, not Åland. — For formulas of *Blessing*, see ABRAHAMSTORP, and the list there added.

#### VIBLE, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Section II, Part 1, of R. Dybeck's "Sverikes Runurkunder" has now appeared. No. 42 herein is a drawing of the Vible stone in Jerfälla Socken, which shows that the previous copies (Liljegren No. 387, Bantil No. 161) were not quite correct. The risting is:

KNUTR I UIKHUSUM LÆT ITIN RITA UK BRO KERA IFTIR FADUR UK MODOR UK BRUDR SNA (= SINA) UK SUSTUR.  
KNUT IN VIK-HOUSE LÆT this-TINE (pillar-stone) WRITE EKE (and) yon-BROW (bridge or causeway) GARE  
(make, raise) AFTER FATHER EKE MOTHER EKE BROTHER SIN (his) EKE his-SISTER.

ITIN for TIN (or STIN) is plain, but doubtless not the latter, for we have the ST in SUSTUR. As the names of the deceased are not given, there has been a fellow-stone nearby mentioning them, but which has perisht.

#### VIBY, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Vol. 2, p. 616. — See on the meaning of ARG the word ERHA in the Wordroll, farther on.

#### VIKSJÖ, SWEDEN.

See under TUNE. NORWAY.

<sup>1</sup> The Scandinavian SÖDER, SYD, SÖNDER, SONNAN (as in our SOUTHWARK, SUNDERLAND) was and is of course dialectically used in many shapes, often with place-names. Thus on this Vesterby stone:

SAOTR (I UIIK)Ü.

SOUTH IN VIK-EY.

So we have the place-names SUTR-BI and SUTR-BY on runic stones at Upsala in Upland, and at Hainhem in Gotland, while at South Vinge in North Jutland is the runic nom. pl. SUTR-VINKIAR, the-South-Vinge men. On the broken Tuna block, Helsingland, Sweden, is:

SUM SUNAN (LANDS TU)

SUM (yohö) SOUTHLANDS (out south) died.

On the Danish Seddinge stone, Lolland, is the gen. pl. SUTRLANA, of the South lands; on the Maeshowe slab No. 16, Scotland, the ac. pl. SUNAN-LANT, Southern lands. On the Gripsholm pillar, Södermanland, Sweden:

TUU SENARLA

they-DIED out-SOUTH

I SARKLANTI.

IN SARAGEN-LAND (S. Africa and part of Spain).

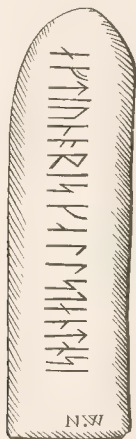
Nearly the same formula occurs on two Strengnäs stones, also in Södermanland; and on the Hauggrän block, Gotland, is the adverb SUNARST, most Southerly. — The words for EAST, WEST, NORTH, are used in the same manner.



## VIRKE, SKÅNE, SWEDEN.

For some years my attention has been directed to the stone which stood at Virke and Lilla Harrie meadows, Harjager Härad, Skåne, No. 1445 in Liljegren's Run-urkunder, who knew of only one copy, the woodcut in Bautil. This monument has never been deciphered, in my opinion for two reasons; first, because the formula was not understood by the old school; next, for that no one had yet pointed out the existence on old Scandinavian memorials of the infinitive in -AN. But as the word-fall in question became more and more familiar to me, I could not see why this minne-block should not be redd — just as the words stand! All then becomes clear and customary. However, the first thing was — to find the stone itself. Accordingly I troubled myself and my friends for a long time, trying to ascertain whether the monolith still existed. And at last I have succeeded. Besides information from other quarters, I have now two *formal and official* declarations from Docent Martin Weibull of Lund and Rector Nils G. Bruzelius of Ystad (both of them officials in the Scanian Archæological Society), and an additional private communication from Docent Dr. Gustaf Cederschiöld of Lund, distinctly and clearly stating that *the Virke stone is no more*. The whole district has been ransackt by these and other gentlemen, particularly Dean Simonson of Örtöfta, and by the farmer on whose lands it ought to have been found, but to no purpose. The farmer (Jon Engeleson) says, that his father buried it out of the way. More likely it was used for building purposes or broken up. Certain it is, that it can no where be found. For the present at least, we must give it up.

We are thus thrown back on what else may help us. Fortunately, besides the woodcut in Bautil, I have come across *two other and not later copies*. And — a singular piece of good luck — *all three are independent of each other*. Yet *all agree in the runes*, two letters only, near the beginning, having been slightly damaged or imperfectly redd when two of the transcripts were made. — We begin then with perhaps the oldest, certainly the most complete, of these three drawings, the wood-engraving No. 1159 in Göransson's Bautil (Stockholm 1750, but most of the blocks or drawings very many years earlier). I give it here in exact facsimile, photo-xylographed by J. F. Rosenstand:



Here, as we see, nothing wants, and the reading offers no difficulty whatever. — Next, I have met with another woodcut of the same monument in a scarce volume — the Works of KILIANUS STOBÆUS. This famous naturalist was a distinguished and learned Professor in the University of Lund, Scania (Skåne), Sweden, and died early in 1742. Among his other writings was his treatise "De Monumentis Lapidariis". 4to, Lund 1740, with 2 folding plates. About 10 years afterwards appeared ("Kiliani Stobæi Med. D. Archiatri Regii, in Academia Londensi Hist. Prof. P. Ord. atqve Reg. Societ. Scient. et Liter. Vpsal. Membri, Opera in quibus Petrefactorum, Numismatum et Antiquitatum Historia illustratur, in vnum volumen collecta. Cum multis figuris. Dantisci. — — — MDCCCLIII") a collected and amended

edition of Stobæus' writings, edited by G. M. Knoch. In this 4to the essay "De Monumentis Lapidariis" occupies pp. 183—203, and has 3 folding plates, the last being here Plate XI. This additional illustration contains 4 woodcuts of runic stones. But there is no name or reference or explanation of any kind, and the few lines of text which mention them at the bottom of p. 203 leave us equally ignorant<sup>1</sup>. However, on careful examination, I discovered that Nos. 2—4 were Liljegren's Nos. 1418 (Cimbris), 1446 (Ålstorp) and 1443 (Nöbbelöf), while No. 1 was a hitherto unknown view of our VIRKE STONE. — thus, all 4, copies of blocks in Scania. As this folding-plate is not in the 1st edition of "De Monumentis", the drawing (here copied in xylo-photography by Rosenstand) dates perhaps from 1740—1750.



I came upon the third and last drawing of this stone in Nescher's folio Ms. in the National Library, Stockholm. It has the title: "Åtskillige Svenska Provinsers Märkvärdigheter", and contains all sorts of things, of various dates. No. 66 in this collection is THE VIRKE STONE. Neither artist's name nor date is attacht to this very old drawing. It only bears two memoranda, in a contemporaneous hand, the one, "Fyra alnar lång" (8 feet high), the other, "Finnes der, som skillnaden fordom skolat varit emellan Wirke och Lilla Harrie ängar i Harjagers Härad i Skåne". Thus this block was 8 feet high above ground, and stood where the boundary was said to have been between Virke and Little Harrie meadows in Harjager Hundred, Skåne. Every fresh detail is thankfully received; here we have the height of the monolith and its exact position. At my request, Riks-librarian G. E. Klemming obligingly furnisht me with a full-sized tracing for which I have to thank Dr. Harald Wieselgren, and this I here add photoxylograpt by Rosenstand.

Now we must consider: — that this block was 8 feet high, — that the rising is in very large and tall letters (very easy to read) and one long line from top to bottom of the stone, — that the word-fall is of the shortest, simplest kind, — that the words are not divided but run all in one.

<sup>1</sup> "Monendus hic Lector est, quod figurarum Tab. XI. nulla prestat explicatio: quanquam intra chartas Autoris archetypi illarum fuerint inuenti. Forte illas in recentiore editionem huius dissertationis parauerat Autor, morte præreptus. Interim iis carere Lectorem curiosum, tanquam additamento quodam, nolui." — As being found among the papers of the deceased, they were very properly added to this new edition.



We have often pointed out how letters &c. may be variously shaped on the same monument. So here we have 1 and 1, 11 (AN), and 1 (11, AN) in one stave as a bind-rune. This latter is here a turning-point, for it gives us the infinitive and makes all clear. But of this bind-rune for AN we have scores of examples. See my pages 136, 150, 608, 884, and Angarn and Bjornum in this section, to which many others could be added.

IUNORI is in the accusative. We do not know whether the local nominative was IUNOR or IUNORI or IUNORA. In Scandinavian runics we have the mansname NUR as an accusative and the gen. pl. NURA (of the NUR-men), and there are the Norse-Icelandic mans-names NOR and NORI. — The reason, as Mr. Cederschiöld informs me, why Liljegren stated that the stone stood "at Virke and Lilla Harrie meadows", is, that the said field was part of a pasture belonging in common to Virke and Lilla Harrie, but which afterwards was shared and brought into cultivation. — Should we divide AFTI UNORI or AFTI NORI, this will not affect the general meaning and the closing formula. We cannot read AFTIR, as all the copies have N, not R.

It will be seen that the SKALL STANTAN of this Scanian stone is paralleled by the exactly similar SKAL STATO (the older STANTAN having sunk to STATO) of the Hällestad block, also in Skoné. — With regard to the fragmentary but costly Öja stone, given in the note, also its runes are noteworthy. Here we have F as o, its later value. See Vol. 2, p. 138. And 1 is -R, also a later variation. But \* is æ, not u, and if the stone had borne u it would probably have used V or N, or some sideform of this Old-Northern letter. This piece is therefore so far *overgang*, and is doubtless not more modern than the 9th century. The name FIRIOS (? FIRI-OS) is here found for the first time, and is the only one yet met with in Scandinavia, whose last compound is OS (= AS, ANS). In Old-English we have several mens-names ending in -OS. I am not aware of any such in Old-Saxon or Old-German. — The -u, as accusative ending, is also a proof of great antiquity. — The name of the deceased has probably been a compound beginning with ST, for the stave-rime, to agree with the ST in STONTR. — As to the last word, if FLÆDI, which seems almost certain, it gives us yet another difference in the sound and spelling. See the Word-Roll under FÆIHIDO.

Compare Hällestad, Skåne: STIN O BIARSI STOFAN RUNUM, this stone on the-barrow (how), studied with-runes.

Infinitive; a. Tillidse, Lolland; b. Sandby, Zealand; c. Hauggården, Gotland; d. Kongs Husby, Upland; e. Ågerstad, Upland; f. Ryda, Upland; g. Burseryd, Småland (on a Font); h. Husby, Upland; i. Hällestad, Skåne; j. Års, N. Jutland:

a.	E MUN STANTA, MEÐ STEN LIFIR, UTFRINT SU IAR VAN ISKIL.		AYE MUN (shall) STAND, MITH (while) this-STONE LIVES, WITTERING (honor-verse, memorial) STO (this) AS (which) WAN (made) ISKIL.
b.	I MUN SAN (stanta), meþ stain hafr lju, UTFRIK SUSI IR VAN SIL(fa).		AYE MUN SOOTH (true) (stand), while this-stone hath LIFE, WITTERING STO (this) AS WAN SILFA
c.	HIER MUN STANTA STAIN AT MERKI, U-MIETR A BIERGI, IN BRO FURIR.		HERE MUN STAND this-STONE AT (as) a-MARK UN-MEET (immense) ON the-BARROW (grave-mound), IN (but; the-BROW (bridge) be-FOR-e-it.
d.	HIAR MAN STANTA STAN (der brautu).		HERE MUN STAND this-STONE (near the-baird, = road).
e.	HIER MN STANTA STAN MIPLI BEA.		HERE MUN STAND this-STONE MIDDLE (amid) the-BOGS (home-steads),
f.	HIR MAN STANTA STAIN NER BRAUTU.		HERE MUN STAND this-STONE NEAR the-BAIRD (forest-path).
g.	HER SKAL UM STUND STANTA.		HERE SHALL-I UM (for) a-STUND (time) STAND
h.	BAÐ STATA HIA (piketa)hi (stain miþ) ALT (i)(får).		BADE STAND NEAR the-THINGSTEAD (Doom ring) (this-stone long-as) ELD (time) LIVES.
i.	NU SKAL STATO STIN O BIARSKI.		NOW SHALL STANI this-STONE ON the-BARROW (tumulus),
j.	STIN KUASK HIRSI STONTA LOKI.		The-STONE QUOD (said) to-the-HERSE (chief) it-would-STAND LONG.

We have also, on the Kumla stone, Upland, the side-word SONNA, to SOOTH, speak sooth, truth, bear true witness, an unlying inscription:

STIN SARSI		STONE SE (this)
SONR AT FRUSTA.		SOOTHs (witness-) AT (to) FRUSTI



## VIRRING, N. JUTLAND, DENMARK.

This block, of bluish gray granite, lay till Sept. 3, 1870 as a threshold-stone before the porch of Virring Church, near Randers, in Sønderhald Herred (Hundred), Århus Stift (Diocese). It is nearly 5 feet high and about 4 feet where broadest, in thickness about 1 foot. Runes from 4½ to 7 inches high. Tramp and scaling away have greatly injured some staves. It was taken up and drawn by Prof. Magnus Petersen Sept. 3, 1870, and published by Prof. P. G. Thorsen in "Aarbøger for Nord. Oldkyndighed og Historie" 1870, Kjøbenhavn, pp. 420—3 and Plate 24. He reads only some words:

— — — FADUR — — — AFT TUDAN. DOR UIKI DISI KUML. But in my opinion the whole can be substantially made out, and I look upon it as a very precious monument. It is the 3rd Danish instance (the 6th Scandinavian<sup>1</sup>) of the invocation of a heathen God on the minnestones of the dead. It also, as far as I can see, gives another example of the scarce formulas KITA for LET and KUN for KENNE. KENNING, MARKING as applied to grave-runes and grave-stones. This piece, probably from about the 9th century, is simply inscribed with 5 straight lines, closed by the happily plain one on the top.

Line 1, the last on the left. One word only, with dots before and behind. Only the 4th stave is dim, tho legible: RIK(M)UTR, RIKMUND, a well-known Scando-Gothic mansname, here for the first time found on a runic monument.

Line 2, two words, with dots before and behind, last dots dim from a fissure. First word began with a T or S (now broken and shadowy) and ended with a letter, apparently I or N, of which only the under-part is left. Stone has peeled away between, with space for 2 staves. The whole was seemingly some such common mansname as (SUIX) or (TUKI), in the nominative, to agree with the next-coming word, a verb in the plural. — This verb is plain enough, save the 2nd letter, which was either A or I. The former being more "regular" we will take it as such, K(A)TU, GOT, let.

3rd line. After 2 dots, remains of what looks like R, with faint spores of A and S, then part of an apparent S and T, followed by a legible I and N. So 2 dots, an A, nearly all an F, space for TIR. Thus: (RAS ST)IN A(ftir), RAISE this-STONE AFTER.

Line 4. After 2 dots FADUR followed by 2 dots and STAR, with room for 3 staves. Must doubtless have been the mansname STARKAR, which is a name found on the Rockelstad tine and on 2 stones at Kålstad, Upland, Sweden. The 1st Kålstad (Lilj. 49, Bautil No. 351, and Dyb. fol. 20):

STERKAR AUK HIORUARDR LITU REISA DINSA STAIN EFTR KISL. BROÐUR SIN. KUD HIALBI ANT ANS. — UISTI AUK UFAIH DEIR HIERU.

Ends: UISTI EKE (and) UFAIH THEY HEWED (carved this stone).

Second Kålstad (Lilj. 50, Dybeck fol. 21 and Carl Sæve):

STERKAR AUK HIORUARDR LETU REISA DESA STEIN AT FADUR SIN KEIRA, SUM UESTR SAT I DIKA-LIDI. KUD HIALBI SALU.

STERKAR EKE (and) HIORUARDH LET RAISE THIS STONE AT (to) FATHER SIN (their) KEIRI (= GEIRI), SUM (who) WEST (out west) SAT (in garrison) IN the-THING-LITH (the war-troop) (= who was a member of the Scandinavian body-guard, house-carles or household troops, serving under King Knut and his successors in England). GOD HELP his-SOUL!

Last line on the Virring stone. First, 2 broken dots; then a dim K, a clearer U, a plain N, 2 dots; STN, 2 dots; TUDAN, 2 dots. Thus: (KU)N STN AFT TUDAN.

I have said that the Stentofte memorial (my Vol. 1, p. 170) ends with the formula ÆBÆ RIUTI PERÆ GINO-RONOA, ÆBÆ WROTE THEIR GIN-RUNES (mighty letters). If we turn to Vaksala, Upland, (Lilj. 1553; Peringsköld, Mon. Upl. p. 236; Bautil, No. 392), we find, only 5 letters having fallen away: KITILFRIDR LIT SITH STIN FOR OT IUI, BUNT(a) SINS. ILUKR IUK KINI-RUNAR. That is to say: KITILFRITH (his widow) let set this stone for the oad (soul) of IUA her husband. ILUK HEWED the-KEN-RUNES.

See the K RUNAR of the Varpsund block (K for KINI for want of room on the stone) at my Vol. 2, p. 927. But we have the parallel phrases

<sup>1</sup> See the Glavendrup stone, Vol. 2, p. 692, the Östberga stone, Vol. 2, p. 768, and the Vesterby block a couple of pages farther back, all, like this, calling on THUR. The Stenderup stone (Vol. 2, p. 582) invokes (w)OTHIN, as does the Swedish Tjursåker block, which see.

DUR UIKI RUNAR

DUR UIKI KURL.

KEN-RUNES

KEN-STONE.

This is proved by the 2 Rockelstad stones, which belong together, in Upland, Sweden (Lilj. 475, 6; Baut. 95, 93; Dyb. fol. II, Nos. 114, 115, and his Runa, 5, p. 71; Carl Sæve, Uppl. F. M. Fören. Tidskr. 3, p. 10):

ULFR AUK PURMONTR AUK KAMAL LATA REIS(A) KINA-STINA DAR IFTR FADUR SIN.

RISTU MERKI

AT MAN METAN

SUNIR ALKODIR

AT SIN FADUR STERKAR.

USITI RITI STINA.

ULF EKE THURMONT LET RAISE KEN-STONES (*mark-stones*) THESE AFTER FATHER SIN (*their*).RAISED this-MARK (*pillar-stone*)AT (*to*) a-MAN MEET (*worthy, excellent*)his-SONS ALL-GOOD (= *brave-handed*)AT (*to*) their-FATHER STERKARUSITI WROTE (*inscribed*) the-STONES

A second Danish example is given by the Laurberg block, N. Jutland, Thorsen's "Danske Runemindesmærker", 2, 1, Pl. 43. Front: RUL(Æ)FUS KN ST(A)IN. Back: (? UILI IU). *ROLF'S KEN-STONE*. *WILLI HEWED*. The stone is rough, the back exceedingly so, and the staves there are doubtful.

KEN-RUNES are therefore runes that KEN, mark or commemorate, and are equal to the older GIN-RUNES, while a KEN-STONE is a memorial so marked and uncommon that it shall remain as a lasting honor-pillar to the deaceat.<sup>1</sup>

Exactly fellow to this is the KUBL KENLIK, the CUMBEL KENLY, easily seen grave-setting, far-off visible stones and barrow of the Kronogård block, Småland, Sweden (Lilj. 1277, but carefully examined by myself in 1868 and his faulty text corrected):

ROSTEIN AUK EILIFR,

ROSTEIN EKE EILIF,

AKI AUK HAKUN,

AKI LKE HAKUN,

REISPU DESA STEINAR<sup>2</sup>

RAISED THESE STONES

IFTR SIN FADUR,

AFTER SIN (*their*) FATHER,

KUBL KENLIK

a-CUMBEL KENLY

(I)FTIR KALA TAUDAN.

AFTER KALI now-DEAD.

DU MUN KO(ÐS mans) MINI)

THY (= *therefore*) MUN (*shall*) a-GOOD (*man's*) MINNE (*memory*)

KITIT UIRÐA

GAVEN WORTH (*be kept, guarded, remembered*)

MED SIN LPIR

MITH (*while, long as*) STONE LIVES

AUK STAFIR RUN.

EKE (*and*) STAVES (*spells*) a-RUNE (*letters form words*)!

The top line of the Virring stone is quite plain: DUR UIKI DISI KURL. It is therefore certain that this Virring monolith bore, at least substantially:

RIKMUTR (. . . .) R(A)TU (RAS st)IN AF(tir) FADUR STAR(kar). (KU)N-STN AFT TUDAN.

DUR UIKI DISI KURL.

RIKMUND and (. . . .) GAT (let) RAISE this-STONE AFTER (in memory of) their-FATHER STARKAR.

a-KEN- (*marking, memorial*) -STONE AFTER him-DEAD.May-THUR WIH (*bless, hallow, guard*) THESE CUMBELS (*grave-settings*)!

<sup>1</sup> I believe we have this same word in the oldest codex of the Westgotland Law, close of the 13th century, (Schlyter's ed., Stockholm 1827. 4to, p. 68), in the section "lætta er conongs bolkar". Among the 6 stones set up as mere-stones between Sweden and Denmark, "þridhi kinnæ sten", the third was a KEN-STONE, marking-stone, had no name from any distinct locality, which most of the other 5 boundary-blocks had.

<sup>2</sup> (June 1879). I have just received Månadsbladet, Stockholm, Sept.—Okt. 1877. At p. 532 Prof. S. Bugge gives only the first 6 lines of the Kronogård block, the same as my text above, save that his line 3 is REISPU ÞEIR STEINAR. It is of no great consequence, and the runes are here not clear. But my paper squeezes seem to show REISPU DESA STEINAR, which is more usual. — Sept. 1879. In the just published Vol. 2, Part 1 of Prof. Thorsen's Danske Runemindesmærker, this Virring block is Plate 21.

OLD-NORTHERN WORD-LIST.

RASMUS KRISTIAN RASK.

1787—1832.

IN MEMORIAM.



## BETTERINGS.

Vol. 2, p. 828. "P. 63, note 1" line 10. — *For*: gen. *ADAR* or *ÆDAR* *read*: gen. *ADAR* or *ÆDR*. — See on this word J. E. Rydqvist's Svenska Språkets Lagar. Vol. 4, Part 1, Stockholm 1868, p. 113, 114.

Vol. 2, p. 835, line 5. — Dr. Hans Hildebrand, of Stockholm, kindly informs me (May 22, 1870) that the Balingstad horse-workt stone was eventually deposited by Count Essen in Wyk Castle.

Vol. 2, p. 835, line 6. — *For* Haganda *read* Hagunda.

Vol. 2, p. 856. — Prof. Sophus Bugge reminds me that in the Swedish-Norse boundary-list as found in the Charter No. 967, an. 1489, p. 706 of Diplomatarium Norvegicum, Vol. 3, we have the variation: "aff the bræcku och j Honno biergh aff Honnobiergh och j heldw tha ær staddher j Hiornwikil oc ærw ewnor j hwgær." — The latest example I have seen is in the Mark-line between East-Gotland and Södermanland, Sweden, anno 1401, (Diplom. Svecan. 1, p. 610):

— — — af Liidastadz gierde och i RUNA-STAPUEN		— — — from Liidastad fence to the RUNE-STAVE
och i RUNASTENEN, ett stenkast nedan af RUNE-		(tall Rune-pillar) and to the RUNE-STONE, a stone's
STENEN i RUN-HÄLLA mossa — — —		throw below the Rune-stone to the RUNE-HILL (slab)
		Moss — — —

Vol. 2, p. 872. — See ENGLISH (? or NORWEGIAN) Runic CALENDAR, under England.

Vol. 2, p. 874, line 6. — *For* Schenström *read*: Schenson. — Lower down, *for* Sularfve *read*: Sutarfve.

Vol. 2, p. 879. Middle. — *For* 8 Old-Northern *read*: 9 Old-Northern.

## OLD-NORTHERN WORD-LIST.

(See the Old-Northern WORD-ROW. Vol. 2, pp. 895—986.)

A. *Bracteate 81*. — A contraction.

A. — *Æ*, *Lindholm*; *AI*, *Skåning*; *IWKA* (= *IWIKA*), *Freerslev*. Adv. *AYE*, *EVER*, *alway*. See text and Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 900. — *AICI*, *Brough*. Not, never. See text.

*ÆEDÆGÆSLI*, see under *ADÆA*

*ÆANB*, *Lindholm*. — N. s. n. Should this be the word intended, probably equal to *ÆANP*, Snake, serpent. May answer to the N. I. *JAPR*, Norse *JEVER*. See text.

*ÆC*, see *TISÆC*.

*ÆCLIHCK*, *Brough*. Place-name. ? Dat. s. fem. See text. — See *ECBI*.

AFAL, *Freerslev*. — Gen. s. a Grandmother. See text. The O. Engl. EALDE-MODER, a Grandmother, now signifies (ELD-MODER, ELL-MOTHER) a mother-in-law or step-mother, in the North of England, where it had assumed this by-meaning as early as the 15th century.

ÆFTE, *Thornhill*; ÆFTER, *Thornhill* (bis); ÆFTER, *Falstone*; ÆFTER, *Yarm*; B(EAFTER), *Crowle*; IFT, *Brough*. — AFTER, BE-AFTER, in minne of, to commemorate. Prep. gov. Dat. and Ac. The shortened AFT (and IFT), uncommon in Scandinavia, is rarer in England. In modern English it is found as a sea-term, FORE and AFT. — On the *Freerslev* stone AFTA is taken absolutely, *after her*.

[AGAN]. — To owe, own, possess. See Vol. 2, p. 905. — o, *Förde*; OH, *Sæbó*; 3 s. pr. owns, has. ÆGESTIA, Vol. 2, p. 902, line 9. — For ÆGIR read EGIR, ÆGIR.

AI. u. a — MCI. u. a.

AILIC, *Brough*. HOLY. See BÆILEG in Word-roll, Vol. 2. See text.

AIVOMIA, *Bracteate* 65. — Dat. Womans-name. -ÆIWU, see LILIAÆIWU.

ÆLÆ, *Kragehul*. Gen. pl. neut. Of storms. See text. The Scandian dialects offer many forms, all neuter. Dan. ÆL, EL, IL, (ILING); N. I. EL, JEL; Swed. ÆLE, IL, ILL, (ILING). See ILÆ in the Wordrow. Vol. 2.

ÆELÆUCÆA, ÆLÆWINÆ, under ÆLU.

ÆLEUBWINI, *Nordendorf*. — N. s. Mansname. The two names ÆLEUB (ELOF, O. E. ELEOF) and WINI are common in our old dialects, but I have not seen this compound before.

ALHS, *Brough*. Mansname. Gen. s. See text.

ALLA, u. ÆLU. In England ALLA is also written AELLA, ÆLLA, ÆLLE, ALE, EALAE, AELLI, ALI, and has a fem. ELA

ALTE-UILÆA, *Bracteates* 49, 49 b. — Dat. s. Mansname.

-ELTR, -ALTS, see under WALD.

ÆLU, *Bracteates* 15, 16, 18, 68, 88. — Nom. s. Mansname. See Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 903. — *Lindholm*. Perhaps dat. s. of womansname ÆLA. — ALLA, *Yarm*. Mansname, nom. — ÆLUA, *Förde*. See text. Mansname, if not womansname. May be one word, or a compound, ÆL-WA. We have the O. Engl. names UUA and ÆSC-WA, and on the Scandinavian-runic Rök stone is the mansname UA-MUD (ac. s.). Should the root be ÆLU (= ÆLW) and the U a softening of the F (ALF, ALB, ALU), the WA will not be there. So little do we really know of these things. — ELWÆO, *Bracteate* 94. Probably womansname in dat. — ÆELÆUCÆA, *Bracteate* 71. Mansname. d. s. — ÆLÆWINÆ, *Bracteate* 67. See Word-row. Vol. 2, p. 903. There is also an O. E. mansname ALUINE, EALAWIN, ÆLEWINE, ELEWINE, &c. Apparently this is also the name of a moneyer of the Danish king Erik Emune (1134—1137). ALVVIN. See Description des Monnaies du Moyen-âge de Christian Jürgensen Thomsen, Tome II. Copenhagen 1876, p. 107 and Plate II, fig. to No. 10,307. In the list of Danish names in the York Gospels, date the beginning of the 11th century, we have the rare compound ELEWINULER. — ELVIN, ELWIN, ELWYN is still a common English name. See ALWIN.

-ALUT, see OWÆALUT. — ALUWALUDO, u. WALD.

ALUER, Vol. 2, p. 906. — There is also the Scand. Runic name ALUIR, N. I. ÖLVIR.

ALWIN, *Brough*. Nom. s. m. ALL-WINE, the friend of all, all loving. See text, and under ÆLU.

ÆMILIU, *Bracteate* 61. — Dat. s. womans-name ÆMILIA.

AN. — ENEHE, *Mojebro*. — N. s. Mansname. We have the O. G. ANNICO, ENIKO, ENIHHO, &c. in Förstemann. — ENOENÆ, *Bracteate* 48. Nom. s. Mansname. — ENWLL, *Bracteate* 25; ENIWULU, *Bracteate* 75. — Nom. s. Mansname. — ENIWULF. — See Vol. 2, Word-row, under ENWLL. — As we know, the final F often melts into U or falls away altogether. At Cividale (the "Civitas Austriæ" of the Lombards), has just (July 1874) been found the tomb of GISULF, probably the chieftain of that name who was Duke of the Lombard Marches of Friuli, and fell in battle in 611, fighting against the Avars. The stone bears only the letters GISUL. (See The Academy, London, July 4, 1874, p. 25).

ENN. see u. UNNA(N).

ENOENÆ, ENWLL, ENIWULU, under AN.

ANS. — See Word-row. Vol. 2, p. 907. — ÆS, *Kragehul*. See text. — OSBERCHTÆ, *Thornhill*. Dat. s. of the common O. E. mansname OSBERCHT. — OSBIOL, *Brough*. Nom. Mansname. See text. — OSCIL, *Brough*. Nom. Mansname. See text. — ÆSLAIKIR, *Freerslev*. N. s. Mansname. See text.

EOAHÆÆ, *Bracteate* 6. — Dat. s. m. To the Horseman. — See WORD-ROW u. EÆHÆOÆ.

...(AF)Æ, *Crowle*. — Dat. or ac. s. Mansname.

A-BÆRDE, under RAISA.

ÆB-RNR ( -ÆB-RUNAR), *Freerslev*. — Ac. pl. f. ARE (or ORE or honor) RUNES, worshipful epitaph. See text, and Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 904, u. ÆRU. Modern Scandinavian critics call the modern Scandinavian ÆRA "a borrowed word". Vidalin said it first appeared in Magnus Lagab. réttárbotar, anno 1813. Vigfusson in Cleasby's lexicon says "first about the end of the 13th century". But, found as it is in all the cognate dialects, it must have belonged to the old Scandian tung, and accordingly we find it several times in these O. N. runes.

ÆRINGÆS, *Tune*, n. pl. m.; ÆRINGÆ, *Tune*, n. s. fem. — (ARVING), heirs, heiress. — ÆRFIKI, *Freerslev*, n. s. m. (Heir), son. See WORD-ROW, Vol. 2, p. 904. — Dr. Vigfusson says (in Cleasby's Lexicon, p. 24) that the feminine, under the form ÆRFA, is in the Old Norse Laws (Norges Gamle Love, folio), Vol. 1, p. 191. I cannot find it there, but it may occur somewhere else in the 3 volumes. The 4th volume, containing Index, Glossary &c., has not yet appeared. In the Helsingland dialect, Sweden, the compounds EN-ARVA (alone-heiress) and LAND-ARVA (or -ARVA) are still used for an only daughter who, there being no sons, takes as heiress the whole estate. — June 1879. I have just received from Dean Dr. Joh. Fritzner, who is going thro the Old-Norse Laws for the new edition of his Old-Norse Lexicon, the following valuable note: "The word ARVA for heiress occurs in Gulathing-law ch. 275. Norges G. L. 1, 92. I think there can be no doubt that the use of such a word as ERPINGJA in the same meaning is fully justified by analogy. Compare, for instance, the employment of LEYSINGJA, a freedwoman, by the side of LEYSINGI, a freedman, (or LEYSINGR; so BRÆDRUNG, masc., BRÆDRUNGA, fem.) — ERPINGJA stands to ERPINGI exactly as LEYSINGJA to LEYSINGI." — The passage is: "verðr hou bæde ARVA óðals oc aura . . . . . Nu ero þær arvar faður sins."

ÆRFIKI, u. ÆRINGÆS. — ÆS, see u. ANS.

ASPING, *Fonnäs*. — N. s. ASP'S-SON. See text.

AT, *Thornhill*. — AT, close to, near; governs a Dative. See the text, and ÆT, Vol. 2. p. 905. Here, at line 5, read: Gotlandish A, ATH, ET.

AP, *Bracteate 59*. — Ac. s. m. EAD, fortune, bliss, treasure. — A.D.EA, *Eínang*. Dat. s. Mansname. In olden times AD, AUP, ÆD, OD, &c. &c., even if more or less originally distinct, which is very doubtful, past so frequently into each other that it is now impossible practically to distinguish them. We have the same difficulty in O. Engl. in discriminating between AD and AUD (EAD) &c. Thus we have the O. E. names ADA, ADDA, ÆDDA, EADA, EDA, EADDA (gen. EADDAN), EDE, ADDI, EDUS, EADU, fem. and EDE, fem., EATA, OTH, ODDA (gen. ODDAN), ODA, OTA, ODE (gen. ODES), ODANUS, ODDANUS, ODONUS, AETHAN, &c., with a crowd of compounds, variously spelt. We will take only one: AUDUBALDUS, ÆADBALDUS, AED-BALDUS, EADBELD, EADBALD, EODBALD, EDBALDUS. In later runics we have AUDIR, nom., EUPAR, gen., AOTIA, AP, AUDA, ac., the fem. AUDA and AÜDR, nom., AUPUR, gen., and many varying compounds, such as AUD-BIARN and OODBIARN, AUDFRIDAR, gen. f. and AFRIDI, ac., ADUATR and AUDUATR, AUDKAIR and OTKAIR, ADKEN and AUBKEN, AUPMUNTR, ODMUNTR, OUDMUNT, &c. So in O. Germ. Förstemann cannot distinguish between AUD and OD (AUDO, AUTO, OUDO, OUTO, OUTHO, AOTTO, OATO, ODO, ODDA, ODDO, OTO, OTTO, OTTHO, HOTO, &c. &c.) and EUTH (EUDO, EODO, HEUDO, &c.). See AUTO &c. in the older Word-roll. — EADBIERT, *Bingley*. — Nom. Mansname. Common in O. E., ADBERT, AEDBERHT, AEDBEORHT, EADBERCT, EADBERHT, EADBRIHT, &c. &c., in O. G., AUDOBERCTH, AUTHPERT, ODBERT, &c. This EADBERT was king of Northumberland from 737 to 757. He died as Canon of York in 768. — ÆEADLÆGÆSLI, *Vi Moss Buckle*. N. s. m. This mansname apparently answers to the Scandian-runic ÆDSL, m., ÆDSL, m., ODISLA, fem., the O. E. ADIGILS, EADGILSUS, EADUGILS, EEDGILS, and to the O. Germ. AUDEGISIL, ODGILS, &c. In the oldest monuments GISIL often appears as GESIL. In Scandian runics it is found as KISILI, but also as GISL, KISL, KISLI, and in compounds as -ILS and -ISL. The usual Scandian form of this compound would have been AUDGISLI and we have the Swedish ODGISL. But it early died out, as afterwards in England and Germany, in both which lands it was very rare. — (o)pc(v), *Freilaubersheim*. Possibly may be redd (st)pc(v); womansname, dat. sing. Og. OTICHA, OTHICE, AUDINGA. — IAUBINI, *Bracteate 92*. Mansname, dat. Answers to the O. E. EADWINE. — EEDLEUA, *Bracteates 51, 52*. Mansname, dat. — EEDOU, *Bracteate 27*. Womansname, dat. — EADRED, *Thornhill*. Nom. Common O. E. mansname. — ODUA, *Vānga*. Apparently a mansname in the dat. Perhaps a compound, OD-UA, the woful to, scatterer of, treasure, — the generous, jewel-giver. — ADAL, EDEL, &c. Names with this prefix, so common in O. Engl. &c., are excessively

rare in Scandinavia. — EDELBERHT, *Thornhill*. N. s. Common O. E. mansname. — EDELWINI, *Thornhill*. Dat. Common O. E. mansname. — ODLE, *Franks Casket*. Dat. s. m. OTHAL, ADAL, home, country, patrimony. O. S. E. ODEL, OEDEL, EDEL, EDEL, masc.; E. Engl. ÆDEL, neut.; Scandian-runic UDAL; O. Sax. UOTHIL, UODIL, ODIL, OTHIL, m.; N. Icel. ODAL, ÖDLI, EDLI, n.; O. G. UDAL, ODHIL, UODIL, ODIL, &c.

AULILYOÆ, *Bracteate* 8. D. s. Mansname. Apparently a diminute of the mansname AUL, O. G. OLEO. In Scandian runics we have AUL- in compound names, and the single names AULI and AULIR.

ÁUASA (or ÁUSA), *Bracteate* 70. Place-name, dat. or ac.

BA, see TUNBA. — BA, Vol. 3, p. 910. Sometimes in Mid. Engl. we have the forms BODE TWO and BOTO in the same Ms., — as in Joseph of Arimathie (E. E. T. Soc. Ed. by W. W. Skeat, London 1871).

BER, see SÆBER.

BECKCTO, *Brough*. 3 s. p. BIGGED, built-up, raised. See text, and BUA further on.

BECCUN, *Hezham, Thornhill*. Ac. s. n. BEACON, grave-pillar, funeral Cross. See Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 912.

BERGI, *Thornhill*. Dat. s. masc. The (BERG), BARROW, grave-mound, tumulus. See the text, and the word BERIG, Vol. 2, p. 913.

BERHTE, mansname. The family name BIARTE, BJERTE, BJERT (our English BRIGHT) is still common in Norway. — BEARTIGO, *Bracteate* 77. Nom. sing. The mansname. BEARTING, BRIGHTING. See text. — BERHTSUDE, *Thornhill*. Womans-name. Dat. See the text. — See CUBBERE(h)ting), EDELBERHT, TRUMBERECHT.

BI, see under BUA.

gIBID, *Bingley*. 2 s. imperat. BID-thou, pray-thou. — gebIDDAD, *Thornhill*. 2 pl. imperative. BID-ye, pray-ye. See under gebID, Vol. 2, p. 913.

BIGI(? æ), *Kragekul*. ? d. s. m. In-his-BING (= War-bed, camp). This is the English BING, N. I. BING(r), m., Swed. prov. BINGE, BING, m., Dan. & Norsk prov. BING, m., properly a heap (especially of sheaves or straw &c.), a pile, a wall-fast boarded or roped-off place or box for the same or for sheep and goats, then a *bed or couch* (in this sense yet known in Norse-Icel. and (BINK) in Öland). The Ohg. PIGO, m., PIGA, f., is a heap of corn or grain. The presence or absence of the N is unessential, especially in runics, and there are various side-forms, as BUNGA, BUNKE, BYNKE, &c. in the Scandian folk-talks with variant meanings. In England BIN and BING would seem to be mere side-forms; but see Prof. Skeat hereon, in his valuable Etymological Dictionary of the English Language.

BIM, *Fonnis*. I BE, I am. See text.

BIO, see under BUA. — BIOL, see OSBIOL.

BIRKOHNUM, *Bracteate* 92. Dat. pl., usual form BJÖRGVINUM, but commonly contracted to BJÖRGVIN, BJÖRGYN, BJÖRGIN, from BIRG, BERG, BJÖRG, and VIN, gen. VINJAR, or YN, gen. YNIAR, or VINI, gen. VINAR or VINI, &c. &c. Now the sea-town BERGEN in west Norway. As VIN is = the O. E. WYNN, the meaning is *the-hill-meadows*. Said to have been founded by king Olaf Kyrre, about A. D. 1070—1075.

BIRLNIO (— BIRLINIO), *England (Nordendorf)*. Womansname in dative. In England BURL (= BURLA), BURLEY, BURLING, &c., are still common names, as is BURLA in Denmark. See text.

BOA, see under BUA.

BÆREC, Vol. 2, p. 913. (At p. 914, l. 9. For 1883 read 1863). — Early Middle-English forms are also BERWE, BURWE, p. t. BARW. Trusty Grim, in Havelock, l. 696—8, says:

Betere us is of londe to ðe.

And BERWEN bopen\* ure\* liues,

And mine\* children\*, and mine\* wiues\*.

Here the words starred are in the gen. case, = *and SAVE the lives of us both and of my children and of my wife*.

I give another instance, from a Ms. of the 12th century but transliterated from originals of the 11th century:

from þan helle and from þan pine us BUREJE þe		from that hell and from that pine (torment) us
lauerd.		BURG (preserve), the Lord!



Old English [*read* Early English] Homilies &c. Ed. by R. Morris. Early Engl. Text Soc. 8vo, Vol. 1, London 1867, p. 25. — See another example of this formula, here KUD BIRKI ANT on the *Småland-stone* in the section ARCHAIC MONUMENTS.

BOSO, *Freilaubersheim*. Mansname, nom. A common old Scando-Gothic name. Lombardic POZO, POSO, POSSO; O. G. BOSO, BOSA, &c.; Scand. runics BOSI, BUSI. In middle-age documents all over Scandinavia the name is spelt BOSO, BOSÆ, BOOSE, BOSE, BOSI, BOOS, BOOZ. Is the O. E. BOSA, mod. Engl. BOASE, BOS, BOSEY, BOSS, &c.

BREODERA, *Yarm.* Dat. s. BROTHER. See text, and Word-row, Vol. 2. under gibRODÆRA.

BROK, *Brough.* Ac. s. n. BROKE, sorrow, death. See text.

BUA, *Thames fitting*, inf. — To BO, BOO, bide, wone, dwell, abide, live. O. N. E. BUA, (ge)BYA; O. S. E. BOGIAN, BUAN, BUGAN, BUAN, BUGIAN, BUWAN, (ge)BUWIAN; BYGGAN, to build; N. E. to BIG, BIGG, BIGGE; N. I. BUA; BYGGJA, to build; O. Swed. BOA, Sw. Dan. BO; O. Sw. BYGGJA, Sw. BYGGA, Dan. BYGGE, to build; O. Fr. BOGIA, BOWA, BUWA; Fris. BOUWJEN; Ohg. BUEN, BUUEN, PUAN; Mhg. BUWEN; Germ. BAUEN; Sanskr. BHŪ. See BECKTO, and Word-roll in Vol. 2 under ÆS-BO and BONDE. — BOÆ, see UNBOÆU. — BIO, see CUOMBILBIO. — BI, see ECBI.

BUCIAEHOM, *Brough.* Apparently a place-name in the dat. s. m. See text.

BUGA, p. 915, l. 23. — *Read* Swed. BUGA, BOCKA.

K....., Mörbylänga. — Ac. s. or pl. neut. CUMBLE, grave-mark, grave-stone, cairn, how. Usually in the plural, is common in all the Northern lands as KUML, KUMBL, KUBL, &c. All after the K on this stone is *broken away*. See WORD-ROW in Vol. 2.

CALLU, see GÆÆCALLU.

KAR, see ODINKAR.

KAURUAN. See Word-list, Vol. 2. — G, *Eidsberg*, ? GARBI, GERDE, 3 s. p., GARED, made, built. CEARUNGA, *Brough.* Gen. s. f. CARING'S, sorrow's, of anguish. See text.

CI (negative particle), see AICI.

CLÆGO, *Charnay.* Ac. s. f. A KEENG, Brooch, Fibula, Prene. Here with the usual runic elision of the N, for CLÆNGO, if the G be not a bind-rune for NG. This word is specially Norse-Icelandic, being only found in Norway and its colonies. In N. I. it is KINGA, KUINGA, f, KENGR, m., a Brooch, Fibula, Metallic fastener. As carried by the Norsemen to Shetland it still lives there in the shape KEENG, a metallic brooch. In the present Norwegian talks it flourishes as KING, KJENG, KJING, KJENG, all in the same meaning. A side-word is the English and Dutch KINK, a fold, twist in a rope &c., and the provincial Swedish (Norrländ) KING, a gad-ring twisted in a swine's snout to prevent its rooting, and the verb KING', KJING', to fix such wire on to a swine.

CIL, see OSCH.

CIMOKOMS, *Brough.* Womans-name, gen. s. See text.

COECAS, *Brough.* 3 s. pres. indic. QUETCHES, moves, shall shake, shall afflict. See text.

COINU, *Brough.* QUENE, wife. Gen. s. See text.

KOMS, see CIMOKOMS.

CORNILIO, *Bracteate* 75. — N. s. Mausname.

KRIST, *Brough.* Nom. s. CHRIST. See text, and Word-row Vol. 2.

KU, under CUNINGC.

CUHL, *Brough.* Nom. s. Mausname. See text. We have still the Danish name KÜHL.

CUN, CUP, &c. See SEHS-CUNÆ. — The Diplom. Svecanum, 2, 557, names a GUNNO DE HOUE. — CUPBERE(HUNG), *Lancaster.* Ac. s. Mansname, CUTHBERT-SON. This patronymic I do not remember to have seen before. — CUNIMUDU, *Bracteate* 25. This I now look upon as a womansname, dative. The N being nasalized in the usual way, the nom. is CUNIMUNDIA. See Word-row Vol. 2, p. 916. This female name is found here for the first time. In his 1st edition Förstemann has 149 names ending in -MUND, but no CUNIMUNDIA. Of the whole number only 5 are feminines, and of these 2 end in -IS, 2 in -A (MUNDA), and only one (RAIMUNDIA) in -IA. This last name is from the 7th century. — See HYERU-WULEFIA. — We have the mansname, CUNEMUND, on Old-English coins from the 1st half of the 9th century.

CUNINGC. See Word-row, Vol. 2. — KU, *Bracteate* 75. Nom. s. Contraction for KUNUNG. See under CUN.

CUNNIAS, *Whitby Comb.* — G. s. n. The word now spelt KIN (race, family, sept, clan, &c.) is found, with various shades of spelling and meaning, in most of the Scando-Gothic tungs as far back as we can go. It is the Scandian-Runic KUN and KIN. — See under CUNI- in the WORD-ROW, Vol. 2, p. 916.

CUOMBIL-BIO, *Brough.* CUMBEL-BOO, grave-kist. Probably ac. s. neut. See text.

CURNE, see HÆCURNE.

CUPBERE(hing), under CUN.

DÆBS, *Thames fitting.* — G. s. n. Of the DEEP, of the sea, ocean. Most of the dialects have doubtless had a double form, with and without the -þ or -d, tho one or the other may be wanting in the monuments left us. Thus we have in English DEEP and DEPTH, but DEPTH is accidentally found in no ancient manuscript, DEOPNISS taking its place. M. Goth. DIUPEI, fem. and DIUPDA, fem.; O. S. E. DYP, f., DYPA, m., DEOP, n.; (? O. N. E. DIOP); Norse-Icel. DJUP, n.; Swed. DJUP, m.; Norse DJUP; Dan. DYB, DYBDE; O. Fr. DIAPE, DIEP; O. S. DIOPI, DIUPI, DIUPITHA; Ohg. DIUPI, TIEFI, TIEFFI, TIUFE, TIUF, TIUPI, TIUFFI, TIUPHI, TIUPHIN, TUF, all fem.; Germ. TIEFE.

DÆGÆ, *Einang*; DAH, Osthofen. — Nom. sing. Here, as so often in names from this early period, a weak noun at Einang. But it is also found as a strong noun in the compound mansname GODÆGES (= GOD-DÆGÆS), nom. sing. on the Valsfjord rock. It is a common old Scando-Gothic name, and yet lives as such in Scandinavia as DAG, in England as DAY, in Germany as TAG, &c., and so on. In older Scandian it is found as DAGHER, DAGR, DAGH, DAG, &c. We have it in the later runes as TAKÆE, nom., which is substantially the Einang form; but also as TAKH, nom., TAH, TAK, ac., and in the compounds DAGHFIN (not in runes), nom., TAHE-SUN, ac. — In Old-English we have the names DAEGA, DAGA, gen. DAGAN, with many compounds, DAEGBALD, DAEGBERCT, &c., as outword LUUEDEI, masc., LEOFE-DÆGA, fem., our modern LOVEDAY. In O. N. E. besides the common DÆG, day, we have the s. indecl. DÆGI, and in O. S. E. the sing. DAGA. — The Frisic form is TACO, TAGE, TAKY, &c., whence the Danish TAGE, unless all this should be a different name = TAKI. In O. S. is DAGO, day. — In O. Germ. it is DAG, DAGO, DACCO and TACCO, &c. with many compounds. — That the weak form DAGA &c. flourisht in Scandinavia as well as the strong form DAGR &c., we can see from such old place-names as DAGA-HUNDARI, DAGH-HUND-HERIDH, DAVA-HUNDARE, DAG-THORP, DAWÆ-THORP, DAWE-THORP, DAYERUP, &c., as well as such places as DAGS-BERGH, DAGS-THORP, &c. So in Mæso-Gothic we have several words which have double shapes (one strong the other weak), tho alike in meaning. — DÆGMUND, *Gilton Sword.* — Vocative, mansname. O. E. DÆGMUND, DEGMUND, DEIMUND; Modern Engl. DAYMENT, DAYMOND, DAYMONT; O. G. DAGAMUND, DAGAMUNT, TAGAMUNT. — See Vol. 2, p. 917, u. DAH. — DÆITUHÆ, *Bracteate* Nr. 79. — N. s. Mansname.

DELDUN, *Tune.* — 3 pl. p. They DEALED, shared, took part. partook. See Word-row, Vol. 2. — DEILA is used in very much the same way in the Landnámabók, 2, 13: "Synir Þorbrands í Álptafirði voru þeir Þorleifr kímði ok Þóroddr, Snorri, Þorfinnr, Illugi, Þormóðr; þeir DELDU við Arnkel um arf leysingja sinna." (Ed. Kjöb. 1843. Ísl. Sögur. 1, p. 100). And it comes down as low as Shakespear (*Tempest*, 5, 1):

His Mother was a Witch, and one so strong  
That could controule the Moone; make flowes, and ebs,  
And DEALE in her command, without her power.

And see the exactly similar MID-KI(arþu), MITH-GARED, *shared in setting*, on the Skalmstad grave-stone, p. 334 in this volume.

DAER, u. DÆ. — DAH, DÆITUHÆ, u. DÆGÆ.

DÆBYONE, *Frøllaubersheim.* — Gen. pl. in -NA, -NÆ, as several times in the oldest Old-Norse. Of the DÆTHE-clan or men. This kin was widely spread. It is the O. E. DADA, DADI, DEDA, and the O. Engl. mark-clans DÆDLINGAS, DEDDINGAS, DIDDINGAS. The O. G. has DADO, DADA, DADI, DEDO, &c. Such middle-age names as DETHBERNUS show that this word long held its ground in Scandinavia.

DÆUDE, Vol. 2, p. 918, line 2. — DAUGA is not Gotlandish. Rydqvist quotes it from Ihre's Dial. Lex. as belonging to Värmland and Dalarna.

DERING(æ), *Thornhill*. Dat. s. mansname. As we have the older Scandian names DYRI and DIURING, &c., so the Old-Engl. DIAR, DEORA, DIORA, DIERA, DIORI, TEORI, TYRI, &c. and DIRING, DEORING, DYRING, &c. are common. In Scand. Runics we have a TIURKA (= DIURINGA), ac. s. masc. DEER and DEERING are still usual names in England.

DOHTR, *Tune*. — Nom. s. DAUGHTER. See Word-row Vol. 2, p. 918, u. DOHTRIA.

DOM, *Franks Casket*. — N. s. m. DOOM, Court, Judgment. See Word-row, Vol. 2. — This DOM and GISL may (by a bare possibility) be the name of the artist, DOMGISL.

DEP-STAN, *Bingley*. — Ac. s. m. DIP-STONE, Font. I cannot remember any other English example of this word for font, tho in many parts of England DAB, DIP, DOUP, DOP, &c. have been and are used for to *dive*, *immerse*, &c. But a writer in Notes and Queries for Oct. 25, 1873, p. 328. mentions a stone slab font in the church of Llanvair-Talhairn in N. Wales as still called a DIPPING-STONE. The Old South-English has the usual Latinized FANT, FONT and FANT-FÆT. The Middle-English has FONT-STON, FAN-STONE, FOONTE-STONE and FUNT-FAT. — On a runish Font (now in the Riks-Museum, Stockholm) from the old church at Gällstad, West-Gotland, the runes say: ANTREOS KERM KAR (ANDREAS, = ANDREW, GARED *this-KAR*, = vessel, font)<sup>1</sup>. Another such, from Blädinge Church in Småland, but now preserved in the Park at Oby, bears the runish risting: FINFIDR HIAK DÆNA KAR A TIURA BIARK (FINFIDR, = FINVIDER, HEWED THIS KAR, = font, ON DIURA-BERG. [now KRONOBERG]).

Otherwise the Old-Swedish has FUNT-KAR and FONTER, now DOP-FUNT; O. Danish DØBE-FUNT, DØBE-FAT, now DØBE-FUNT; Norse DØBE-FONT; Norse-Icel. SKIRNAR-FAT, SKIRNAR-FONTUR; Frisic DØPE, baptism and Font; German TAU-F-STEIN. — Molbeck, in his "Dansk Dialect-Lexikon", has "Fonte, v. a. (af Font, Daab, Døbesteen) at døbe et Barn". But whether he had heard or seen this DØBE-STEEN, or made it for the occasion, I do not know, in spite of enquiries. — The Middle-Lowgerman has both DOPE-STEN and DOPEL-STEN for Font.

DRYGYD, *Franks Casket*. — 3 s. pr. DREETH, suffers; or does, performs. See Word-row Vol. 2, p. 918.

EADRED, u. AD.

EATEYONNE, *Thornhill*. — Dat. s. of the womansname EATEYA. The O. E. mansname is EATA. I have never before met with the female form. See the text.

EEDLEUA, under AD. — EC, under IK and YCE.

ECBL, *Brough*. — Place-name, probably dat. s. m. See text. See ACLIHC.

ECWIWEA, *Tune*. — Nom. sing. Woman's-name. See Word-row Vol. 2, u. ECWIWE.

ELTIL, *Bractates* 43, 44, 45, 85, 86, 87. — Nom. s. Mansname. See TIL.

ELS, *England (Nordendorf)*. — Womans-name. See text.

ELÆUINGS, ELWÆO, under ÆLU.

ERHA, *Thames fitting*. — Dat. s. m., ARG, swift-flowing, fierce water-dash, wave-rush, trough of the sea, ocean. This AR(H) or EAR(H) is now and then found as a simplex. Thus we have 'EARE ge-blonden' in the Riddles, Exeter Book, No. 4, l. 43, where the meaning is undoubtedly *with the sea-stream. the water-rush, blended*. Grein, I think, rightly takes in this sense the passage

byð me æt þam earou  
eagon wiðgangen

of Psalm 68, 3 (ed. Thorpe), which lines, taken in connection with v. 2, I would translate:

*mid those fearful floodings  
eyes mine fail me.*

If we compare lines 12—20, p. 186 (ed. Thorpe) of Cædmon with the second copy in the Exeter Book (l. 26 &c. p. 187, ed. Thorpe), and eschew the rash and endless and masterful theorizing criticisms and changes of the German school.

<sup>1</sup> All 4 sides of this beautifully ornamented (Kelto-Northumbrian motives) granite Font, which originally belonged to the old church at Säm in West-Gotland, are engraved by Baron G. Djurklou (Svenska Fornminnesförenings Tidskrift, Vol. 3, Stockholm 1877) in his valuable dissertation on the Antiquities of Kind Hundred.

Cædmon.  
and seo mænigeo  
mære wære,  
had to hebban  
swa heofan-steorran;  
bebugað brādne hwyft  
oðþæt brim-faro,  
swa waroþa sond  
geond sealtne wæg  
me ære gryndeð,

Exeter Book.  
þæt swa unrime  
  
had to hebban  
swa heofon-steorran;  
bugað bradne hwearft  
oð brim-flodas.  
swa waroþa sond  
ymb sealt-wæter ype<sup>1</sup>  
geond ear-grund,

we shall see that the South-Englisht text may have been, changing only *one mis-redd letter* (in for m) in the whole:

and seo mænigeo  
mære wære,  
had to hebban  
swa heofan-steorran;  
bebugað brādne hwyft  
oðþæt brim-faro,  
swa waroþa sond,  
geond sealtne wæg  
in eare gryndeð.

*and the multitude  
great should-be,  
their-station to have  
as heaven's-stars:  
inhabit-shall-they the-broad expanse  
far-as the-billowy-path,  
like-as the-coast-fields' sand  
along the-salt wave  
which-down-in ocean groundeth (sinketh, shelveth,  
stretcheth).*

This *in eare* was proposed by Grein (Biblioth. der Angels. Poesie, I, p. 103). He also ventures an explanation of this dark word. Comparing it with the Ohg. ARAHLAHHAN, stragula, gaarahot, stragulatus, ARAHARI, Damast-weber, he thinks that EAR(H) meant originally *a broad sheet or quilt or cover*, and figuratively the water covering the abyss. This appears to me excessively forced and unnatural, especially in connection with such a compound as EAR-GRUND or EARH-GEBLOND. — As to AR-GEBLOND, EAR(H)-GEBLOND, EAR-GEBLAND, neuter, the ocean, Jac. Grinim (Andreas & Elenc, 147), suggests the derivation from EAR(H), ear, spike, arrow, javelin, thus making EAR(H)-GEBLOND to be *the water-field where hostile darts intermingle*, a kenning for the billowy battle-field, and thus = the ocean. But all this is as crabbed and unlikely as the last. And besides, the root itself, AR, (E)AR(H), is used for Ocean, and it is difficult to see how this could be if the word actually meant a Spike or Arrow. — The same objection applies to Grein's guess (Glossary, s. AR-GEBLAND), that this compound signifies OAR-BLENDING (= the sea lasht by oars). The only other like tie known to me is EAR-GRUND, Ocean-ground, the bottom of the sea. — Perhaps the old ARG (root AR to go), *swift, fierce, onrushing, impetuous*, which I have identified in Scandinavian runics as *gallant, brave*, may be the key to the whole. See the closing word-fall of the Viby stone, Upland, my p. 616, Vol. 2:

MCKID MIRKI  
FURIR ARKUM MANI.  
*a-MICKLE-MARK  
FOR an-ARG-MAN.  
= A monend-pillar mighty  
to a matchless hero.*

That this is the original meaning of this ARG I have no doubt. I add the following additional proofs to those given Vol 2, p. 616. They might be largely increased: — "ARG, eager, fierce, Shetland; Dan. ARG, angry, enraged. Isl. ARG. — ARGOSIE, anger, Shetl.; Isl. ARG; Dan. ARG, angry; and Isl. YSA; Dan. ØSE, to pour out." — T. Edmonston, Glos. of the Shetl. and Orkney dialect. London 1866, 8vo. — "ARG, adj. stark" [strong]. — R. Blumenberg, Norbergsmålet. (Vestmanlands Fornminnes-förnings

<sup>1</sup> So I would group, instead of Thorpe's

ymb sealt wæter  
ype geond ear-grund



Årsskrift, I, Vesterås 1874, 8vo, p. 46). In Södermanland, Sweden, particularly in Vingåker, it means *bold, sharp, clever*; and Lector Gadd, in his essay on the dialect of Östra Härad, Jönköpings Län, Småland, Sweden (4to, Carlskrona 1871, p. 26) gives "ARRJER . . . . ifrig, dugtig", = *eager, doughty*. I would also refer to a vellum Leech-book, in Danish, written about 1300 or a little later and not yet printed. It is in 12mo, No. 187 Cod. Arn. Magn. in the University Library, Cheapinghaven. The extract is from fol. 54 a, and the meaning is there *fleshly lust, rank, proud, &c.*

"*Ad incestas mulieris* Om quinnæ ær of michæt ARCH Tac rotæn af nymphæe jrt. oc gior puluer af oc gijf at drickæ thrý kar thær aff tha flýr thæn ARCHÆN bort *Item Ad partum* Om quinnæ ligger i. barn siæng. tac artemesiam oc bint with hænnæ liuskæ *Item* Om quinnæ ær of mikæt ARCH tac thæn orm thæn orm (sic) thær liuser om nat oc tæmpræ hanum m3 ædikæ oc dric th3. oc th3 dughær."

See for other extracts, the verb ARGÆ, ARGE, in olden Danish, where it signifies to *fight, make war, attack, injure &c.*, in C. Molbech, Dansk Glossarium, Vol. 1, 8vo, Kiøbenhavn 1857, p. 45. Thus the same as the Mid. Engl. ARG to terrify, &c. Molbech also pointed out, in his edition of the Danish Rime-Chronicle (8vo, Kiøbenhavn 1825), that in line 2176,

ther bode saa ARGHÆ tigæ

the words ARGHÆ TIGÆ could only mean *savage, bloody-minded tikes* (that is, *dogs, villains, devils*). — May not this olden ARG (= Sanscrit ARH, to be worthy) be altogether different from the ARG weak, bad?

ERILEA, *Kragehul, Lindholm*. N. s. Mansname. As a word of office or rank, and as a mansname, IARL, IERL, is not uncommon on runic monuments. In O. E. (EORL) and O. S. (ERL) the word is general for man or chief, but I have not seen it as a mansname. In O. Engl. compound names however, it is frequent at the beginning as EORLE, ERLE, ÆRL, ERL, &c., such as EORLEBYRHT. EABL, EARLE is a still usual English name. In Ohg. we have the mansname ERLO, and many compounds beginning with ERLA, ERLE, ERLI, ERL, &c. Both the Scandinavian JARL (= YARL) and the English EARL (= ERL) are now pronounced as a monosyllable, but as late as in Shakespeare the English word is still sometimes a dissyllable (pronounced E-ARL). Thus this ERILEA is the oldest form of the word yet found.

EDEL. See ADEL, under AD.

FÆEDE, under FÆHIDO.

FEGANO, *Bracteate 89*. — Mansname. There are several old Scando-Gothic names beginning with FAGEN-, FAGIN-, FEGIN-, but I have not before seen this simplex. On the runic stone at Egtved, N. Jutland, Denmark, we have the mansname FAINLU = FAGINLU, as. s. of FAGINLA.

FÆHIDO, *Einang; FIELEDU, Bracteates 49, 49 b; FÆEDE, Bracteate 89; FYIDI, Bracteate 92; FYDEL, Charnay*. — See WORD-ROW, Vol. 2, under FAUGEDO, FADL. Is 3 s. past, FAWED, FAKED, made, fashioned, struck, cut. — FADU, *Brough*. 3 plur. past. See text. — The form with the guttural (H) is very antique. See the O. E. FÆHIT, *pingit* (8th cent. Wright's Glos. 2, 117). *Pingit*, FEGD (jd. lib. 68, 11th cent.), O. Sax. FEHON to *decorate, celebrate, care for*, Ohg. FEHIAN to *paint, mark*, M. Engl. FEAHUNGE, ornatus. Among the runic examples of FAADO, FADI, FADI RUNAR &c. given Vol 2, p. 920, is *none* from Norway. Here we have *two*, Einang and Charnay. In his "To nyfundne norske Rune-Indskrifter" p. 21 Bugge gives one as just (1872) found in Norway, the Valdby stone in Larviks Fogderi, which he looks upon as the oldest *with the later runes* yet discovered in that country. According to him it reads:

AUARDRFAAULR.

He gives no version, but I suppose would translate: AUARDR-ULR (thus a double mansname in the nominative) FARA (carved these runes) — to whom or why we are not told. Dean Fritzner, the first finder of this stone, tells me that it was discovered lying *inside a grave*. — I have been favored with paper squeezes of this block by Prof. Bugge, Cand. A. Lorange and also from the united hands of Prof. Ol. Rygh and Amanuensis Ingvald Undset, together with the latter gentleman's oral explanations. From all these it is clear to me that the writing has followed the general shape of the stone, but at some distance from the edge which especially on the right *slants away*, so that the letters keep on the higher part of the stone, in about this shape

I therefore cannot follow my learned brother in his reading. But he was right in his main discovery. After FADI the surface has peeled away, so that we have lost, in my opinion, a *very* short word and the *top* of the N. This *very* short word must, I believe, have been the usual AT. This stone, then, apparently from the 9th century, would seem to have borne:

† N † R † A : † † † : (at N) † A :

AUARDR FADI (at U)LR.

AUARTH FAWED (*cut these runes*) at (to) UL.

Thus the whole is a regular tomb-formula, memorial-words carved by AUARTH to his friend UL. And it adds another to the *scores* of instances, by me so often spoken of, where the half-R (A) or the whole-R (R) are used in accusatives for a dim vowel; this R-sound in the nominative having become more and more vocalic *ere it fell away altogether*, the *same* runes were often used to express the *same* dim vowel in the accusative — for the old vowel-ending in the accusative long lingered, as I have proved again and again, and as *such numbers* of runic monuments undeniably show. — The name A-WARD (? = RIVER-GUARDIAN) occurs here for the first time, and that of UL is *very* scarce.

But, if my reading be correct, I have since found a 4th Norse instance of this word, for the oldest Bohuslän was probably chiefly Norwegian. I refer to the curious *small*<sup>1</sup> 4-sided rune-pillar discovered at Skee in Bohuslän, now in the Gotenburg Museum. It ends:

(fr)IDCINR FÆI(Di)

(fr)ITHWIN FAWED (*carved-the-runes*).

the bow of the D and the whole of the I (or O or whatever the vowel may have been) *worn away*.

In England is a peculiar form of this verb from the early middle-age. It is on the famous heathen Roman grave-block used as building-material in Lincoln Church, but which afterwards, as in so many other instances, became a *palimpsest*, was used a second time. About the conquest — say 1050—1100 — the upper part was inscribed with 5 lines of Roman letters, supposed to be in Latin but never deciphered. This riddle has now (May 1876) been happily and ingeniously redd by my learned friend the Rev. D. H. Haigh, of Erdington near Birmingham. In a communication to me dated May 5, 1876, he says: "Prof. Hübner has sent me a copy of his Corpus [Latin Christian Inscriptions in Britain]. I had no communication with him about the Lincoln stone, of which I sent you a cast [but which on its arrival I could not make out]. But now I have sent him my reading, rather Norse than English.

"EIRTIGN FIET RIME VIFI OSGUT: IN CRISTE TO LOFE ˆ SCE MARIE.

"*Steeple made enlarge the-weaver Osgut; but Christ to praise and St. Mary.*

"EIR-TIGN, I take it, applied to the Steeple, just as in Yorkshire stone pillars, like the Bewcastle SIG-BECUN, are called "steeples" today. FIET, for *made*, *let*, we have on one of the St. Eadmund coins: WLFOLD MI FIET.

"The steeple was raised a story about the time of the Conquest, and weaving was a staple trade in Lincoln. As Lincoln too was one of the five Danish Burghs, it is not surprising that the tongue should be so Norse." — Mr. Haigh has thus solved the secret of this carving by a very simple discovery. He begins with the last (lowest) line, and reads upwards, arranging the words (for there are no divisional marks grouping the letters) as *English*, not Latin. In this way we get an excellent and apparently correct version, and obtain another example, of which we have so many, of *mist dialect*. The words and forms are a striking instance of that blending of Old-English and old Wiking-Scandinavian which so naturally might be expected in a district swarming with wiking settlers. The

<sup>1</sup> I publish this stone, with engravings of all the 4 sides, and with a descriptive text in Swedish, in "Bidrag till kännedom om Göteborgs och Bohusläns Fornminnen och Historia", Part 2, 8vo, Stockholm 1876, pp. 166—174, "Runstenen från Skee". It is only about 18 inches high, greatest breadth 6 inches. It would seem to have been placed *inside* the grave. As it still has F as æ (not the later value, o), it is so far an overgang-stone, transitional from the older alphabet. See my remarks on this æ pp. 137, 8 of Vol. 2. Probably it is as old as the 8th century. Tho much damaged, all the essential parts are left. It reads:

First side: FULR(MAR)

Second „ au)K ILFIHR (fir

Third „ satr þ)isu æ(ubl

Fourth „ au)ET INUB. (fr)IDCINR FÆI(Di).

FULR(MAR) EKE ILFIHR (= ILFING, YLFING, WULFING, THEY SET THESE CUMBELS (grave-marks) AFTER INUB (= INUNG). FRITHWIN FÆI (made, carved).

Scandinavian- (N. I. JARTEGN<sup>1</sup>, JARTEIN, later Swedish JÄRTECKEN, later Danish JERTEGN) -Lincoln EIRTGN = a YEA-TOKEN, mark, sign, &c. &c. is found in runics on the Bällestad stone, which see, whose date is about A. D. 1000—1050, in the dat. pl., AT IARTIKNUM. — This Lincoln block, which thus gives the first example known to me of IAR-TIGN in *England*, has also preserved to us the *only* instance I have seen of the old-Scandinavian masc. word for *Weaver*, whose Old-English form was WEBBA (gen. WEBBAN), Mid. Engl. WEBBE, WEBBER, but by undoubted analogy in Wiking-Scandinavian VIPL, gen. VIFA. No Scandinavian document containing this word is so old as to show it in this form shape. We can only find it in Scandinavia in the later middle-age guise VEFARI. — The verb RIME (infinitive) would have been RYMAN in Old-English. Its form (no -N) is here Wiking-Scandinavian, but its meaning (to enlarge, raise higher) is Old-English. — The mark ʀ, for AND, is characteristic of England. So is TO LOFE, to the lofe, praise, honor<sup>2</sup>, for the N. Engl. and Scandian TIL, TILL.

For yet another example of this FADI (spelt, apparently, FLÆDI) see the Virke stone in the "Archaic" chapter<sup>3</sup>.

FAIDU, under FÆIHDO. — FASTI, see INOFASTI.

FADR, *Ösby*. Ac. s. FATHER.

FÆUÆ, *Bracteate 57*. — Voc. s. Mansname.

FIHÆDU, FYIDI, under FÆIHDO.

FINO, *Berga*. — Nom. s. Mansname. See Word-row, Vol. 2.

FISC-FLODU, *Franks Casket*. — Nom. s. m. The FISH-FLOOD, sea, ocean. See Word-row, Vol. 2.

FYDÆI, see FÆIHDO.

FOSLÆU, *Bracteate 14*. — Nom. s. Mansname. I have not before seen this compound of FUNS and LÆU.

FUNDR, see DIWBYO-FUNDR.

FÜR, *Bingley*. — Prep. FOR. See Word-row, Vol. 2, under FORÆ.

FUWU, *Bracteate 26*. — N. s. Mansname.

G, under KAURUAN.

GÆ, *Kragehul*; GÆA, *Lindholm*; 2 s. imperat. of the common Scando-Gothic verb GO, GANG. *co-thou*. See text. — GÆGIN, *Kragehul*. Prep. gov. dat., GEN, against. See text.

GÆÆCALLU, *Bracteate 19*. — N. s. Mansname. We have the Scando-Gothic names GAWO and KALE, but I have not seen this compound before. Maffei, p. 151, has the mansname KALEGARICUS.

GÆFS, p. 925. — For Swed. GAF read Swed. GÆF. — GÆFNG, *Stentofte*. — I now agree with Bugge (*Bidrag*, 3, p. 200, 201), that the last stave here is the well-known NG-rune, here as often with its full namepower ING, thus GÆFING, with the nomin. mark slurred away in common talk. This would therefore be, as Bugge suggests, a patronymic, and GÆFING will be the same as of THE GÆFINGS, or GÆF'S-SON.

GÆGIN, under GÆ.

GAL, *Bracteate 7*. — N. s. Mansname. Besides names as GAIL, &c., the O. G. has a crowd of forms from WALAH, UAL, to GUALA, GUALO, the w and g interchanging. In Scandinavian runics we have the mansnames KAL, KALI, KIALI, K standing also for G.

GÆSLI, see GISLI.

[GÆST]. A GODGESTR, king of Hålogaland in Norway, is spoken of in Sturleson's *Heimskringla*, *Ynglingasaga*, Ch. 38. — P. 925. In a writ issued in 1292 by Bishop Johannes Krag, of Roskilde in Denmark. (*Danske Samlinger*, Vol. 4, Kjøbenhavn 1869, 8vo, p. 249), we have in the *ablative* the rare name "JACOBO WALEGÆSTES". In the O. E. Chron. An. 993, and in Florence &c. is mentioned a *Danish* chieftain called FRIÐEGIST, FRYÐEGYST, FRITHOGIST, &c. In *Diplom. Svecanum*, I, p. 86, is a mansname GESTABONDO. See SÆLIGÆSTIA and Word-row, Vol. 2.

<sup>1</sup> In the very oldest instances I have met of this word in N. I., about 1200—1225, it is spelt LETEGN ("Til vitnes þessæ integne", "En þæ verba mægæ iæteiner"). See K. Gislason, *Um Frum-parta*, p. LXIII.

<sup>2</sup> This Lincoln stone is last engraved in "Aemilius Hübnæ, Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae", 4to, Berolini et Londinii 1876, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> I see in "The Guardian" for Aug. 11, 1880 an account (p. 1075) of the meeting of the Archæol. Inst. at Lincoln, July 27th. The Guardian states that Prof. Müllenhof had sent in a new reading of this inscription, by which he gives the erection and dedication of the church to one EIRTIG. I need not say that such a name is unheard-of, and that I look on the learned Professor's attempt as a failure. But he was right in beginning from below.

GIAUȚOU, see GLYOÆUG. — gileu, under HLÆTWÆ. — gileugæ, under LICGAN.

GINÆ-RUNÆA, *Björketorp*, Nom. pl. f.; GINO-RONOA, *Stentofte*, ac. pl. f. — GIN- (begin-, origin-, essence-, power-) RUNES, MIGHTY LETTERS, lasting staves. See Word-row, Vol. 2.

GINIA, *Möjebro*. — Womans-name. Förstemann has a feminine GINNANA, no GINIA, and no mansname GINO.

GIUTAN, p. 928, line 3. — The manuscript has GUTTHIUDAI; the *supposed* noun would therefore be GUTANS. — GUTÆ, *Buzen*. G. pl. Of the Goths.

GLE, *Bracteate 21*. N. s. Mansname. O. E. GLIW. Found before as the first part of Scando-Gothic names, but here first in runes as a *simplex*. — P. 930, line 3. Read GLY, neut., and GLYA. fem. — GLYOÆU-GIAUȚOU, *Bracteate 7*. — Dat. s. Womans-name. I suppose this to be equal to GLEE-GIFT or -GIVER, doubtless a charming female name, and quite in keeping with several other such ending in -GIFT or -GIVER. In O. E. we have half-a-dozen of these, the last link being -GIUA or -GIFA or -GIFT or -GEOFU. In O. G. there are 2, ending in -GEBÄ (GIVA, GIWA), and -GIP. But there must have been a crowd of other such female names. See Word-row, Vol. 2, under GLYOÆU.

GOD, *Whitby*. N. s. The Lord god. See Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 930. — KUM, *Helnes*, n. s. m., a Priest and Clan-chief. Add to what I said p. 930, that this word (in the nom. sing. probably GODE) occurs in the Rushworth Gloss, Gospel of S. Mathew, Ch. 6, v. 24: "ne mæg ænig twæm GODUM ðeowigan", *not may anyone two GODES (chieftains, masters, lords) serve*. The date of this gloss is the last half of the 10th century. The South-English has HLAERDUM; the other N. English gloss (the Lindisfarne, date about 950) has HLAERDUM = LORDS. — GIDU, *Freilauersheim*. Gen. s. f. GYTH, Priestess. See text. In *Revue Archéologique*, Paris, Aug. 1879, p. 80, is given the tombstone of GEMINIA TTULLA, raised by her husband. She was MATER SACRORUM, "Mother of the Sacrifices" (Priestess of the Celtic God Latinized in Gaul as Mercury). The above title is only known on one other stone, also in Gaul. See M. Castan's article, as above, p. 84. This OYTH has never before been found in runes.

GODEGÆS, *Valsfjord*. Doubtless, runes seldom being carved twice, to be redd GOD-DÆGES, our English mansname GOODAY, GOODDAY. Thus we here have the old nom. ending in -s. — See DÆGE. — In Old-English the name is spelt both GODDEG and GODEG. In Norway the name seems dead.

GIDU, under GOD.

GR (= GEIR), see IACLIGR.

GRORN, Vol. 2, p. 930. — For Swed. GRÖT read Swed. GRYT, GRÖT.

GUDIFRUDUR, p. 930, note l. 4. — For förn read förut.

GUTÆ, under GIUTAN.

H.E, under HAO.

HÆGELE, *Kragehul*. Probably ac. s. Mansname. Well-known Scando-Gothic name. O. E. HÆCCELA. Excessively rare in Scandinavia and England, &c., where it must very early have died out. Is the modern HEGEL.

HÆGUSTALDIA, *Valsfjord*. — Dat. s. masc. To the HÆGUSTALD, *chief, noble, captain, lord*. This word is found in a crowd of Scando-Gothic talks. It is supposed to spring from HÆG, *hedge*, and STALD, *station, place*. Thus a minor estate, an out-farm. When the oldest son took the family possession, the younger children received a small holding. Hence they were often unable to marry. Therefore the word came to mean an unmarried man (or woman) a *bachelor* (or virgin). But such a cadet mostly sought to better his fortunes, and took service under some great king or leader. Then the word meant a *soldier, adventurer, free lance*. This often led to fame and wealth and rank. And then the Hægustald also meant a *Lord, Captain*, especially in the Northern lands.

As usual, the forms of this nominal and adjectival word are many. Old-Engl. HÆGUSTALD. HAGUSTEALD, HÆGESTEALD, HEGSTEALD, HEGSTEALD, HEGHSTALD, HEBSTALD, HEAGOSTEALD, HEAHSTALD, &c., farmer, yeoman, youth, novice, bachelor, virgin, soldier, hero, prince. Swedish provincial HOGSTALL, widower, as in Norse provincial HOGSTALL. Bugge has also heard HAUGSTALL, HAUGSTALLAR, HAUGSTADD'E, all meaning a widower. In Shetland it has obtained a particular meaning<sup>1</sup>. In three Old-Icelandic kennings

<sup>1</sup> "HAGASTED, familiarised to a place by a long stay in it." T. Edmondston, An Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and Orkney Dialect. 8vo. London 1866, p. 44.



it is found (only in the gen. pl.) HAUKSTALDA (HAUKSTALLA) for princeps, chieftain, hero. O. Sax. HAGUSTALD, HAGASTOLD, HAGUSTOLD, HAGASTUOD, &c. servant, youth. O. G. HAGUSTALT, HAGUSTOLT, HAGASTALT, HAISTALDI, HASTALDI, HAISTOLD, HESTOLD, AGASTALT, later HAVASTOLT, &c. a youth, mercenary, freelance, soldier, bachelor, novice, manservant, yeoman. In Mod. Germ. HAGESTOLZ, an old bachelor. In O. G. sometimes found as a mansname.

HÆISLÆ, *Mijebro*. — Mansname. Possibly we may divide HÆI-SLÆ, as we have a DIG-SLA (= DINGSLA) in Scandinavian runics, and an EIRIKR DEKSLA in Landnámabók. If not, it may perhaps be the O. G. HEZILO, HEZILO, HEZELO, &c. of Förstemann. Or we may, with Bugge, divide HÆ (HÁ) and GISLÆ.

HÆITE, *Kragehul*; HÆTEC (= HÆTE EC), *Lindholm*. 1 s. pr. I HIGHT, *bid*. — HET, *Bingley*. 3 s. p. HOTE, commanded, bade. — HÆITICÆ, *Bracteate* 57. Ac. pl. f. HETINGS, threats, imprecations, the war-ban. N. Icel. pl. f. HEITINGAR.

HÆLEA, under HLÆIWÆ.

GEHÆLEIBEN, *Tune*. See Vol. 2, p. 933. This, like as the M. Goth. gahlaiba, is masc. We have no M. G. fem. But we have an O. E. fem. (the GE fallen away) in Mark 6, 17, where the S. E. Ms. has (dat.) LÁPE, in v. 18 WIF (ac.). The N. E. Lindisfarne skinbook has v. 17 HLÁF and v. 18 HLAF (ac.). The Rushworth codex has v. 17 LAPE (the H fallen away), and v. 18 LAPE (ac.). Here HLAPE or LAPE is clearly the fem., LOAF-E, comrade, mate, wife, the olden -N ending fallen away, HLÁPE or HLÁF' = gehláfEN.

HALSTUN, *Ösby*. N. s. Common Scandinavian mansname.

HAMA, see Vol. 2, p. 935. In a Danish document dated 1430 is the mansname HAMÆDROP.

HAO, *Einang*. — Mansname, nom. sing. Can this be equal to the Old-Engl. HAEHA (date 704), in compounds as A-, HA-, HÆ-, HAEH-, HAU-, HÆH-, HEA-, HEAH-, HEH-, HEO-, HO-, HOG-, &c. &c.? And, if so, is it not = the O. G. HE (8th cent.), in compounds also as HA-, HAH-, HO-, &c.? And, if so, is it not = the Scandian-runic HA(R), A(R), in compounds as HA-, HO-, &c.? All this is supposed to mean HIGH. — HÆ, *Bracteate* 57; HE, *Kragehul*. — 2 s. imperative. See text. HIGH, lift, raise, carry on, work, cause, do, wage, let. — HÆ-CURNE, *Bracteate* 25. — N. s. m. def. The HIGH-CHOSEN. See text. — HÆUC, *Vänga*. — I have supposed this to be a mansname in the nominative. It does not look like a simple but rather a compound word. If the latter I take the HÆ to be = HAH, the UCO probably = HUC or HUGO, which is also Förstemann's opinion. But it may also be = HÆUNC, HÆUNG, the olden English mansname HAUNG, HÆ'SSON. — See HÆISLÆ.

HÆR, *Skå-öng*. — HERE. See Word-row Vol. 2, p. 938.

HÆRENGU, *Bracteate* 78. — Dat. s. Womansname. The mansname was also HARANG in N. Engl. A Danish Bracteate from the period 1147—1157 bears the moneyer's name HERINGA. See Word-row in Vol. 2.

HÆRISO, *Himlingöis*. — Nom. s. Mansname. See Word-row, Vol. 2, under HERIS.

HARIWULFS, *Räfsal*. Mansname, gen.

HÆTEC, under HÆITE.

HÆUC, under HAO.

HE, under HAO.

HEIT, p. 935. — For Fjuckstad read Fjuckby.

HELDÆA, *Bracteate* 25. — Gen. pl. m. Of BELTS, heroes, braves. See Word-row, Vol. 2.

HELIPÆ, *Whitby*. — 3 s. pr. subj. May-HELP, aid, a verb in a crowd of forms in all our dialects. In Scandinavian-runics this same tense and person occurs as AELBLI, ALBI, HÆLBIN, HALBI, HAILBI, HELBI, HIELBI, HIALB, HIALBA, HIALBI, HIALBIN, HIALMBI, HIALPI, HIALUBI, HIELBI, HIELBI, HILBI, HILBI, HILBI, HULBI, HULBI, IALBA, IALBI, IALBIN, IALIBI, IELBI, IHIALB, IHILBI, IHLBI, ILBI, ILUBI, IULB, IULBI, OALBI, &c. Another delightful example of "Iron Laws" and "Dialects a modern upgrowth".

HEAWAN, *Bingley*, infin. — HÆ, *Hoga*; HU, *Bracteate* 78; UK, *Freerslev*; 3 s. p. To HEW, cut, carve, fashion, make, stamp. O. N. E. GEHEAWA, O. S. E. GEHEAWAN.

HYERUWULÆFIA, *Istaby*. — Nom. s. I now take this to be a womans-name. See Word-row, Vol. 2. — Most of the old Scando-Gothic tungs — and not least the Norse-Icelandic — have a distinctive fem. noun-class ending in -IA, but it mostly past away. We have examples also in Proper Names, in all the Scandian and English dialects. Thus in N. I. HRING(R), HRINGIA; so DRYKK(R), DRYKKIA; HARKI, HERKIA; GOMI, GYDIA; SKEGGI, SKEGGIA, &c. &c. In different times and place-talks people have

always tried to distinguish sex in one way or other, by prefix, affix, vowel-change or what not, and as one form died out another came in. For instance in the word here before us, WOLF. In the German lands (so called) Förstemann has found 381 old names ending in WULF, ULF, &c. Of these 5 are feminine from the 7th and 8th century, OD-ULBA, OD-ULBIS, REGIN-ULFA, RICH-OLUA, WALD-ULPIA. Thus masc. WULFIO, WULFO, &c., fem. WULFIA, WULFA, WULFIS, &c. The Ohg. has WULPA, WULPIN for *lupa*, the Mhg. WÖLVINNE, WULVIN. When these endings disappeared, came in the modern WÖLFINN. — The Old-Engl. has masc. WULFO, WOLF, ULF, fem. WÖLIF, WYLF, WYLFEN; the Mid. Engl. Lay of Havelock (l. 573) has WLUINE for *lupa*; all dead; now only SHE-WOLF. — The Scando-Runic has WOLEFA, afterwards chiefly ULF, ULFR, fem. ILFR, ILFA, the N. I. YLFA and the O. Swed. YLVA. Now lost. Present Swedish ULF-HONA, VARGINNA; present Danish HUN-ULV, ULVINDE. — Some O. Sw. names are very interesting, as SILLO, fem. SILIA; masc. THOR, fem. THORIA. On the Rune-stone at Carlberga, Upland, Sweden, we have the womans-name INKIDURIU, acc., thus INKIDURIA in the nominative. The Söderby stone, Upland, has ac. MIU (a *MAY*, *maid*, *MÖ*), thus nom. MIA. The Angarn stone, Upland, has ORIKIA, the Farlebro AURIKIA, the Varby URUKIA. — In England we had mansname CYNI, womans-name CYNIA, and others. The reason why such examples from olden days are comparatively scarce is, because the names of women so seldom occur, at least so that we can identify them with absolute certainty. See CUNIMUDIU.

HIS, *Yarm.* HIS, g. s. of HE

HHLÆDU-UGÆ, *Bracteates* 49, 49 b. — Nom. s. Mansname. See text. This name of *Sumpter-horse* reminds us that the Diplom. Svecan. 2, 453, an. 1305, speaks of "fratrem Mathiam, dictum CORN-HEST", *Corn-* (carrying) *-horse*. So in England, anno 1378, we have Johannes PALFREYMAN.

HLEIWE. See Word-row in Vol. 2, p. 939, and the text p. 848—856. — Add LEOWÆ, *Skírkind*, n. s.; HLEÆA, *Stenstad*, n. s.; LEEWE, *Sigdal*, ac. s. n. I now take this HLEÆA of the Stenstad stone to be this same word, only with an inserted vowel, for euphony, between the H and L as so often between two consonants. See the text to Stenstad. I also look upon the LEUGÆ of the Skå-ång stone to be the same word, the gutturalizing of the w being so common in our folktalks, old and new. If not, would place it under LUGAN, which see.

We have the heathen LOW straight before us in Symeon of Durham's copy of the much older "Passio Sanctorum Ethelberti atque Ethelredi"<sup>1</sup>. Thunor murders these young princes (see my Vol. 2, p. 661). The earth gapes and swallows up the nothing. He dies in his sin, as a heathen hound. Therefore king Egberht lets raise an enormous [heathen] stone-heap over him. But the passers-by called this grave-how THUNER-HLEAW, and so is it hight to this day<sup>2</sup>

HNEBMÆS (? HNEBDES), *Bö.* — Mansname, gen. We have the English mansname Lewys MEWYS in Sir H. Nicolas' *Battle of Agincourt*, 2nd ed., 8vo, London 1832, p. 343. See Word-row, Vol. 2. The old N. I. mansname was MAF(R). We see this in the Landnámabók (cap. 9), where the gen. form is MÁS, with the variants MÁRS and MÁFS, and from the place-name in Iceland (same book) MÁFAHLID — The Norwegian tale "En Historie fra Finmarken" (Fædrelandet, Kjøbenhavn, 21 April 1873) gives to one of the Norwegian fishermen the name MÅSEN (MÅSE in the definite form). — We have also the O. E. form MEAWE. — We have also this word with the older -s, for -R, as nom. mark, in the Norman dialect of Bayeux. See Fr. Pluquet, *Contes Populaires, Préjugés, Patois, Proverbes, Noms de Lieux, de l'arrondissement de Bayeux*. 8vo, 2me éd., Rouen 1834, p. 75, where occurs "GOURMAS, le goéland; oiseau de mer". This can scarcely be other than the well-known N. I. GRÁMÁR, GRÁMÁFR, the grey gull, *Larus glaucus*.

HÆGES, *Stentofte*. Gen. s. m. — HOCH, *Brough*. Ac. s. m. HOW, grave-mound, tumulus. See text, and Word-row Vol. 2, p. 932 (under HÆGE). — See SALHAUKUM in Vol. 2.

HOM. See BUCIAEHOM.

HOUEA, *Bracteate* 24. — Mansname, d. sing. Apparently in the nom. HOUE, answering to the Runic HUF, the Ohg. HUFO, HUBO.

HOUH, under HÆGES. — HROETH, under HRUDR.

<sup>1</sup> Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea. Vol. 1. 8vo. Durham & London 1868. (Surtees Society, Vol. 51). Historia Regum, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> "Operiri concite jubet horrendo lapidum acervo ipsius corpus . . . . Qui locus a transeuntibus Thunerhleaw vocatur, talique vocabulo potitur."

HRUDR. — HROETHBERTHE. Vol. 2, p. 942. A similar twofold name is the Scandinavian ONALAFBALD, ONALAFBALL, ONLAFBAL, the leader mentioned in the Legend of S. Cuthbert and in Symeon of Durham. — RHOÆLTR, *Vatn*. Nom.; RUHALTS, *Snoldelev*. Gen. of mansname (HRUDRWALDA). See Word-row, Vol. 2, under RUHALTS. So in O. E. Charters and Annals this name is spelt HROALD, RHOALDUS, RAHALD, &c. — ROAUL, *Hoga*. Nom. Mansname (HRODRWULF), RALPH, ROLF. See RHUULFR in Word-row.

HU, *Fonnås*. The pronoun (HU, HO, HEO, now SHE). See text.

HURNBURĖ, *Kallerup*. — Gen. s. Mansname. HURNBORI; doubtless, as Bugge has suggested, the same as the O. Engl. HORNBOREA, *Horn-bearer, Trumpeter*. Thus, as so often, the Eke-name has become the Name. See Word-row, Vol. 2.

HUTHU, *Bracteate 4*. N. s. Mansname. Is the Old-Engl. HUUDU, HUDDI, HIODDE, HUDA, HODA, HUTT, HOD, &c.; present Engl. HUTH, HUTT, &c.; the O. G. HUDO, HUTHO, HUTO, HUITHO, &c.; present Danish HUTH, HUDE. Is the HUDSKA of the Jute Skivum stone = of the HUTH race?

I. see IN.

IA, under IS. — IAM, see LAICIAM.

IAULIGR, *Bracteate 92*. Mansname, n. s. Answers to the N. I. JÓLGEIR.

IAUDINI, under AD.

IH, *Fonnås*; EG, *Kragehul, Lindholm*; IK, *Gilton Sword*; — I. See IC in Word-row, Vol. 2. — MIK, *Gilton*. Ac. s. ME. O. S. E. ME, MEH, MEC; O. Fris. MI; Ohg. MIH, MICH. — US, *Bingley*. Dat. pl. To or for US. — US, *Whitby*. Ac. pl. US. See USA(o) under IC in Word-row, Vol. 2. — USA, *Björketorp*. Gen. pl. of -US, as in the oldest North-English (USA, USSA). See Word-row Vol. 2, under IC, and USA (g. pl. of us) on the Åsby stone, Södermanland, in the section ARCHAIC MONUMENTS. — P. 943. Among the West-Gotland writs now printed in "Westergötlands Fornminnesförenings Tidskrift", Part 1, 8vo, Lund 1869, (most of which are in Latin), one at p. 61, dated Morlanda, Dec. 29, 1407, has IAK; one at p. 62, dated Morlanda, Nov. 1, 1411, has EK (twice); and a third, same page, dated Bobergs Hårad, Oct. 25, 1424, has JAK. The later ones have JAK, IAK, IAC. — P. 944, line 10. I cannot find any Scandinavian-runic dual UKR; but OKR, dat., is on the Rök stone. — P. 945. For Vaxala read Vaksala.

YCE, *Gilton Sword*. — 1st s. pres. indicative, I EKE, EIK, enlarge, increase, add to. M. Goth. (ga)AUKAN; O. N. E. ECE, gIECAN, gEECAN; O. S. E. EACAN, ECAN, ICAN, ICEAN, IECAN, YCAN, (now and then with tip-GE); Scand. Runics (to judge from the p. part. AUKIN) AUKA; O. Scandian AUKA, ØKIA; Swed. ØKA; Dan. ØGE; O. Fris. AKA; Ohg. AUHHON. See EAC in the Word-row, Vol. 2. — OG, *Brough*; EG, *Brough*. EKE, and. See text.

IKKALACGC, IKR, see INGE.

IDDEN, *Charnay*. — Dat. s. Mansname. We have the O. Engl. IDDA, IDA, IDDI, the O. G. IDO, &c.

IFT, under EFTER.

IGLSUD, *Thornhill*. — Womans-name. Nom. sing. See the text.

IGINGON, *Stenstad*. — Proper name, g. s. See Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 946. I now agree with Bugge and Wimmer that it may be a womans-name, thus IG's-daughter or descendant. The oldest Scando-Gothic tungs give us the names IGO, IGILA, and others, including the O. E. IGFLĒD, fem. Thus, comparing the M. G. feminines in o(N), gen. ONS, we see two formations in olden Scandinavia; nom. o(N), gen. ON (s elided), and o(N), gen. OR (UR), N elided and the s weakened to R. From weak feminines with vocalic ending we get the old Scandian gen. in -U. — Still we are never sure about these things, unless some epithet or adjective or pronoun &c. helps us. There are so many undoubted examples in runics of dialectic o for a and a for o, and other vowel-shades, that IGINGON may be a gen. masc.

IIURI, *Hoga*. — N. s. Mansname. Has this anything to do with one or other of the runic mansnames AUAR, n. s., AUARS, g. s., IUAR, n. and ac. s., IUAR, n. s., IUUR, n. s.? Or has the weathered stone once had the O. N. H instead of II?

HLE, *Lindholm*. N. s. m. def., the-ILL (to his foes), fierce, keen. See the text. — I now believe we have one remnant of the older, longer, form in Scandinavia in the N. I. FOR-YFLASK, FOR-YFLASK, to make or think right EVIL, to look upon as bad and dangerous, to shrink from, to avoid. — This epithet for a warrior is also found in England. Thus about 970, under King Edgar, EADULF YVELCHILD was under-king of part of Northumbria, from the Tees to the Firth of Forth.

IN. *Freerslev*. — Adv. (IN, AN, EN), but.

IN. Prep. gov. dat. IN. — I, *Bracteate 92; Brough*.

[INGE, INGWE]. — INKI, *Bracteate 83; YÆGA, Bracteate 84*. Mansname. — IKR (= IKUR), *Freerslev*;

Womans-name. See text. — IGINGON, *Stenstad*. Mansname. See Word-row, Vol. 2, and WINȝ. In

O. Eng. the mansname INGA is also found as INCA. See TÆLINGWU. — See ASPING, LAING, WÆRINGÆA. —

IKKALACGC, *Brough*. Mansname, nom. See text, and IUKC.

INGLSK. *Fonnås*. — N. s. f. ENGLISH, an Englishwoman. See text.

INOFASTI, *Visby*. Mansname, nom. See text.

IUD, *Freilaubersheim*. — Nom. s. neut. A YOUTH, child, son or daughter. See the text. In the M. Goth. bits left to us, JUNDA (YUNDA), fem., means only YOUTH, not a youth.

IS. — Vol. 2, p. 946. I agree with Prof. M. B. Richert that this relative (AS, IS) is still left in Scandia in HVAR-ES-T, DER-ES-T (WHERE-AS, there-where, THERE-AS, there-where) for HVAR-ES, DER-ES, with the false T added as in STRAX-T (STRAIGHT), ELJES-T (ELSE), MEDELS-T. — This IS (ES, ER) is extinct in Scandinavia for HE, and only lived exceptionally as relative (AS, ER, who). — YOLE, *Charnay*. Ac. s. f. This. — IA, *Tune*. Nom. pl. neuter, as in agreement with the nom. masc. and fem. If not, then nom. pl. masc. See Word-row, Vol. 2, under IMÆ.

YSETAE, under SETA.

? ISINGDÆA, *Veile*. — Dat. s. Mansname. THÆW IS-SON (or of the IS-clan). We have many names compounded with IS, in our Scando-Gothic tungs, but I have not seen this one before.

IIT, *West-Thorp; ITO, Bracteate 42*. — Nom. s. Mansname. May be another form of IND(R). In Scandinavian runics we have the mansname IET. See Word-row, Vol. 2.

YUIR, *Ösby*. Prep. gov. ac. OVER, in memory of.

IWKA, see under A.

IUKC, *Brough*. ? Ac. s. m. YOUNG, renewed. See text, and INGE.

LACGC, see IKKALACGC.

LÆDÆ (perhaps LÆMÆ), *Torvik*. Nom. s. Mansname. See text.

LAICIAM, *Brough*. Ac. s. masc. LIC-HOME, flesh-cover, body. See text.

-LAIKIR, see ESLAIKIR.

LAING, *Fonnås*. — N. s. LA'S-SON or -DAUGHTER. See text. The names LAVE and LAWSEN in Denmark, LAW and LAWSON in England, are still common. We have a hundred variations in documents, from LAGHO to LOWE, &c., besides the frequent family-name LAING itself.

LÆMÆ (perhaps LÆDÆ), *Torvik*. Nom. s. Mansname. See text.

LÆ-ORR(E). Vol. 2, p. 315, 857, 947. In West-Gotland LI-ÄRV is neuter. In England, the dialect of Whitby and its neighborhood has not only LAE and LEE but also LEEATHE.

LÆESÆUWINGÆ, *Vi Moss Buckle*. — Mansname. Nom. Among the inferred patronymic marks or clanships collected by Kemble, is that of the LEASINGAS in Lincolnshire. (Sax. in Engl. 1, 468).

LÆUCÆA, *Bracteate 18*. Dat. s. Mansname. There was an O. E. LEOWECA. — See LÆWULOUCÆA.

LÆWULOUCÆA, *Bracteate 19*. Dat. Mansname. — See EÆPLEUA, FOSLEU.

LEUBWINI, see ÆLEUBWINI. — LEUGE, LEUWÆ. See under HLEIWÆ.

LIC-BÆCUN, *Crowle*. Ac. s. n. A LIK-BEACON, corpse-pillar, grave-stone. See BECUN in Word-row, Vol. 2, and the new Thornhill BECUN.

[LIGGAN]. See Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 948. — LEUGE, *Skå-ång*. Ac. n. Possibly belongs here. See under HLEIWÆ. — Chiefly found in N. I., where LEG is neut. while LEGA and fLEGA are fem. In Ohg. the gender (geLEGO) is not known. The Skå-ång form is probably neuter. The first vowel sometimes became Æ, EY and Ö. Here EU.

LJHCK, see ACLJHCK.

LILIAEIWU, *Bracteate 79*. Dat. Womans-name.

LIN. See BIRLNIO. The name BERLE still lives in Norway. — LOUCÆA, see LÆWULOUCÆA.

LDN, *Bracteate 80*. If a contraction for LDIN, then p. part. n. s. m., LITHEIN, gone, deceased. The verb (LIDA(N)) is common in our Scando-Gothic tungs.



LUL, *Bracteate 70*. N. s. Mansname. Common in O. E., LULL, LULLA, LULLE, and in O. G. LULLO. LUL. On a Norse Wiking-sword in Bergen Museum (date ab. 11th cent.) is the owner's name in Roman letters, steel-wire inlay, HLUL.

LUDRO, *Dalby*. — Nom. s. Mansname. See Word-row, Vol. 2, under LUER.

M, see MUTE.

MÆ, *Stentofte*. — An eke-name, either *Great, Mighty* (see u. MAGAN) or perhaps a slurred form of the old noun for MEW, *Sea-gull* (see HNEB-MÆS above and in Word-row, Vol. 2. — I cannot see why this name should seem so strange, whether it signify *greatness* or *swiftness*. In his excellent treatise "On the Names, Surnames, and Nicknames of the Anglosaxons" (8vo, no date), J. M. Kemble says, at p. 20: "Whatever doubt may exist as to the meaning of Brorda, none can be entertained for a moment as to that of MUCEL: it is plainly and simply '*The big man*'. This familiar appellation was nevertheless that of a duke, probably of royal blood. The possessor of a size so enviable as to give him such a distinction among a race naturally large and strong, might pardonably be proud of his nickname; accordingly in the year 845 appears the signature *Ego Mucel dux consensi et subscripsi*. (Cod. Dipl. Nos. 258, 261, 267, etc.) It is true that as this big prince could not write for himself, these signatures only express the opinion entertained of him by his contemporaries, but they do unquestionably give the name by which he was best known at court. It is indeed highly probable that Æðelred, earl of the Gaini, for such he was, may not have known his own baptismal name: we certainly should not have known it but for the obliging gossip of Simeon, who, under the year 868, informs us that Ælfred the king, "Uxorem accepit de Mercia, nobilem scilicet genere, filiam Æðelredi, Gainorum comitis, qui cognominabatur ab Anglis "Mucel", eo quod erat corpore magnus et prudentia grandævus."

"Similar qualities of mind or body probably gave the same name to another contemporary duke, to a contemporary thane (Cod. Dipl. Nos. 243, 245, 258, 261, 277, 292, 293, 294), and to the xvth bishop of Hereford: what their real names were it is impossible now to tell, but they all bore the distinctive nickname of MUCEL. The nickname MUCA borne by a duke in 822 (Flor. Wig. in *anno*) is similar, and probably of much the same meaning."

MÆS, see HNEBMÆS.

MERGE, *Gilton Sword*, adv. MERRILY. O. S. Engl. MURGE; Middle-Engl. MERILICHE. — See Vol. 2, u. MÆRI. MIRILÆA, *Væbhangsnes*. — Dat. Mansname. See Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 951. In Le Blant, *Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule*, 1, p. 108, fig. 33, one of the Lyonesse stones bears the womans-name MEROLA (MEROLA CLARISSIMA FEMINA). In the list of Danish names in the York Gospels (beg. of 11th century), we have the compound MERLESWAIN

MIÐ, Vol. 2, p. 951. — Of course the German WIDER, WIEDER are really the same as WITH, but they are now used in a different sense and WIEDER is an adverb.

MODIG, Vol. 2, p. 951. — For MÓÐUGR read MÓÞUGR.

MUND, MUNDR, see DÆGMUND, SIRMWNT, and Word-row, Vol. 2. — MUNDIA, fem., see CUNIMUDIU.

MUT (= MOT), *Lindholm*. Prep. — Against.

MUTE. See Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 951, and *Bracteate No. 75* in this volume. Besides MOT in Västerbotten, Närke and Småland, and MOD in Halland, we have also the neut. MÓTAN in the Närpes dialect in Finland, all in the same meaning, die, stamp. Prof. Sæve explains that MOTÅ is Dalecarlian not Gotlandish, and means to mould, make with a mould. So MOTA still does in Småland. — M (- MOT), *Bracteate 75*. — N. s. f. (? or u.). MOT, stamp, mint, mint-house, coin.

MUP, see ÞURMUP.

NAÐE, *Bracteate 73*. — N. s. Mansname. Answers to the Engl. NADE, O. G. NATO, NADO.

NÆFY.ENG. *Bracteate 24*. — N. s. Mansname. We cannot be sure whether the ending is -WING or -ING.

NEG. — UNNEG, *Franks Casket*. — Prep. gov. dat. UN-NIGH, not near, far from. Otherwise is found in O. N. E. only as an adj., in O. S. E. as an adj. and an adverb.

NIYÆ, *Kragehul*. — 3 s. pr. subj., or more likely infinitive. To NEEG, bend, fall. See text, and Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 940, under HNAG.

NIT, NID. see UNITR.

NIU, *Stenlofte*; NIO, *Buzeu*. — Dat. s. n. In the NEW, fresh. See Word-row, Vol. 2, u. NEWÆ.

NIUWILÆ, *Bracteate 80*. — N. s. Mansname. Answers to the West-Gothic NEUFILA, Old German NIWILO. In Scandinavian runics we have the name on the Kvamme stone, Norway, (ac. NULI, ? NULA in the nom.), should that be the word, for the tops of the runes here given as LI are damaged in Worm (Mon. p. 464). Prof. Bugge says (Aarb. f. N. O. 1871, p. 218) that the usual Scandian form would have been NYLI; this is the same as NULI, but in a somewhat younger shape.

NIWÆNG-MÆRIA, *Thorsbjerg Sword*. — Nom. s. Womans-name. See text and Word-row, Vol. 2.

NODUNGOA, *Tune*. — Nom. s. Womans-name. Answers to the O. G. female name NODINGA, if it should be found; Förstemann has only the mansname NODING, NOTHING, &c.

o, under ON.

OEĠ, Vol. 2, p. 954. — This I now regard as 3 pers. past sing. and IUGO as 3rd pers. pl. past of the verb HAKUA(N), to slay, kill, defeat, not of the verb IAGHA(N) to hunt. See under HAC, Vol. 2. I have since found several clear examples on very old Scandinavian-runic stones of this verb HAKUA(N) for to drepe, kill, defeat. And the variations on the monuments are endless and remarkable, doubtless several side-forms being intermingled.

OC, see under YCE. — OEKI, *Brough*. Nom. s. Mansname. See text. — OH, see under [AGAN].

OLDA, *Upsala*. Probably womans-name, n. s. We have the Scandian-runic mansname ALTI; the O. Engl. ALDA, ALDAN, ÆLTAN, with the female-name ALTA; the O. G. ALDO, ALTO, &c. and the womans-name ALDA, ALTA, &c.

ON, Vol. 2, p. 955. — o, *Brough*. In Kjobenhavns Diplomatarium, ed. O. Nielsen, II, 1, 1873, p. 42, an. 1415, is the form PANÆ.

ONLAF, Vol. 2, p. 954. — In Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea, Vol. 1, 8vo, (Surtees Soc., Lond. 1868), p. 148, 165, 219, we have the story of the ravages in Northumberland of a Scandinavian Seaking called ONALAFBALD, ONALAFBALL, OLAFBAL. He was a Pagan who swore by "Deos meos potentes, THOR et OTHAN". This was about the middle of the 10th century. — The elder OLEIFR is the modern Swedish OLOF; the mod. Sw. ELOF may be the Old-Northern Æ-LEUB (*Ever-dear*) as well as the early AILIFR.

OS, under ANS.

OSSK, *Römes-fell*. N. s. Womans-name. Now nearly extinct in Scandinavia. It is the N. I. óSK, O. E. WÜSC, Ohg. WUNSC. In Mod. Engl. WISH, the nasal is quite gone. In older Scandinavian dialects the N was sometimes sounded sometimes absent (WSK, OSC, ÖSC, ÖNSK, ÖNSK). In mod. Swedish, ÖNSKAN, it is fixt, as in mod. Danish, ÖNSKE. See the text.

(o)PC(U), *Freilaubersheim*. G. s. f. Womans-name. The old Scando-Gothic patronymics AUDING, masc., (Scand.-runics AUDKI), and AUDINGA, fem., are well-known. In case this should be the word on the Brooch, the fem. occurs here for the first time in Runics. AUDING remained long in Denmark. In the Danish Museum is a large top-piece (oak) belonging to a large cupboard or wardrobe, given some years ago by the Danish Merchant L. J. Grøn, Esq., and procured by him in Jutland. It bears, carved in large regular Roman letters: MARIA ØDINGS. 1662.

OPINKAR, under WODÆN. — ODLEÆ, ODUÆ, under AD.

OWL, *England*. (Finger-ring). N. s. Mansname. — OWÆ-ALUT, *Bracteates 51, 52*. N. s. Mansname. OWLPU-DEWÆÆ, under WULDU.

PRO, *Yarm*. Latin, *for*.

RAIRA, *Brough*. HRYRE, ruin, death. ? Dat. s. m. See text.

RAISA. — RAISTI, *Freerslev*; RISTI, *Osby*. 3 s. p. RAISED, set up. See Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 960, u. RISTI. — A-RÆRDE, *Thornhill*. 3 s. p. A-REARED, A-RAISED, uplifted, set (the grave-stone). See text.

RANINGÆ, *Müncheberg*. Nom. s. Mansname. RANING is an O. E. and O. G. name, and still exists in Sweden pronounced and printed RANNIGER.

RECS, *Brough*. 3 s. pres. REACHES, leads back, brings again. See text.

RED, see EADRED.

REUMWALUS, Vol. 2, p. 959, line 20. — For Stacious read Stacions. — Note <sup>4</sup> for Furniwall read Furnivall.

RHOELTR, under HRUDR.

RIGU, *Vi Plane*. — Gen. s. Womans-name, RIIGA. RIG-R, masc., as the name taken by Heimdall, is well known. Förstemann has only one instance of RIGA as a female name, in the compound AUSTRIGA, and this is not very old (11th century). In Scandinavian runics we have both RIK-R, masc., and ORIK-IA, fem., but we cannot always know whether in these names the K is intended to be sounded K or G. The mansname ÓRÉKJA, ÚRÉKJA, is a different word.

RINGS, see TILÉRINGS. — RISTI, under RAISA.

RIUSI, Vol. 2, p. 960; North-English RAISE, RASSE. — RNR, under RUNÆ.

RO, *Björketorp*. Ac. s. f. ROO, rest. See Vol. 2, under ROÁU. There was also the English mansname ROO.

ROAUL, under HRUDR.

RUNÆ. *Freilaubersheim*; RUNO, *Einang*. — Ac. pl. f. RUNES, staves, letters. See RUNEA in Word-row, Vol. 2, and the text to Freilaubersheim. See also GINÆ-RUNEA, GINO-RONOA. — P. 962. As another example of the lingering use of the Runes in Denmark (before their partial revival after the publications of Worm, &c.), we may mention that the author of "Liber Donationum Monasterii b. Petri Nestved et Skov-kloster", "Petrus Jacobi dictus SKIOLD", has in the preface, which was written in 1528, written this surname SKIOLD in *Runic letters*. See Script. Rer. Dan., fol. vol. 4, p. 336, note b. — In a copy of H. Smith's *Lægebog*, Kobenhavn 1557, now in the University Library Cheapinghaven, which has belonged to Niels Hans Christiansen Rask of Brendekilde in Fyn (grandfather of the great Danish linguist Rasmus Rask), who has written his name (spelt Rasch and Rask) in several places also in common letters — the owner has entered his full name on the first leaf in RUNES, and these distinctively of an old local type quite independent of printed alphabets. The rune-words are (in his usual hand and ink): "NIELS HANS CHRISTIANSEN RASCH. BRENDKILDE, 1739." — See ÆR-RNR.

There is a charming far-back Angle-kin legend which throws great light on the "Ephesian letters" and Spells of our forefathers, their use of RUNES for MAGICAL purposes and English folk-lore as to SIGER-STONES — Stones for Victory and Life-Saving Amulets. It has been preserved to us by our Venerable Bæda (Eccles. Hist. Gentis Anglorum, Bk. 4, Ch. 22). The date of the event, the battle of Trent between Ecgrith king of the Northumbrians and Æthelræd king of the Mercians, is A. D. 679. Bæda himself, who says he heard the tale from one who had learned it from Imma's own lips, died in 735. The tradition is shortly as follows:

In this great fight near the Trent fell Ælfwini, brother of king Ecgrith, and with him — as all supposed, one of his Thaness called Imma. Among other corpses, mighty and lowly, he lay on the field as dead for a day and a night. But thereafter reviving, he bound up his wounds and wandered away in search of help and shelter. But soldiers belonging to the foe seized him and took him to their chief. To him he stated, to avoid death, that he was a simple peasant, who had been attackt while carrying food to the army. The captain had compassion, gave him aid and leechcraft, and at last saw he was healed. But then Æthelræd's "alderman" feared he would escape, and put him in bonds. It was in vain. Ever and anon the fetters fell away from him. — Now the cause was not far to seek. The thrall had a brother, hight Tunna, a priest, and abbot of a monastery in the place yet called after him TUNNACESTRA<sup>1</sup>. Hearing that Imma had perisht, he went "on þam wæle" (among the dead bodies) to find him, saw one so like it seemed to be he, carried the lyke to his "minster", gave it honorable burial, and daily sang masses for the salvation of his soul. And every time he did so the gyres fell off and Imma was free. — The "gesip" (alderman, Count) wondered at this, and askt the prisoner why he could not keep him bound, and whether he had not mayhap some loosening-letters ("litteras solutorias") on him, of which so many tales went, which thus ensured his liberty. Imma

<sup>1</sup> This small hamlet has not yet been identified.

answered that he knew no such arts, but that his brother's mass-song doubtless was the cause. — At last his guards suspected Imma's rank, and his lord assured him of safety if he would but speak the truth. So he concealed nothing. The chieftain said he had merited death, for all his nearest kinsmen had fallen in the fray. But he would not break his word, spared his life, and sold him to a certain Frisian in London. Here the same thing took place. No fetters would hold. At last his new master allowed him to depart, on promise to return or to send him ransom-money. He got the sum from Hlothari king of Kent, whom he had once served, went to his brother, and heard from him how his daily prayers and mass-singing had saved him from slavery.

Let us now examine the technical language employed. — Bæda's original Latin is: "an fortē LITERAS SOLUTORIAS, de qualibus fabulæ ferunt, apud se haberet, propter quas ligari non posset." — Our illustrious Alfred (d. 901) translated Bæda's History. It is the version of a master, with many additional and homely touches from one who knew his country and its traditions so well. Accordingly he thus expands the text. (Alfred's Old-English rendering has been 3 times publisht; by Wheloc, Cambridge 1643, folio, and Cambr. 1644, fol.; and by Smith, Cambridge, 1722, folio.)

"hwæþer he ða alysendlican rime (Ms. B. rune) cuþe. and ða stanas mid hine awritene hæfde. be swylcum menn leas spell secgaþ. and sprecaþ þæt hine mon gebindan ne mihte."

"whether he the UNBINDING-MARKS (LOOSENING-RUNES, could (knew), and the WRITTEN-STONES had with him, of which men loose spells (idle tales) tell, saying that then no man may him (the beaver) bind."

But we have yet more help rightly to understand the passage. Ælfric, the learned and pious priest and Bishop, died in 1006 as Archbishop of Canterbury. He wrote a number of valuable Sermons. In 1844—6 Benjamin Thorpe publisht in London 2 8vo volumes of these Homilies. One of these — "A hortatory Sermon on the efficacy of the Holy Mass" — (Vol. 2, p. 356—9) handles this very legend, which Ælfric says he took direct from Bæda. The passage in question is thus given. I add Thorpe's version:

"Ða áxode se ealdorman þone hæfiling, hwæder he ðurh drycraeft oððe ðurh runstafum his bendas tobræce."

"The ealdorman then asked the captive, whether through witchcraft or through RUNES he broke his bonds."

Thus, as we see, this national English tradition of RUNE-STAVES and RUNIC TALISMANS remained unchanged for 400 years. The "superstitioes characterum" mentioned in olden English works we cannot further identify.

There is another instance of a RUNE-STONE as a boundary-mark in a Swedish Charter dated 1287: "thædhan aff j RUNESTENEN thædhan j mædhalstenen thædhan j hallina ouan vidh ODHÆNS KÝÆLDU." Dipl. Svec. Vol. 2, p. 24.

RUNGNO, *Stentofte*. Lords. — I look on this as - the very old word, found chiefly only in the plural (here as *nom. pl. neut.*) or as an emphatic prefix, M. Goth. RAGIN, *neut.* N. Icel. RÖGN, REGIN, *neut. pl.*, O. E. REGEN-, O. Sax. REGANO-, REGINU-, REGINO-, REGINI-, REGIN-. Its original meaning was *fixer, disposer, judge, counselor*, but often also *hero, chief, god*. In many words of old GN is found as NGN. In all our Scando-Gothic tungs we have a crowd of Proper Names formed from this word.

RUNO, *Björketorp*. N. s. m. A (fellow-whisperer, fellow-talker), counselor, friend, comrade. O. Engl. RUNA, N. I. RUNI; Ohg. GARUNO.

SÆ, *Lindholm*. N. s. m. Pronoun; (SA), *yon, that, the*. See Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 966 under *SYOÆ*. — SÆA, *Stentofte*; SÆ, *Gjevedal*; N. pl. f. These (runes understood).

SÆ - SEA. — In case SEEBER, *Bracteate 93*, mansname, *nom.*, is to be divided SÆ-BÆR, SEA-BEAR.

See text.

SÆAD. — I have since seen a Danish family-name SØTH, still in use. There is also the Danish name SÆDDE (and SÆTTER).

SEEBER, under SÆ.

SAC = SACERDOTI, *Yarm*. Latin. Dat. s. Bishop.

SÆLIGESTIA, *Berga*. Probably a womans-name, *nom.* See GÆST and Word-row, Vol. 2.

? SÆMÆNG, *Seude*. Nom. s. (or ac. s.), Mans-name.



SERÆLU, *Orstad*. Nom. s. Mansname, N. I. SÖRLI. See Word-row, Vol. 2. It is also the English name SEARLE, SERLE, older SERLO, SARLO. On an Old-English silver Sceatta, 6th or 7th century, (Kenyon's ed. of Hawkins' Silver Coins of England, London 1876, 8vo, p. 30, Pl. 3, No. 36) is, in Roman letters, the mansname SAROLOO.

SAULE, *Bingley, Thornhill*. — D. s. f. SOUL, ond, spirit. See Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 963.

SBERÆDH, *Thames fitting*. — 3 s. pr. SPEIRETH, asks, requests, demands. O. S. E. SPERIAN, SPIRIAN, SPORIAN, SPYRIAN; North English to SPAR, SPEIR, SPER, SPERE, SPORE; N. I. SPYRJA; O. Sw. SPYRJA, SPÖRJA; Dan. SPÖRE; O. Fr. SPERA; N. Sax. SPÖREN; Ohg. (ga)SPURIAN. Properly 1, to SPORE, follow a mark or foot-print; 2, to seek by following a trail; 3, to enquire by looking for foot-marks; 4, to enquire, look for, ask about, question; 5, to ask, request, desire, demand. Its common meaning now in the living dialects is No. 4. Like others, this word has had various shades of signification in our old talks. We have one such in King Alfred's Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care (Early English Text Society, Part 1, ed. by H. Sweet, London 1871, p. 4, 5):

"Her mon mæg giet gesion hiora swæð, ac we him ne cunnon ÆFTER-SPYRIGAN (Hatton Ms. ÆFTER-SPYRIGAN], forðæm we habbað nu ægðer forlæten ge þone welan ge þone wisdom, forðamþe we noldon to ðæm spore mid ure mode onlutan."

"Here man (we) may yet see their swathe (tracks), but we them cannot FOLLOW, for-that we have now lost both the weal (wealth) and the wisdom, for-that we would not to that spore (trace) with our mood (mind) on-lout (bend, incline)."

Here they SAW the track, and could not therefore ASK AFTER it. Again in the same work, p. 76:

"on ðæt swæð ðara haligra singallice winnað to SPYRIANNE."

"on (in) the swathe (spore) of the hallowes (saints) continually striveth to FOLLOW."

But this word has also been used in the sense of — ask — proclaim, publish. In a Ms. vol. of the York Manual, early 15th cent., we find: "hase bene SPIRRED thre solemne dayes in y<sup>e</sup> kirke . . . bott jitt as for y<sup>e</sup> more sekynes yet I SPYRR y<sup>e</sup> BEYNIS [= publish the bans] off y<sup>e</sup> forsayde N and N." (See *Manuale et Proces. ad us. insignis Eccles. Eboracensis*, 8vo, Surtees Soc., Durham 1875, p. xvi).

SCANOMODU, *Bracteate 74*. N. s. Mansname.

SKÆR, *Seding*. Mansname. Goes out, as not in O. N. runes.

SCIDÆ, *Skärkind*. Gen. s. Mansname. The name SKIDI, SKIDHE, is rare in olden Scandinavia. I have not yet found it in later runics or in Germany. As I suppose extinct in Scandinavia, it probably (SUEGDA) signified the same as the O. E. SCEGDMAN, a SKITH-MAN, pinnacle-man, seaman, sailor, wiking, (O. E. SCÆGD, SCEGD, SCEHD, SCEIGD, fem., Icel. SCEID, fem., a trireme, light swift ship). In England we have the family names SKIDDY and SKIDMORE, and the former was also sometimes used short for the latter. But it was common in Ireland, especially in Cork, Youghal and Kinsale. See Dr. R. Caulfield's Council Book of Cork, 4to, Guilford, 1876, Council Book of Youghal, 1878, and Council Book of Kinsale, 4to, Guilford, 1879, under SKIDDY, SKIDDEY, SKYDDY, SKYDDIE, SKYDE. There was also a SKIDDY'S CASTLE at Cork.

SEHSCUNÆ, SKWLFS, under SIGI.

SETA. — See Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 965. — 1 SETAL, *Yarm*; SETE, *Thornhill*; SETTE, *Thornhill*: 3 s. p. SET, raised.

SLE, under SÆ.

SIAELUH, *Kinneved*. Apparently a mansname. Not before found in runics. We have crowds of side-forms in our old talks, but exactly the same name has not before been met with. See the text.

SIGI, *Ösby*. Ac. s. Common Scandian mansname. — SIGHYOR, Vol. 2, p. 965. "No Gothic SIHORA is yet known. This has been pointed out by Holtzmann in *Germania* II, 448. Prof. Caspari in an old Parisian Ms. has found the place referred to, and the words are FROIA ARME; thus here spelt as pronounced, instead of FRAUJA ARMAL." *Sophus Bugge*. — SEHS-CUNÆ, *Bracteate 6*. D. s. m. def. In my text, to the SIGE-KEEN, victorious. But I now prefer *To the SAX-KEEN, Sword-bold*; O. E. SEAX, SEX, N. I. SAX, Ohg. SAX, a short sword, dagger. — SIHMYWNT, *Bracteate 55*. N. s. Mansname, = SIGMUND, a well-known olden Scando-Gothic name. See Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 966. — SKWLFS (= SIRWULFS), *Freestev*. Gen. s. Mansname. See text.

SIGNUM, *Yarm*. Latin. Ac. s. This (SIGN), pillar, minne-stone, Cross.

SIMI, *Bracteate 92*. Dat. s. Apparently the parish and district now spelt SEM or SEEM near Ribe, in N. Jutland, Denmark.

SIN, *Ösby*. Ac. s. m. (SIN), his. — SINÆR, *Freerslev*. Gen. s. f. His. See text.

SYOÆINÆA, *Krogstad*. Mansname, d. s. To-SWAIN. See Word-row, Vol. 2.

SIULFUR(N), Vol. 2, p. 966. — In King Alfred's Old-English version of Gregory's Pastoral Care (Ed. H. Sweet, London 1872, 8vo) we have the older forms SEOLUFRE, SIOLOFRE, SIOLOFRES, SIOLUFRES, SYLOFR, SILOFR, with the intermediate vowel still left.

U-SMÆ, *Whitby Comb*. 3 s. pres. subj., may-ON-SMEE, look on, watch over, bless. This USMÆ is Old-N. Engl., which, with its surprising tendency to nasalize or lose the N, at the same time usually changes the foregoing o to u, thus ON-SMÆ becomes U-SMÆ. The olden SMA (still North-English and Scandinavian) and SMAL (still Scandian and English — SMALL — and also found in other tungs) gave rise to hosts of words and meanings, continually differing in the various talks and many of them long since dead. Among these, the O. E. SMA (ge-SMEAGAN, SMEAN, SMEAGEAN, &c.) came to be used for to look SMA after, to search SMA-LLY, narrowly and carefully, to watch minutely and sharply, hence to search, consider, meditate, examine, watch over, regard, bless, &c. The Scandian SMA (SMÅ, förSMÅ) came to have an unfriendly sense, look SMALL at, contemn, despise, turn up one's nose at, a meaning still common in Scandinavia. Our U-SMÆ seemingly here governs an acc. We still have SMILE, SMI-LE, SMÅ-LE, SMALL-LAUGH.

SMUHÆ, *Kragehul*. Ac. s. m. (SMOOGER), thro-darter, penetrator. See text.

STAIN, *Freerslev*; STÆ(N)Æ, *Gommor*; STUN, *Ösby*. Acc. s. m. — STAINAR, *Ræfsal*. Nom. pl. STONE, minne-pillar. See DEEP-STAN, HALSTUN, and Word-row, Vol. 2.

SWID (or SWIDA). See BERHTSUIDE, IGILSUID. — SUIDES, *Kallervp*. Gen. s. Mansname, SWITHE'S-SON. I agree with Bugge that it is better to take this word as a Patronymic (SUIDING) than as an adjective (Sage, Wise, &c.). See Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 343, 344, 969. — A HERMAN SWITHING (spelt HERMAND SWITHING), Burgomaster of Visby in Gotland anno 1342, is mentioned by Strelow (*Cronica Guthilandorum*, 4to, Kiöbinghaffn 1633, p. 161). — A P. N. SVINNING is congratulated in the Cheapinghaven paper "Dags-telegrafren" for May 12, 1872, as having gained a prize in the Lottery.

TÆÆ, *Bracteate 94*. Mansname, n. s. See text.

TÆEN, under TINE.

TALLWE, *Bracteate 9*. N. s. Mansname. — See TÆLING in Word-row, Vol. 2, and TIL. This TÆLING is the present Frisic TJALLING. — TÆLINGWU, *Bracteate 91*. Dat. of the womans-name TÆLINGWA.

TAN. — TENAES, TENES, *Bracteate 75*. Gen. s. Mansname. Of TEN, DEN, DANE.

TÆWON, *Bracteate 27*. N. s. Mansname. We have an O. E. mansname only found as yet in the gen., TEUES.

TE, *Bracteates 25, 59*. 2 s. imperative. TEE, favor, bless, help, guard. See the Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 970. This meaning, so common in olden days, still subsists in Iceland: "en ekki TJADI Gudmundi að klifa á því", but it did not HELP Gudmund to harp upon that. (J. Th. Thóróddsen, *Piltur og Stúlka*. 2 útg. Reykjavik 1867, p. 170). In the Alexanders Saga alone, where it often occurs in the same sense, there are 3 different forms, TIA, TIOA and TÓIA.

TENAES, TENES, under TAN.

TIL, *Bracteate 46*. N. s. Mansname. See ELTIL and TALLWE. — TILÆRINGS, *Kovel*, n. s. Mansname.

TIMD, *Brough*. TEEMED, brought forth, born. Past p. nom. s. fem. See text.

TINÆ, *Tanum*. N. s. m. — TÆEN, *Hoga*. Ac. s. m. TINE, grave-pillar, funeral beacon. See Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 971, under TINÆ.

tyo, *Thames Filling*. TO. See to in the Word-row, Vol. 2. See under DE.

TISÆGG, *Bracteate 78*. N. s. Mansname. See TU in Word-row, Vol. 2. As I take it, from TI (TU, &c. the God of TUE's-day) and SÆGG (the O. E. SÆGG, Mid. E. SEG, SEGG, SEGGE, N. I. SEGGER, O. Sax. SEGG) properly a SAYER, messenger, servant, then a man in general.

TIPAS, *Vî Moss*. See Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 971. — There is a still living Danish family-name TITHE (and TIDE and THIDE), and this is the Norse name TIDE and the English name TIDE, TYDE.

TIWITÆ, *Bracteate 32*. Dat. s. Mansname. Förstemann has the mansname TEVIT, TEUIT, TREVIT. See Word-row, Vol. 2, u. WITÆ. — VETT is still a Danish family-name. See Word-row, Vol. 2, u. WÆTTÆ.

TRUMBEREHT, *Yarm*. Dat. s. Mansname. Several Anglic names begin with TRUM, strong, strength, and very many end with BERHT, bright. See text. The Norwegian archæologist A. Lorange, Keeper of

the Bergen Museum, has lately found 6 wiking-swords, dug-up in Norway, bearing the name of the Sword-smith inlaid with steel wire, VLFBERHET, an antique form of (w)ULFBRIGHT.

TUHÆ, see ÆITUHÆ.

TUMA, *Stentofte*. Dat. s. n. TUME, TOME, TOOM, open space, empty room, chamber, leisure, free time, quiet, rest. N. I. TÔM. Has various side-forms in the Scando-Gothic tungs.

TUNBA, *Balkemærk*. A well-known old Scandinavian mansname is TUNO, TUNE, TYNE, TYNNE. In runics we have a TUNA, fem., and a doubtful TUNULFR, as well as BA-ULF (ac.). Famous is the Old-Engl. mansname BEAWA, BEAW, BEO, the son of the mythical SCELDWA, SCELDWEA, SCYLD, who was SCEAFING (the son of SCEAF). This name, also found as BEOWE, BEOHHA, BEPPH, BEPPHA, BEU, BEU, was likewise borne by common men in Old-Engl. times. Thus a BEOWA signs a Charter of king Nunna of Sussex about A. D. 725 (Kemble, Charters, Vol. 5, p. 44), and we had in England such old place-names as BEOWHAN-HAM, &c. BEW is still an English name, as BEWE is still a Swedish name. This BEAW, BEOW, BEO, &c. answers to the BEAF, BIAF, BIA'R, BAUF of the Scandinavian Langfedgartal and the Prose-Edda Preface, and we have also the old Icelandic mansnames BÄ-REKR and BIALFI (also BIOLFI); the O. Icel. mansname BE-ÖLF of the Landnámabók (part 4 ch. 6) had a son IS-ÖLFR. In Sweden we have such place-names as BJUFSTORP, BJUFSGÅRD. In the Diplom. Norv. we frequently meet the mansname BYUFF, BJUFUER, BIU, &c., and in printed and unprinted O. Norse documents BYWFF WLFSSON, BEWULFSSON, BYUFFSSON, BJUFFSON, BJUFFSDOTTER. Thus the O. E. BEOWULF is paralleled by the Runic BAULF, the O. I. BEÖLF and the middle-age Norse BYWFF-WLF, BE-WULF (or BEW-ULF). The BAOVULF at Fulde anno 782 Förstemann thinks may have been an Englishman. So was probably the BOWULFS abbot of Fulda in 780—802.

Grimm's strange derivation = BEE-WOLF, the Woodpecker, Picus, is now generally given up. Better, but still to be rejected, is Kemble's = BOO-WOLF (BOO to till, cultivate), a God of Husbandry. — The English names TOWN, TOWNE, TOON and TOYNE are common, and there are many beginning with TOWN, &c. But is not the English name TOYNBEE the TUNBA here before us, a little twisted?

I have just seen (Dec. 1873) in the Athenæum for Nov. 15, 1873, p. 631, that our learned English scholar Mr. Henry Sweet has suggested that the Old-English BEO-WULF — by comparison with Cædmon's BEO-HATA as applied to Moses leading the Israelites — means *the Bear*. This I think very improbable, and I am not aware of any such kenning in all the North as *Bee-wolf for Bear*. — As I take BEAWA or BEO-WULF to be one and the same, the BATTLER, WAR-HERO, so I take BEO-HATA to mean BATTLE-CRIER, WAR-HERALD, Army-leader, Folk-hero, in like manner as HILDE-CALLA means HILDE-CALLER, FIGHT-HERALD. I would therefore translate Cædmon's (l. 2, sec. 46, p. 193, ed. Thorpe):

A-hleop þa for hæledum		<i>Leapt then fore the legions</i>
hilde-calla,		<i>their lordly war-herald,</i>
bald beo-hata		<i>the bold battle-crier</i>
bórd up-ahóf.		<i>his board (= shield) uplift.</i>

Old-Engl. names beginning with TUN are common. Thus TUNNA, TUNBALD, TUNBERHT, TUNFRITH, TUNGHS, TUNLAF, TUNNOC, TUNRED, TUNWALD, TUNWOLDA (fem.), TUNWULF, &c. — In my copy of Holberg's Peder Paars, 4to, 2nd ed., Kiøbenhavn 1794, one of the former owners has written and stamp on the title-page his name, M. THONBOE, which I suppose is TUN-BO. There are also names from TUN a *TON, barrel*.

I believe this BA, BEAW, BEOW, BEO, which has been so variously interpreted, means *kemp, held, hero, war, battle*. So in the list of Danish names in the York Gospels (beginning of 11th century) is BARAD, which I take to be BA-RAD. War-councilor.

Our common old mansname BO, BOO, BU, BOW, &c. is usually drawn from BUAN, to bide, dwell, which is not unlikely. Sometimes this will give no characteristic meaning. In such cases this name (the modern German BOW, BÖW) may be the above BA, BEA, BEO, &c. — Another BO, used in compound names, is doubtless = *home*. There is a still living Danish name BÖWING, BÖYING.

TVTO, *Bracteate 65*. Nom. s. Mansname.

TWED, *Bracteate 32*. N. s. Mansname. There is a Scandinavian-runic mansname ÞUED. An O. Swed. mansname is TWESSON, presupposing a TWED. This TWED, TVETA, THVETA, THWAITE, THWAITES, &c. is also a common Scandinavian and English place-name, ÞVEIT, f., ÞVEITI, neut., (from ÞWITAN, to cut, chop), a cut-off piece of land, a paddock and its cottage. Hence a personal-name, especially in Denmark and England, TVÆDE, TVEDE; THWAITE, TWAITE, THWAITES.



ÐÆICT, see UDÆICT.

ÐÆLIA, *Bratsberg*. Nom. s. Womans-name. We have the O. G. female name DALIA. In Dipl. Svec. 2, 518 is the mansname THÆLCUND Hydinson.

ÐE, THE, see Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 973. — ÐÆR, *Thornhill*. Dat. sing. fem. THE. — ÐANSI, *Osby*. Ac. s. masc. THIS. — ÐISI, *Fveerslev*. Ac. pl. fem. THESE.

ÐE. *Vi Moss Plane*, Nom. s.; ÐEWÆA, *Valsfjord*, Dat. s. Mansname. A THEOW, thrall. This word, originally signifying youth, stripling, — then servant, work-lad, — then thrall, bondman, slave, is well known. It is the M. G. MUS, gen., ÐIWIS, m., ÐIWI, f. Old-Swed. and Old-Gotlandic DY; O. Engl. DEOWA, ÐIOWA, ÐEA, DEOW, ÐEAW, ÐEO, ÐY, m.; DEOWENE, ÐINA, DEOWEN, DEOWE, ÐIOWA, ÐIUWA, ÐIWA, ÐIUA, ÐIO, ÐIOE, ÐIOEN, ÐIWENE, f. O. Sax. THIUUA, THIU, THIUU, THIU, TH, f. N. Icel. ÞY'R, m., ÞY, f. Bugge (*To nyfundne norske R. I. p. 10*) points out the form ÐER in the endings of N. I. proper names. O. Germ. THIU, DIO, DEO, ÐI, DE, m., ÐIWA, THIU, ÐIU, f. So we have such names as O. E. ONGEN-DEOW, N. I. ANGANTYR, O. G. ANGAN-DEO, and many mo. See ISINGÐÆA, OWLÐU-ÐEWÆA. — On very old English Coins there are names of Moneyers, variously spelt, perhaps connected with this word. All of them, if so, still have the nom. sing. in -S. The names are: ÐES, and the compounds AGAR-ÐES, ALDA-TES and GADA-TES.

ÐIWBYO-FUNÐR, *Frederiksberg*. Nom. s. m. THIEF-FIND, Thief-finding, the finding out a thief. Both words common in all our dialects.

ÐORNE, Vol. 2, p. 976. In the Old South English we have also the word THORN in the shape ÐYRNE. See the 8th century Vocabulary in Wright's *Vocabularies*, Vol. 2, London 1873, 8vo, p. 106.

ÐRU, Vol. 2, p. 976. This ÐRU, so fixt in Old-English, holds its ground also in Early English. Thus:  
for efterþan þet þe mon bið dead me leið      for afterthat that the man beeth dead. men lay  
þene licome in pere ÐRUH.      the licam (body) in the TERUH.

Old (*read Early*) English Homilies, &c., ed. by R. Morris, 8vo, Vol. 1, London 1867, p. 51. Early English Text Society.

ÐUR, name of the God (ÐUNOR), worshipt on THURSDAY; but also a mansname. See Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 976. Add, at p. 978, that the Parish Register of Luddenham, near Faversham, mentions the death of Thomas THUNDER in 1712 and of his wife Joan THUNDER in 1718. See Notes and Queries, May 23, 1868, p. 478. — ÐURMUP, *Sæbø*. Mansname, n. s. See text.

UGÆ, under UGIS. — UK, under HIEAWAN.

UGS, *Kragehul*. Gen. s. m. The UG, OUG, terrible, fierce; as noun = YGG(R), = (W)ODEN, the War-god. — UGÆ, *Kragehul*. As adj. dat. s. m. def. the UG, OUG, fierce. See text.

ULTYO, *Fonnås*. G. s. womans-name. See text.

UNBOÆU, *West-Thorp*. Womans-name, dat. See Word-row. With regard to the N. in the list of Danish names in the York Gospels from the beginning of the 11th century, we have also UNBAIN (þorcetel unbain), the later Scandinavian UBEIN(N). I publish the above list from the York Gospels in "Blandinger", printed by "Universitets-Jubileets Danske Samfund", 8vo, København 1881, pp. 60—66: "*En Yorkshire-Liste over dansk-engelske Mandsnavne fra det 11. Aarhundrede*."

UNDA, *Bracteate 82*. As this piece is only a fragment, we cannot know whether any letters went before or followed after. Probably a Proper Name, either complete in itself or, as is more likely, some letters having gone before (f. i. CUNIMUNDA, SIGIMUNDA, &c.). There is an O. G. mansname UNDO, and a womans-name UNDA, but I have not found this name either in O. Engl. or O. Scand. monuments.

UNITR, *Fveerslev*. N. s. mansname. See text. Is still not uncommon in England as UNETT.

UNNA(N). — To UN, give, grant, &c. This verb is found in most of the Scando-Gothic tungs, the M. G. excepted. — ÆNN, 3 s. pr. *Bracteates 24, 55*. ANN, *gives*.

UNNEG, under NEG. — USA, under IC.

UD, *Charnay*. N. s. A well-known olden mansname, as well as its fem. UDA and its side-form UNN or UN. O. E. UDA, Ohg. UDO, in Scand. Runics UD masc., UDA fem. — See UDÆR, in Word-row, Vol. 2.

UDÆICT, *Sealand*. N. s. f. Disfavor, unluck, a bad throw at dice &c. (— BAD). There have been many forms of this substantive, some of which have come down to our times. Thus N. I. ÓÐOKK, f. disfavor, anger, disapprobation: ÓÐOKKI, ÓÐOKKI, m. grudge, secret hate, enmity, discontent, unpleasant-



ness; ðEKT, ðEKKT, f. discontent, displeasure, animosity, frightfulness. O. Swed. OTHUKKI, OTHOKKI, m. unthankfulness; OTHYKKIA, OTHOKKIA, unthankfulness, anger, rage. O. Dan. UTYKKE, displeasure, discontent, anger.

UA. — See ÆLUA, ELWÆO, OÐUA, in case these names are to be so divided.

WALD. — ALUWALUDO, *Whitby Comb.* — N. s. m. def., the ALL-WALD, ALL-WIELDING, Almighty, omnipotent, in O. E. also spelt ALWALDA, ALLWALDA, ALWEALDA, EALWALDA, EALWEALDA, &c., but here found in a shape far more for and venerable, the ALU for AL and WALUDO for WALDA being costly archaisms. Nearly parallel is the N. I. ALLVALDR, a king, prince. The O. Saxon has ALAUUALDO, and the O. Germ. ALEUUALTO, ALUUALTO. — See KUNUELTS, OLWFOLDO, RHO.ELTR.

UELYE, *Bracteate 57.* Ac. s. m. WEAL, success, victory.

UANEBEREH, *Varnum.* Mänsname, n. s. See the text, Vol. 3, and the Word-row, Vol. 2. WANNBERG, WENBERG, WENNEBERG is still a Swedish name.

WERINGEA, *Torvik.* Dat. s. Mänsname. See text.

WAS, *Fonnäs.* 3 s. p. WAS. See text and Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 981. — WETTE, under TIWITE.

UYEYLIL, *Bracteate 24.* N. s. Mänsname.

UIGE. — UIU, *Bracteate 57.* Ac. s. neut. WIG, war, fight, battle. I look upon this word as = UIGU, the -U being the antique accusative-singular ending, which we might well expect on a piece from the 5th or 6th century. The slurring of the G in certain situations in our old tungs, especially before vocalic endings (as here -U) is well known. See K. Gislason, *Oldnordisk Formlære*, 8vo, Kjøbenhavn 1858, Part 1 (all published), p. 26, 27. Of the gender here we are not absolutely certain, it differed so widely in former times. Thus M. Goth. WIGANS, m., but WAIHYO, f.; N. I. VIG, VIGI, both n.; O. E. WIG, m. and n.; O. S. UIG, UIC, m.; O. Swed. UIGH, n.; O. Fr. WICH; Ohg. UUG, UUC, UUK, UUIH, m. and n. (with an acc. pl. UUGA). — WIU, *Kragekul.* In the compound WIYU-BIGI(æ) of the *Kragekul Moss* the U may be an old fem. genitive, or perhaps the connecting vowel. This WIYU-BIGI(æ) is probably dat. or locative s. m., in his WIG-BING, on his War-bed. Camp. See BIGI, and the text. — See HHLÆDUUIGE. HLYDWYG.

WILI. See ALTE-UILEA, GISLIONG-WILI. — WIN, under WINI.

WINGS. See INGE, MWSYOUNGI and (? NEDUYENG).

WINI. See ÆLEUBWINI, ÆLEWINÆ, ALWIN, BERCHTVINI, EDELWINI, IAUINI, ONSWINI. — WINI, pleasant mead. See BIRKOHNUM.

WIS(A), *Valloby.* Mänsname, nom. Common in old Scando-Gothic times as now, for it is our WISE. Ohg. WISO. O. E. WIS. We have it in compounds in Scandinavian-runics as WISO, UIS. — UISE, *Bracteate 57.* N. s. m. A Leader, Captain, Guide, Chief. Our O. E. WISA, N. I. VISI. In Scandian Runics we have both UISI and UISR. — WISE, *Gilton Sword*, 2 s. imperat. of to (WEISE, WISE, WISS, WISSE, WYSE, now obsolete or provincial. show, point, move, bare, brandish, &c. O. S. E. (ge)WISAN, WISIAN, WISSIAN; N. I. and Sw. WISA; Dan. WISE; O. Fr. WISA; O. S. WISAN, WISEAN, WISSIAN; Ohg. WISSAN, KAUISAN. — See Vol. 2, Wordroll, under WITEL.

WITE, under TIWITE. — UIU, under UIGE.

WIWILN, *Væblungnes.* Mänsname, nom. sing., a shortened form of WIWILIN, one of the many name-derivatives in -IN (which often became -ING) occurring in our olden talks. But it early became scarce, and as far as I know is now no longer in use. The simplex, WIWIL, was very common, and is still borne by many families (in various spellings) in Scandinavia and England, &c. — O. Engl. WUWEL, WIFEL, WIFEL, WUWEL; also WIFLING. The modern English name is WIFILL, WYVILLE. As we have the name WIWIL not only in itself (in the middle-age as WIVILL, &c.), but also in such stead-names as WIVELSCOMB, and WIVELSTORP, WIVELSTORP (in Domesday Book), in the middle-age WYVELESTHORP, WYLESTHORP, WILSTHORP, &c.<sup>1</sup>, now WILSTHORPE, so we have a derivative WIWELIN or WIVELING in a Rogerus de WIFLINGTON about 1252, and a *Patricius* de WYVELINGTON in the year 1310<sup>2</sup>. — N. I. WIFIL, WIFILL; WIFLING, a name of Odin. — In Norway WIFELSTADA, now WIVESTAD, WIFLASTADIR, now VISTER. — In Sweden a WIVELSTADHA, in Småland, occurs as late as 1411<sup>3</sup>. — Dan. WIVILD, WIVEL, still common, and in Slesvig

<sup>1</sup> The Survey of the County of York, taken by John de Kirkby, &c., 8vo, Durham 1857. (Surtees Society, Vol. 49).

<sup>2</sup> The Inventories . . . . of Jarrow and Monk-Wearmouth, 8vo, Durham 1854 (Surtees Soc., Vol. 29), p. 3. — Archbishop Gray's Register. Id. 1872 (id. Vol. 56), p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> Styffe. Skandinavien under Unionstiden. 8vo, Stockholm 1867, p. 147.

VILSBÆK for WIUÆLSBÆC, WIWELSBÆK. In my bookhoard is a copy of "Alexander Magnus, Det år, En Nye Krønike Om Kong Alexander den Store", in Danish by Johan Sylvius of Haderslev. 8vo, Kiøbenhaffn 1664. Two former owners have written their names inside the binding. The oldest of these is "H. I. WIBLINGEN, d. 7 Aug. 1747". — O. Fris. VIUËL. — O. Germ. VIBILIUS, VIBILO, WIBIL, WIFIL, VIFPILLO. In Switzerland is a WIWELSBURG, WIBELIN. — In Norway the name WIWILIN must have lingered on for a long time. In Dipl. Norv., Vol. 2, p. 453, an. 1408, we have "j Viflene hagaan", and in 1498 (Dipl. Norv., Vol. 3, p. 730) is the place-name "Wæflane".

Since the above was written I have found this name (UIFIL) for the first time on a stone bearing the later runes. See PILGARDS, Gotland, in the section Archaic Monuments.

WIYU, under UIGE.

[WODEN]. See Vol. 2, p. 983. — UODN, *Bracteate 59*. Nom. s. Among other old Jutlandish forms for the name of this God are also VOEN and VOGN. — ODINKAR, *Eidsberg*. Mansname, nom. sing. See text. This name was also borne (OTHENGAR, ODINGEIR, &c.) at the end of the 10th century and in the 11th by Bishops of Slesvig, Odense and Ribe. We afterwards meet it in various parts of Denmark in the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries. But it was also borne by moneyers in the 11th yearhundred under Hardeknut, Magnus the Good and Sven Estridson, on coins struck in Lund, Odense and Roskilde. There was also a London minter of that name under Hardeknut. Thus it more especially belonged to Denmark. — See (if I am right in my reading) the kenning for (W)ODEN on the Tjursåker stone, p. 344 above, SAXSE-TUNDR, *the-SAX-LORD, Sword-Captain*. See the Note p. 344.

WOLK, *Brough*. WALKT, went. 3 s. p. See text.

VOMIA, see AIVOMIA.

WONÆWYO, see WINIWONÆWYO. WON is a wellknown O. E. name, *masc.*, but I have not seen this *fem.* form before.

WOP, *Brough*. Nom. s. m. WHOOP, cry, WEEPING, tears. See text.

WORÆHTO, &c. See Vol. 2, p. 984. — A 7th variant (tho, except the TH and W, not in runes) is on the stone Sun-dial (date about 1048) at Edstone near Pickering in Yorkshire, England. It is given by Hübner, in his *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae*, 4to, Berolini & Londini 1876, p. 66, engraved from a careful drawing by the Rev. D. H. Haigh. Since then, it has been re-publisht by Mr. Haigh himself in his most valuable paper (illustrated with many engravings). "Yorkshire Dials", in "The Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal", 8vo, Parts 17, 18, London 1879. See Pl. 1, and p. 146. 157.

ORLOGIUM VIATORUM.

HOROLOGE (*sun-dial*) of-WAYFARERS.

\* LODAN ME WROHTEA.

LOTHAN ME WROUGHT (*made*).

An 8th (non-runic, save the w) form occurs in the lately found Knife, inlaid with silver and brass, supposed by Mr. Evans to be from the 9th century. See it (WORTE) above, p. 160. — The WROHTO on the Kirkdale Sun-dial (Vol. 2, p. 984) is a 9th variety of spelling. The usual Old-English Ms. form is WORHTE, but we have also WORHTE.

[WRITAN]. See Word-row, Vol. 2. — WREET, *Freilaubersheim*. 3 s. p. WROTE, inscribed. In O. N. E. we have OPER-WURIT, epistola, and IN-WURITTENA, gen. pl. inscriptionis. — WRITE is still pronounced VREET in Aberdeenshire.

(W)UGO, *Stentofte*. So may the (i)UGO of the Stentofte stone possibly be redd; 3 pl. p. WOOG. routed, slew.

WULF. See Word-row, Vol. 2, p. 986, and ÆNIWULU, ÆNWLL, EADVLES, HARIWULFS, HEDUWOLEFA, HERIWOLEFA, ROAUL, LENULU. — WULF, *Franks Casket*; WULFIA, *Istaby*. Nom. s. fem. She-wolf. See HYERUWULEFA. — The tomb of GISULF, Duke of Lombardy (died in 611) was found in 1874. On the stone slab which covered it was the name GISUL.

[WULDU]. — OWLDU-DEWÆA, *Thorsbjerg Sword*. Dat. s. Mansname. WUL or WOL was frequently written (and doubtless sounded) OWL, &c., in olden days. This WULDU is of excessive Scando-Gothic antiquity, and meant *Might, God, Glory*. We have it in M. Goth. WULPUS, m., glory; WULPRS, f., value; O. E. WULDOR, WULDUR, n., glory; O. G. WULDAR, glory. Doubtless the same as the Scandinavian God ULLR, ULLI. In Scandinavian-runic it appears as ULBI, IULKIR. Several old Scando-Gothic names begin with WULDAR, WULDE, WULTE, &c., but I have not before seen this particular compound.

## THE WORD-HOARD.

That the reader may the better grasp all the linguistic teachings handed over to us in these precious Scando-Anglic runic remains — the oldest we have of our noble Northern mother-tong in its wide-spread local talks —, I have thought it best to gather together the whole word-stuff in 3 separate groups. For further details see the Word-lists at the end of Vols 2 and 3. In the vocables here given some errors may hereafter be found, for I have repeatedly said that my work is only tentative. We must modestly creep slowly on. Every fresh runic piece helps us to amend, in one direction or another. But still, whatever the shortcomings, I think and hope that in general my readings will be found substantially correct, and consequently that we may use with some confidence at least most of the considerable number of words here before us. A few years back, not even an enthusiast could have dreamed of getting half so many.

All this, however, is on one condition, my being right in my main stand, that the Old-Northern rune-stave  $\Psi$  is a vowel, and this vowel  $\Lambda$ . An opposing school in Scandinavia has long ago decided (of course at once, and *without appeal*, and in the name of what it calls "High Science"), that this  $\Psi$  is a consonant and this consonant -r, end-r, the falling -r of a word, or of a syllable in a word where it is not a part of the root. — The difference is immense, revolutionizes everything. In fact so serious a discrepancy could only arise in the infancy of this little-studied Old-Northern Rune-lore, when the material was so comparatively slender, and the few monuments gave scarcely any acknowledged formulas. As fresh inscriptions continue to come in, we are better and better able to see our way. Within the last score years or so the number of these pieces has been nearly doubled. So I think we ought now to be able to decide this cardinal question, one way or the other. Let us then take the general outcome of what we this moment have.

But in so doing let us remember, that the only honest and solid Philology is that which is Analogous and Comparative and Comprehensive, everywhere following FACTS. If this be admitted, we must also bear in mind the hundreds of olden overgang Scando-Gothic dialects which have left no written trace behind them, but which have in many ways led up to those which have; — and the endless changes local speech has undergone even in the same landscape; — and the equal right of any and every Runic or Romanlettered piece, stone or metal or wood or parchment, to represent what was then and there spoken, as well as the later skinbooks in a partly fixt and schooled book-tung. But even these latter, as drawn out in Grammars, are largely falsified, scarce older or later forms being usually past over and the paradigms showing only the "vulgar" forms, while the words are often corrupted and "systematized by the editor" so as to destroy unwelcome peculiarities, sometimes the whole being what is called a "normal text", — that is. wastepaper.<sup>1</sup>

The influence of *time* also, as well as of *place*, must be considered, for time will bring language in one district to the same worn standard as *much earlier* but very *rapid* development in another. And in general 100 years will *largely alter* an "uncultivated" unfixt dialect in its grammar and genders and syntax and word-hoard, and in the meanings of those expressions which are not driven out by others.

<sup>1</sup> See my remarks hereon in the paper "On the Dialect of the First Book printed in Swedish", in *Nova Acta Reg. Soc. Sc. Ups.* Ser. 3, Vol. 10, part 2, 4to. Upsala 1879.



How much more will this be the case in the lapse of 500 or 1000 or 1500 years? Such epochs materially *re-create* a language. In England, helpt by runes, we can follow the course of our mother-tung for nearly 1500 winters. Hence we can see the enormous developments from Old to Early English, and so to Middle and Later and Present English, — more or less in many things 5 speech-systems —, locally modified by scores of shire-talks, for convenience crusht into 3, the Southern, the Midland and the Northern, the last further influenced by the mighty flood of wiking-settlers in the 9th and 10th centuries. So far therefore from the watchword of Modern Philology, "Unity and Iron Laws", we must largely build on very different TRUTHS, — "Variety and endless Caprice", as *all Nature thro*.

But to return. Assuming Y to be -R; even in the hands of great linguists the system has ended in this: most of these remains are *unreadable*, or only *partly* translatable with the aid of desperate archaisms or unknown constructions, giving meanings to say the least strange and paradoxical; or they are *contractions*; or else they are written in an *unknown tung* invented by the rune-cutter; or else they are *magic*. One must have the Gloves of Thunor to hold fast and doom a Salmon-Lóké school which is helpt by loop-holes like these! — But the doctrine also says that in this olden time — say the first 700 years after Christ — the characteristic nominative-ending of Scandinavia was -R. Some of these epigraphs are much older than Mæso-Gothic, with its exceptionally frequent and favorite -s. This nom. -s, (also common in form Classical dialects), in Scandinavia as elsewhere eventually passes into -R, and then (Iceland excepted) falls away altogether in the Scandian tungs. But it (and not -R) holds on here and there in the oldest Northern runics, which show 3 nominatives in -s in the sing. and 1 in the plural, and it also survives locally in a score or two pieces bearing Scandinavian or *later* runes, down to the Christian age. The nom. mark was therefore of old still *often* -s, but *never* -R. How then could the *later* -R be the *old* and *primitive* Old-Northern characteristic? As nom. and ac. pl. ending also, this -s is largely vocalized and falls away in most of the *oldest* Scandian runics and parchments; afterwards when this plural consonant revives, the later -R for the older -s in plurals becomes organic in Scandinavia, where, Danish excepted which has no -R in some classes, the common plural mark becomes usually -R. — In the same way, we have in Scandinavia in the oldest runics and vellums such words as IS (our IS, 3 s. pr. and our AS, who or which), and WAS, UAS (our WAS, 3 s. p.). But they also soon get the weaker sound, IR, ER, WAR, VAR, as in some English shires. But this ancient Y *must not be* and therefore *is not* A. What then are we to do with the O. N. runic words actually containing it? Nothing is easier. Where it stands *alone*, and is therefore an independent word or else the first letter of a word, it is simply *ignored*. Where it occurs in the *beginning* or *middle* of a word (as in ACEÐEN, AH, ASPING; FADUR, INOFASTI, LAING, LAU, TIDAS), its existence is *denied*, however plainly it may stand; or else all the letters are pronounced *contractions*; should all this be impossible, then the whole is declared to be *magic*, a "magical formula". At the *end* of a word, as for instance in substantives dat. and ac. sing and nom and ac. pl., it *cannot* be, for this would clash with "Icelandic Grammar"! Yet we naturally expect by sound "Comparative Philology" -A or some such vowel in the oldest Scandian in the like places, for it more or less survived there in *all* the *most antique* Scandio-Gothic moles.

But this whole -R system was based on the strange theory, that *one language only* was from the Iron Age downwards spoken over all the Scandian lands; — and that this "Old-Northern" tung was *Icelandic*<sup>1</sup> (the comparatively modern book-dialect whose oldest specimens date from about A. D. 1200 or a little before); — and that therefore the nom. -R ending, and the Infinitive in -A or -Æ or -E, and the Post-article, and the Passive (or Middle) Verb, &c. were necessarily "Old-Northern" as

<sup>1</sup> I understand that many of the younger and more gifted speechmen in Scandinavia are now abandoning this Icelandic-Old-Northern Fetish. But when I began my battle against it, nearly 30 years ago, I was simply ostracised, execrated and excommunicated. — Nay, Prof. Sophus Bugge, who finds it necessary and useful as an argument to assist his new theory about the modern origin of the Scandinavian-English Mythology, *now* says (Studier over de nordiske Gude- og Heltesagns Oprindelse, I, 1, Christiania 1881, p. 3): "Rundt omkring i Norden raadede, saaledes som vi af Runeindskrifter man slutte, den ældste Jernalder og Mellejernalderen igjennem, altsaa vistnok til henimod Aar 800, et Sprog, som i Lyd, Former og Ordforraad stod paa et ganske andet Udviklingsstrin end de i historisk Tid kjendte nordiske Tungemaal, altsaa ogsaa det Sprog, hvori endog de ældste i Sæmunds Edda optagne mythisk-heroiske Digte er afattede." *We must conclude from the Runic Inscriptions that in the Northern lands, thro the Oldest Iron-age and the Middle Iron-Age, in other words apparently down to about the year 800, there prevailed a language which in sound and forms and word-material was in a quite other stage of development than the Northern tungs known to us in the historical period, and thus very different from that mole in which even the very oldest mythical-heroic poems in Sæmund's Edda are written.*



being Icelandic. Hence all dialects not having these peculiarities were unholy and unworthy, and *could not* belong to the Scandian group. Modern Scandinavian doubtless remains such, tho usually it has long since *lost* the nom. -R mark, and in many of its dialects *also* the end-vowel of the Infinitive, — just as *we* have done in England. *Oldest English* (by mixt immigration a mixt and worn dialect-cluster) never had the nom. -R mark and the Passive. It was therefore a *German* speech, tho German at one time often had the -R mark, and nearly develop't a Passive in the same way as the later Scandinavians by its use of *six* (*sich*), which in Scandia became -sk, -s, and tho large sweeps of German territory early dropt the end-N in the Infinitive, as was done in Scandinavia and North-England.

But the *oldest* runics show that strong nouns had -s as their nom. mark, tho, as in all the other Scando-Gothic tungs (and afterward surprisingly in the Early English and the later Saxon &c.), there was a great tendency to use *weak* forms.<sup>1</sup> Later down the stream turns, and a taste sets in for *strong* forms (which by that time show the -s weakened to -R). — So also in Scandian as in all its sister-dialects, the Infin. must originally have ended in -AN, tho, as in Old-North-English, this -N rapidly became nasalized and fell away. Old-Scandian runic Infinitives earlier than A. D. 800 are deplorably rare; we have as yet only 1, perhaps 2, which already end in -A, -Æ. But I have found *several* examples of Scandian Infinitives in -AN locally surviving on ancient stones bearing the *later* runes. — It is also now acknowledged that the primitive Scandian as little had the *Post-Article* as the Jutland dialects, the English, and all the other eldest Scando-Gothic. The Scandian Passive or Reflex verb and Post-Article are even more modern than the mighty Wiking outflow to England in the 9th and 10th centuries. They brought nothing such over with them, for a very good reason; they were not yet develop't in their local talks at home.

On the other hand, the moment we build on Y being A, — these O. N. runic inscriptions can be redd with reasonable satisfaction, if not always with absolute *certainly*, for there are of course difficulties and we know little of the manners and dialects of old. Even some of the things cut in the Scandinavian or *later* runes have not yet been fully mastered by the best rune-smiths, particularly where the words are not divided by stops. We find indeed in these oldest pieces no "Icelandic", or any other *one* governmental or Chancery "written language" over such immense countries under manifold local chiefs, at a period when no "Denmark" or "Norway" or "Sweden" or "England" existed. We see instead, here as in every other land all the world over, many nearly allied patois showing the same general characteristics amid endless minor differences, some being more laggard and conservative others more go-ahead and revolutionary in admitting phonetic and grammatical changes. In a word, holding fast A as the value of Y, the Jewels, Weapons, Tools, Grave-stones, bear words in the usual natural style, scribbles or names or local funeral formulas exactly as elsewhere, and just as we find them *continued* by the same populations on pieces carved with the *later* runes.

I add two interesting *indirect* proofs<sup>2</sup> that this Y can really only mean A. The first is, the well-known *fluctuation and interchange* in our dialects, old and new, between A and Æ. E. the monuments and manuscripts (even in the same line) and the folk-talks swarming therewith. Now also these *oldest* runic pieces (many centuries older than the fornest vellums) decidedly show a prevailing tendency to

<sup>1</sup> With regard to the multitude of local speech-forms — in such immense territories as all the Scandian and Anglo folk-kingdoms during the space of a 1000 years: — of a *much less* land-group during a *much less* period a German dared to say in 1652: "The contrast between the Olg. and the M. Goth. and Mhg. is immense. In the latter we find simple and transparent relationships in the roots: in the former are crowds of differences. In the one we have but one dialect, or rather no dialect at all but a general orthodox written language; in the Olg. we meet a mixture of dialects, as it would seem in perpetual interweavement. And in like manner with the forms of inflexion."<sup>1</sup> — While as to the abundance of *weak* forms in the oldest Northern local talks, which mostly afterwards swung over to *strong* forms, till they at last usually fell away, I will appeal only to *one* authority.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> And here call attention to another, of a *technical* character. In the *later* runic alphabet, besides the usual R (R), as in the *older* futhore, there is a *second* or so-called *final* -R, A (or, shortened, I). By the rule, the former R is used where that letter belongs to the root, the *second* form only in falling syllables, &c. Accordingly this A or I is the proper mark for the nom. ending in -R. But *in fact*, the latter R is *often*, even on very old stones, used for the *former*, sometimes R and A are used almost indiscriminately for each other. Now should the *Old-Northern* Y or A have really had the power of R, how has it come to pass that R and Y or A have *never* interchanged, so that — thro the whole O. N. R. period in all the Northern lands — we have *not one* example of a nom. ending in -R?

<sup>1</sup> K. A. Hahn. Althochd. Gram. v. A. Jaitteles. Prag 1866, p. V. — <sup>2</sup> J. Grimm. Von Verretzung männlicher durch weiblicher Namensformen. 4to. Berlin 1858.

prefer the  $\mathfrak{A}$ -sound, especially in Scandinavia<sup>1</sup>. Else we cannot explain the fact, that in them we have often  $\mathfrak{A}$  or  $\mathfrak{E}$  where we otherwise *certainly* expect  $\mathfrak{A}$ , and that some of the runings show no  $\mathfrak{A}$  at all! It is chiefly in the *dat. s. m.* that the  $\mathfrak{A}$  suffers little change. Remembering that the usual  $\mathfrak{A}$  ( $\Psi$ ) is also stoopt ( $\mathfrak{A}$ ), as the usual  $\mathfrak{E}$  ( $\mathfrak{M}$ ) is also stoopt ( $\mathfrak{W}$ ), let us take examples from each Scandinavian province:

	$\mathfrak{A}$ .	$\mathfrak{E}$ .	$\mathfrak{E}$ .	$\mathfrak{A}$ and $\mathfrak{E}$ together.
Tanum, Sweden . . . . .	1	5	—	5
Skärkind. „ . . . . .	2	6	—	6
Möjebro, „ . . . . .	2	9	—	9
Björketorp, „ . . . . .	7	24	4	28
Valsfjord, Norway . . . . .	2	5	1	6
Tune. „ . . . . .	5	15	4	19
Torvik, „ . . . . .	1	4	—	4
Orstad, „ . . . . .	2	6	—	6
Thorsbjerg, Denmark . . . . .	1	1	—	1
3 Vi Moss pieces, „ . . . . .	2	14	2	16
Gallehus, „ . . . . .	2	5	2	7
Kragehul, „ . . . . .	1	14	4	18
	28	108	17	125

Thus 28  $\mathfrak{A}$  to 108  $\mathfrak{E}$ , but to 125  $\mathfrak{A}$  and  $\mathfrak{E}$ . — There is not the same *large* predominance of  $\mathfrak{A}$  (and  $\mathfrak{E}$ ) in England, in whose provincial slightly-modified futhorc  $\Psi$  is  $\mathfrak{A}$ ,  $\Psi$   $\mathfrak{E}$ ,  $\gamma$   $\mathfrak{A}$ , and  $\mathfrak{F}$  is  $\mathfrak{A}$ ,  $\mathfrak{A}$ , (while the exceptional Brough stone, which has no  $\mathfrak{E}$ , retains the Scandian  $\mathfrak{A}$ ,  $\mathfrak{A}$ , for  $\mathfrak{A}$ ), the  $\mathfrak{F}$  remaining  $\mathfrak{A}$ .

	$\Psi$ .	$\Upsilon$ .	$\mathfrak{F}$ .	$\mathfrak{A}$ , $\mathfrak{A}$ .	$\mathfrak{A}$ .	$\mathfrak{E}$ .	$\mathfrak{E}$ .	$\mathfrak{A}$ and $\mathfrak{E}$ together.
Thames Knife . . . . .	1	1	1	—	3	1	1	2
Nethii's Casket . . . . .	—	1	—	—	1	3	1	4
Ruthwell . . . . .	—	6	24	—	30	24	21	45
Dover . . . . .	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—
3 Thornhill stones . . . . .	—	2	3	—	5	5	22	27
Brough . . . . .	—	—	—	15	15	—	8	8
Lancaster . . . . .	—	—	1	—	1	2	1	3
Northumbrian Brooch . . . . .	—	—	1	—	1	1	3	4
Bewcastle . . . . .	—	—	11	—	11	2	15	17
Falstone . . . . .	—	—	1	—	1	8	7	15
Hackness . . . . .	—	—	1	—	1	1	1	2
Franks Casket . . . . .	—	—	10	—	10	10	12	22
	1	11	53	15	80	57	92	149

The proportion is here only 80  $\mathfrak{A}$  to 57  $\mathfrak{E}$  (149  $\mathfrak{A}$  and  $\mathfrak{E}$  together). — Old-English *words* are sometimes cut in *Roman* letters, and we all know what the Roman  $\mathfrak{A}$  is; at all events we are sure that it was *not* -R. And we have also one bi-literal stone (Falstone) in England, the English words being carved in Runic staves on the right hand, in Roman on the left. The Runic ( $\mathfrak{F}$ )  $\mathfrak{A}$  is given on this stone by Roman  $\mathfrak{A}$ , and the Runic  $\mathfrak{F}$  by Roman  $\mathfrak{A}$ ; but the latter vowel only occurs in one word, SAULE, which is not yet found on any O. N. runic piece in Scandinavia.  $\mathfrak{A}$ Edred's Ring is inscribed with *mixed* Runic and Roman letters, among which last is the word  $\mathfrak{A}$ H. Now let us take advantage of all this. — Nothing is *less* doubtful than the common formula of ownership, *N. N. OWES* (*OWNS*, *possesses*, *enjoys*) *ME*, &c., where we have the 3 s. pr. of the verb *AGAN*, *to OWN*, in its many local sounds,  $\mathfrak{A}$ ,  $\mathfrak{A}$ H,  $\mathfrak{A}$ H,  $\mathfrak{A}$ H,  $\mathfrak{A}$ H, 12 runic examples. (The  $\mathfrak{A}$ H,  $\mathfrak{O}$ ,  $\mathfrak{O}$ H — as having no  $\mathfrak{A}$  — I do not use here). Let us now see:

<sup>1</sup> This floating dialectic  $\mathfrak{A}$  for  $\mathfrak{A}$  in Scandian codices, which the Old-Northern monuments show goes back to the very oldest times, is discussed by Rydqvist (Sv. Spr. Lagar 1, 386 and 4. 16, 158) and by Axel Kock (Språkhistoriska Undersökningar om Svensk Akcent, 8vo, Lund 1878, p. 142). They give different explanations, both of them as I think equally unsatisfactory.

## Scandinavia.

A, Y.	Orstad, Norway.
AH, YH.	Sigdal, "
AH, YH.	" "
AH, YH.	Thorsbjerg, Denmark.
AH, YH.	Vi Plane, "

## England.

AH, FH.	Northumbrian Brooch.
AH.	Æðred's Ring (this word in <i>Roman</i> staves).
	The Chatham Brooch (Vol. 2, p. 586) and the
	Sutton Shield (Vol. 1, p. 290) <i>all</i> in <i>Roman</i> letters, ÆLFGIUI
ME AH, Ælfgiui	<i>me owns</i> , and ÆDVWEN ME AG.

And let us apply another test, and see how the usual *later* Scandian A, Ȧ, ƿ, answers to the O. N. Y, Ȧ, in those very few words yet found on these monuments which happen to coincide, A interchanging with Æ, F, as usual. Let us compare: — *DÆGE*, Einang, Norway; *DYH*, Osthofen, England; *Mansname*, nom., now in Scandinavia *DAG*, in England *DAY*. — *FÆIHIDO*, Einang, Norway; *FÆEDE*, Bracteate 89; *FÆUEDO*, Ruthwell; *FÆÐO*, Flemlöse, 3 s. p.; *FÆIDU*, Brough, 3 pl. p. *FAWED*, made, cut, carved. — *FYÐUR*, Vordingborg, Denmark, *FÆR*, Ösby, Sweden, ac. s. *FATHER*. — *HÆILÆG*, Buzeu, Wallachia; *ȦILIC*, Brough, England, nom. s. f. *HOLY*. — *gœrœleibæn*, Tune, Norway, *LOAF-fellow*, Husband, dat. s. m.; *HILFORD*, Ruthwell, England, *LOAF-giver*, Lord, ac. s. m. — *HERIWOLÆFA*, Stentofte, Sweden, nom., *HÆRIWULFS*, Råfsal, Sweden, gen. *Mansname*. — *WYS*, Fonnås, Norway, 3 s. p., *WÆS*, Ruthwell, England, 1 s. p. *WAS*; *WÆS*, Tanum, Sweden, 2 s. imperat. *BE!* — *STEINÆ*, Tune, Norway, ac. s. m., *STÆIN*, Freerslev and Helnæs, Denmark, n. s. m. *STONE*.

Another argument is, taking this vocalic fluctuation in a wider range, and remembering how undoubtedly A, Æ, E, O, U, I, &c. pass into each other often in a way no "laws" can always explain, let us take *two* words, which accidentally and happily occur several times, and see what they show. The first little handful is the word for *RUNES*, nom. and ac. pl. fem. We have it 5 times ending in Y, Ȧ, = A, *RONOA*, *RUNA*, *RUNEA*, *RUNYA*, *RUNOA*. Let us, as commanded, write *RONOR*, *RUNR*, *RUNER*, *RUNYR*, *RUNOR*. Well and good. These words can pass, tho not strictly "Icelandic and Grammatical", as respectable specimens of Middle-Scandinavian. They all have the wisht for -R. But we have two other equally undeniable forms, *RUNO* on the Norse Einang stone (3rd century), and *RUNÆ* on the Norse Brooch (6th century). What are we to do with these? They are both in the ac. pl., governed by a verb meaning *made*. *wrote, cut*, *RUNO FÆIHIDO* and *WRÆET RUNÆ*. We see that the system breaks down. If we may say *RUNÆ* and *RUNO*, we may also say *RUNA*<sup>1</sup>. — Once indeed we really have *RNR* (carved short for *RUNAR*, to save space); but this is on the invaluable Danish *overgang* Freerslev stone<sup>2</sup>, which all admit to be late, not older than the 9th century, thus Middle-Danish in the Wiking period. And as to this ending in -A, -E, -O, let us honestly bow to the fact of this vocalic ac. pl. ending *surviving* on at least *two score* examples of *RUNA*, *RUNI*, *RUNO* in grave-formulas in the Scandian or *later* runes, — in other words *not yet* having gotten the now incoming ac. pl. mark -R.

The second tiny cluster is the Scandian word for *LOW*, grave-mound, barrow, in the sing. nom. (? m. or n.), of which I have spoken at length Vol. 2, p. 849 foll. It occurs as nom. thrice, always preceded by the name of the deceased in the genitive singular, and the inscriptions on the 3 grave-blocks are all perfect, no one letter is broken away. The Norse Stenstad stone (3rd century) reads: *IGINGON HÆLEA*, *IGING'S LOW*, with the drawl or vowel-richness, in *HÆLEA* of which we have so many examples on these monuments both in Scandinavia and England in the oldest days. Now *here also* we may say *HÆLER*, tho what the meaning of the whole then will be I cannot say. (Prof. S. Bugge writes that we must read *HALAR* — for, having no A, he makes Æ into A —, and that this is = *HALLAR*, nom. s. m., a slab, flattish stone, tho *this particular stone* is nearly *round*, and tho this word-form has never before or

<sup>1</sup> I believe that the Y = -R school now proposes to get out of this difficulty by taking *RUNO*, *RUNÆ* as accus. sing. fem., (all the other forms being ac. pl. f. as usual), they translating *RUNO*, *RUNÆ* by *runic inscription*. I only answer, that *this* use of the word as a *singular* has *never yet been found* on the *hundreds* of *later* stones bearing this formula, and that when it was wisht to express *this* meaning on the Scandinavian-*runic* blocks the term employed was *RUNA-RAP*, or, when both *staves* and *winds* were included, *RUNA-RITAR*.

<sup>2</sup> This costly Freerslev stone, which see, has *several* such shortenings of words by omission of vowels, for reasons of *space*. Such contractions are rare. Where there is *plenty* of *room*, it is unreasonable to say the words are contracted, if they otherwise can give a good meaning.

since been found in O. N. runic times for a grave-block). Well, let us do so. — But then we have on the Norse Bō stone (3rd century): *HNÆBMÆS* (or *HNÆBDOÆS*) *HLÆIWÆ*, *HNÆBMEW'S LOW*, for there surely can be no doubt that the word and the formula is the same; and on the Swedish Skärkind stone (3rd century) we read: *SCIDÆ LEUWÆ*, *SKITHS LOW*, also clearly the same word and formula. — Now here again if *-æ* and *-æ* are correct, surely the ending in *-a* is equally to be expected. — On the Norse Sigdal stone (5th century) we have again *LÆWE* (or possibly *LÆIWÆI*) in *the ac. s.* for *LOW*.

And generally, with regard to vowel-fluctuations, overgang-forms, dialectic and development differences side by side in the same land and often on the same monument or in the same manuscript, let us take a *very rapid* glance at such things. For instance the Infin. ending, *now*, (where not otherwise or *fallen away altogether* in local dialects), *-a* in the book-tung of Sweden and Iceland, *-e* in that of Denmark-Norway, in only 13 lines of the oldest Scandian laws, omitting those of Norway-Iceland, which hold fast *-a*. The dates are, about: West-Gotland, Elder, 1290, p. 3; Younger, 1350, p. 81; Upland, 1300, p. 11; Södermanland, 1330, p. 25; Skoné (and Runic, which agrees), 1325, p. 3; Björkö, 1345, p. 113; Gotland (26 half-lines), 1350, p. 7; Helsingland, 1350, p. 5; East-Gotland, 1350, p. 3; Westmanland, 1350, p. 4; Småland, 1350—1400, p. 103. Of course the page referred to is that in the last and best editions, by Prof. Schlyter.

	A.	Æ.	E.	O.
West-Gotland, A. . . . .	2	13	1	
" " B. . . . .	21	1		
Upland . . . . .	1	13		
Södermanland . . . . .	3	10		
Skåne . . . . .	—	6	1	
Björkö . . . . .	2	5		
Gotland . . . . .	9			
Helsingland . . . . .	2	10	—	1
East-Gotland . . . . .	13			
Westmanland . . . . .	10			
Småland . . . . .	13	4	(Thus 76 A, 62 Æ, 2 E and 1 O.)	

The Danish nearly *everywhere* *-æ*. But there is a particular formula in some of these Early Laws, and in Norse from 1250—1350, Icelandic (Grágás), 1250 and 1260, and Danish (Jutland, 1290), — the solemn words of Baptism.

West-Gotl., A. i namn fapurs oc suner oc andæs helagha.

(This codex has also fapir, n. s., fæþur. ac. s.)

" " B. i nampn fathurs oc sons ok thæs hælgha anda.

Södermanland. i namn fapurs oc sons oc þes helghi anda.

Småland. j namn fathurs oc suns oc thes hælghæ andæ.

Norse. j nafne (namfne, nafni) fadur (føðor) oc sunar oc anda hælags (andans hælgha).

Grágás. l nafne (nafni) fauðor (føður) oc sonar oc anda heilags.

Jutland. i fathærs nafnæ (nafn) oc suns oc hin hælghæ (hælegh) andæ (and).

We will add the oldest English, from the Gospels, S: Engl. A, about 1000, S. E. B, ab. 1170; North-Engl. C, ab. 950, N. E. D, ab. 1000.

South-Engl., A. on naman fæder and suna and þæs halgan gastes.

" " B. on naman fæder (fader) and sune (suna) and þas halgen gastes.

North-Engl., C. in noma fadores and sunu and halgæs gastes.

" " D. in noman fæder and sunu and þæs halgan gastes.

The only other *very* old copy is the Frankic, about 850.

in namen fater inti sunes inti thes heilagen geistes.

Now we see here that these differences do *not* mark "nationality", they are too intermingled. They are merely the fluctuation of weak and strong forms, the greater or less falling away of the nasal, and a word or two assuming a particular meaning in a particular province at a particular epoch — which is always happening everywhere. Thus *GAST* has not yet been found in Scandinavia in this sense, and in England *OND*, *AND*, is little known and only provincial.



But the most striking words here are FATHER and SON. Let us look at them in gen. and ac. s.

Sanscrit g. s. pitur, ac. pitaram; g. s. sunos, ac. sunum.

M. Goth. „ (? fadrs, „ ? fadar); „ sunaus, „ sunu.

Icelandic „ fōður, „ fōður; „ sonar, „ son.

Cædmon (A. D. 680) in his North-English First Song has gen. s. fadur, but the South-E. copies give fæder; while the *oldest* English has otherwise g. s. fadores, fædores, faderes, fadres, fæder, ac. s. fæder, fader; g. s. sunas, sunes, sunu, suna, sunē, and in ac. s. suna, sunæ, sunē, sunu, sono. — The O. Fris. has g. s. fader, federes, feders, feiders, faders, ac. feder. And in the speech-groups called High-German and Saxon the same diversity prevails. Thus Graff gives g. s. fater, fatir, fateres, ac. fater, fatir, fateran; g. s. sunes, sunis, ac. sunu, suno; and M. Heyne for the oldest Saxon g. s. fadera, ac. fadaer, while Schiller and Lübken in their Lexicon give both VADER and VADERS as gen. from *the same* document, dated 1303. — In the later runes we have simply endless fluctuations in the different cases. As gen. s. fADUR, fODUR, and 2 examples of fADURS; as ac. s. 35 different shapes, among them the valuable fADURA, fADURI, fADURÖ, fADURA, distant echoes of a source whence came the Sanscrit pitaram.

I have mentioned the O. E. Gospels. These 4 nearly coeval monuments, translations of one original but in 4 independent local dialects in one land, are a linguistic treasure no other Scando-Gothic kingdom can show. But the mine has never been worked. It awaits more than one "digger". I will only give, as specimens, a couple of the nuggets, for they in a hundred ways explain and defend my O. N. Runic A. At the same time I may remark that in A the infin. ends in -AN, in B in -AN and -EN, in C commonly in -A, otherwise -E, now and then with an -N, D usually -AN, otherwise -A, -Æ or -E.

	South-E. A.	South-E. B.	North-E. C.	North-E. D.
A son, n. s.	sunu, suna	sunu, suna, sune	sunu, suna	sunu, suno, suna, sune
g.	sunu, sune, suna	sune, suna, sunas, sunes	sune, sunu, sunes	sune, suna, sunu
d.	suna	sune	sunu, sune	sunu, suno, sunæ
ac.	sunu, sune	sune, sunæ, sunu, suna	sunu, sona	sono, sunu, suno
ac. pl.	suna	sunes	sunu, suna, sunu	sunu, sunes
Brother, g. s.	broðor, broður	broðer, broðor	broðres	broþer
ac. pl.	gebroðru, gebroðra	gebroðren, gebroðran, &c. gebroðre, &c.	broðera, broðer, broðra, broðero, &c.	gebroðer, broeþre, broðra, broþer, &c.
Name, ac. s.	naman	name	noma	noma
Twain, two.	twegen	twegen	tuoege	twegen
Dove, ac. s.	culfran	culfran	culfre	(columba)
Hands, d. pl.	on handum	on hande	in hondum	hondum
Kingdoms, ac. pl.	ricu	riche, rice	ricas, ricu	rice
Devil, n. s.	sceocca	succa	widerworde	wiþerwearde
Pinnacle, d. s.	heahnesse	heahnysse	horn-sceade	heh-storre
Down, adv.	nyþer	nider	ufa hidune	niper
Betrayed.	belæwed	belæwed	gesáld	afongen
Shadow, d. s.	scade	scede	scuia	scade vel scua
Saw, 3 s. p.	geseh	geseah	gesæh	sæe, gesæh, gesægh
Shoes, ac. pl.	gescy	gescy	gesceoe	scoas
Hand, d. s.	handa	hande	hond	honda
Us two, d.	unc	unc	(ús, usig)	unc
Fan, n. s.	fann	fann	(ventilabrum)	windiu-scoful
Threshing-floor, ac. s.	þyrscel-flore	þyrscel-flore	bere-tun	bære-flor
Grasshoppers, n. pl.	gærstapan	gærstapen	(locustæ)	græshoppa
Adders, g. pl.	næddrena	næddrena	ætterna	nedrana
Prophet, ac. s.	witegan	witegan, witega	witgo, witga, witge	witgu
Star, n. s.	se steorra	se steorre	stearra, gen. stearres	þe steorra
ac.	steorran	steorran, steorre	sterra, stearra	steorran, steorra
Child, ac.	cild	chylð	cneht	cneht
Eyes, n. ac. pl.	eagena, eagan	eagan, eagen	egna, egan	ego
Tide, time.	tid, fem.	fem.	masc. fem.	fem. neut.

Add, n. and ac. pl. n. *Seeds*, SEDA; *Works*, WERCA; *Words*, WORDA; *Lands*, LONDO (as well as LOND and LAND and LECERAS); gen. pl. *Trees*, TREUNA; *Wives*, WIFEN; ac. s. f. and n. *Meed*, MEDEN and MEDE, MEARDA, MEARDE, MEARD, Mæso-Gothic MIZDON; d. s. f. *Wife's mother*, SWEGRAN, M. G. SWAIBRON; *Hand*, ac. s. f. HANDA, HANDÆ, Mæso-Gothic HANDU; and hundreds of other such things.

One valuable feature in these *Northern Gospels* is the wonderful number of 1 s. pres. in -UM, -OM and (the -M nasalized) -O, &c., as compared with the very few in the S. Engl. moles, — *one* only being left in modern English. — I A-M. AM — while in Scandinavia *not* one is left, now that EC EM has died out in Iceland, where it lived long side by side with EC EB, which last has killed it. The only example of this 1 s. pr. in O. N. runes is the IH BIM (I BE, = I AM) of the Norse Fonnäs Brooch, left in German in ICH BIN, in Fris. BIN, and prov. Fris. SAN, Saxon BIN and SIN. As a proof, in this direction as in others, how little *theory* is able a priori to fix the course of *facts*, I will mention that in the 2nd vol. of Th. Wright's valuable "Vocabularies" is, Vol. 2, p. 98—124, a glost list from the 8th century, taken from No. 144 in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and apparently written in Canterbury. In this Latin-English Gloss, — all by the same man with the same pen and ink on the same parchment, we have 1 example of verbs in the 1 s. pr. indic. in the oldest ending -UM, 7 in -U, 9 in -O, 1 in -A, and 2 in -E. If now only a leaf containing the -UM or the -E were left, what would a critic say as to the speech-forms and age of this codex? — In Sweden, where the IAK ÆM is extinct, some districts still keep up the olden 2 s. in two forms, EST (our ART and the Icel. ERT) and ES (as in Sanscr. ASI and M. Goth. and still English IS), and the 1 plur. ERUM, E'M, the popular Æ, E, EB, the ARO of the book-dialect, ARE in England.

No division of words into time-periods is quite satisfactory. For convenience, I have group't those here from the earliest to A. D. 400, from 401 to 800, and from 801 downwards. But I have also given *the whole* results from the beginning to 800, adding tabulated endings where needful. England, being a colony, of course comes in *after* 400. And the Bracteates &c. are thrown together in the 401—800 epoch, tho some belong to England, either struck there or by artists using the O. English futhorc. — I will now hazard a few very short and cursory remarks, merely to open the subject.

NOUNS to 400. Nom. s. masc. ending in -S, of which I have spoken above, 3 examples (-AS, -ES, -INGS); in -A and -ÆA, 4 ex.; in -O and -U, 5; in -E and -I, 3, besides -INGE, -INGI, -ONG, -UNG. Nom. s. fem. in -ÆA and -IA, 2 ex., besides -INGOA and -INGE. — Nom. s. neut. in -ÆA, 1; in -Æ, 2. — Gen. s. m. in -ES and -IS, 2, but also 3 in *weak* terminations, -Æ, -INGON and -INGEN. — Gen. s. f. in -U, 1. — Dat. s. m. in -A, -ÆA and -IA, 11 examples; in -E, 1; in -EN, 1. — Dat. s. n. in -I, 1. — Ac. s. m. in -Æ, 4. — Ac. s. n. in -Æ, 1. — Nom. pl. m. in -ES, 1. — Gen. pl. n. in -Æ, 1. — Ac. pl. f. in -O, 1.

Now these *facts* speak for themselves. They *cannot* be all "misredd" by myself or "miscut" by the writers. And the Tables from 401 to 800 show *the same general features*. And in this latter period, where *English* pieces come in, the English endings are substantially *the same* as those in the Scandian mother-country.

ADJECTIVES, 1 to 800. The Gotho-Scandian forms already agree — from the slurring of the -N — with the O. North-English, which here as elsewhere is the key to the rapid leveling Scandian development, as compared with the English Midland and especially with the Southern English.

PRONOUNS, 1—800. Several costly archaic forms, the O. Scandian and the O. Engl. throwing light on each other.

VERBS, 1—800. I have spoken of the 1 s. pr. indic. — Exceptionally interesting here is the 3 s. pres., which unhappily but naturally occurs so very seldom in the oldest runics. The usual Scando-Gothic ending is, as we all weet, -D (-TH, -T, -D, &c.), which goes back to the earliest known Aryan times. In modern English it is still formally -TH, but actually and conversationally and commonly and in the book-language this -TH is lispt into -S. More than 1000 years ago this -S had become the usual N. E. mark of the 3 s. pr., which it still is, but in this dialect it had *then as now* (in North-English) mostly crept-in also as the mark of the *plural* present. In Shakespear's day it was by a very narrow chance that this North-country -S in s. and pl. did not gain admittance into the accepted book-dialect. In olden and modern Scandinavian the 3 s. pr. ends in -R, not -TH. How is this?

Again the O. N. E. helps us. We see that as in N. England the -TH was lispt into -s, so in Scandinavia with its quickly growing distaste for -s it was further softened into -r. In modern Danish this -r (like the -s in N. English) has even become the common form also in the *plural*, and this revolution is silently spreading into Sweden and elsewhere. In fact we have examples of it as old as the *Middle Age* both in Iceland and Sweden. Such things *begin* much earlier than we sometimes suspect.

I have said that we have no *very* old Scandian 3 s. pr., none in the Old-Northern runes. But there is *one* comparative exception, tho not very old, for I cannot give it a higher date than the 9th century. But as bearing one of the O. N. runes it is *overgang* and *conservative*. The famous Picts house at Maeshowe, in the Orkneys, was for some 3 year-hundreds the resort of Scandinavian wiking, and its slab-built walls are covered with their scribbles, many of them quite short in the regular John Bull style, merely *the name*, or *N. N. cut this*, *N. N. carved these runes*. others a little longer and ending *N. N. wrote this*, &c. One of the oldest of these ristings reads:

DORNR SERD. HÆLHI RÆISTO.

Both these short sentences seem risted by the same man, who in the first has used the later 4 and in the latter the older 2 for o, perhaps merely to show that he was acquainted with both. But whether all inscribed by one person or no, the words are so simple that probably few will dispute the translation:

a-THORN SORETH. HÆLHI RISTED (*cut this*).

Should we take the first words *figuratively*, as was common in the warlike wiking age, of course the meaning will be: a-way-THORN (= JAVELIN or DART or SPEAR) WOUNDETH. But however this may be, the whole is most orthodox middle-Scandinavian. We have the familiar nom. R-mark of that time, and the everyday Scandian mausname HÆLGE, and the olden 3 s. p. -o, that verbal ending so common in the earliest days. — But then we have the 3 s. pr. SERD, ending not in -R as we had expected, nor even in -s, but in the still former -D, -TH. Now what is this -D? Is it English, pickt up in Northumbria, or is it a *first* example of the *oldest Scandinavian 3 s. pr.*, brought over from some "slow" backwood dialect far away in the Scandian home? Northumbrian, however, in the 9th and 10th century had already long ago generally adopted the sibilant -s; while the -R in DORNR and the name HÆLHI are not Northumbrianisms. The *likelihood* is therefore nearly a *certainty*, that the D in SERD is oldest Scandinavian. If so, it is excessively costly. Should the reader say no, no harm is done.

I have spoken of the 3 s. p. in -o, &c. But as to the 3 *plural* past. We have *one* most ancient Scandian instance of this 3 pl. p. ending in -UN, the DELIDUN of the Norwegian Tune block (3rd century). The other oldest O. N. runic examples are N. English (date 680), and are in -UN, -ON and -U, the -N early tending to fall away in N. England, which it soon did entirely in all the N. English and Scandinavian vernaculars. Now a whole mountain has been made out of this molehill, this precious but unfortunate DELIDUN. Tho this final -N is *in common* to *all* the known antique Scando-Gothic tungs, and lived-on in South-England ("Book-language" England) to the 14th and 15th centuries, and is *at this moment* the fixt form in the usual Frisic and Dutch and Saxon and German — an immense slice of Scando-Gothic Europe — we are called upon to believe by my learned opponents that this end-nasal *could not* possibly, *even once*, be kept up *locally* in a venerable dialect like that inscribed on the fine Tune monolith, which all its critics agree cannot be much *later* than the *3rd year-hundred* after Christ!

But let us turn the argument round. In England by the 14th century the -N in this 3 pl. p. was usually gone, only the -E (in the -EN) being left. About the same time Scandian writings had also come to the same stage, -Æ, -A, -E, the Swedish still mostly keeping its older -o, -u. By the 15th century the -E in England has almost perisht, and has never been heard or seen since in English. This final slur was reacht in Scandinavia a couple of centuries later, and at this moment all the living local Scandian talks (Icelandic excepted, which has always held fast its -u), as well as the Dansk-Norsk book-language, have entirely dropt the vowel. The Swedish book-tung still insists on its useful and expressive -o in strong verbs, but numbers of careless and uneducated Swedes have given it up. Thus the Scandinavians and English have practically come to the same result in the same way, only the Scandians made great haste as to the -N, while they were more backward and slow in casting off the remaining vowel. — What, then, should we say, supposing that England had no really old parchments to help us, if, on some person modestly and quietly showing that he had found this 3 pl. p. in -N on an antique runic piece in England, he was met by the "infallible" protest — that such an instance was "absurdly impossible"?



PREPOSITIONS and ADVERBS, 1—800. Call for no remark. Again we see how the -N is usually nasalized (I for IN, o for ON) in N. England and Scandia, tho instances occur in much *later* Scandian remains of both IN and ON, while in Midland and Book-English it continues to this day.

As far as I can see, there is only one conclusion from the whole. With the facts staring us in the face, we must admit that *manifold* dialects were in continual growth and change thro the Northern lands, tho in *the oldest* time all agreed in their bolder features. But local developments and fluctuations of population and settlement went on unceasingly (as they do still) both on the Scandian main and in the English colony; disparities multiplied, and in time the great Scandian and Anglic branches show differences wide indeed. The Scandian creation of its Post-article and its Passive was itself a revolution, equaled only by the large Romance elements which became so much more interwoven with the English than with the Scandinavian. — But in Scandinavia itself, as in England, how greatly do not the "languages" and "dialects" differ! At this moment the *written* languages of Scandinavia, however near, cannot be generally redd out of the country, and *translations* from Danish-Norwegian to Swedish and the reverse go on *daily*. The *spoken* dialects are very many in each Scandian land, and folk in the one district can often not understand the natives of another, — just as a Londoner is helpless face to face with a poor Cumberland "statesman", books in the broad North-English almost unreadable by a common Englishman. But the Scandian talks in general (specially the Danish) greatly liken the English (especially the North-English), and a farm-laborer (from Jutland for instance) can after a couple of days be hob and nob with the peasantry in Northern England and Southern Scotland — the olden North-English march. — Now in the Old-Northern Runic age all these folkships could get on well together, while they were also very closely allied in speech and blood with the Frisic and Saxon clans (some of which took part in the settlement of England), the Old-High-German showing greater differences<sup>1</sup>. Only *one* of all these Scando-Gothic offshoots has *real* organic variations of weight, pointing to peculiar development by intermixture &c. — the Mæso-Gothic. This talk stands considerably apart from the rest — has become a kind of Gothic "Icelandic" — from its excessive sibilation, its peculiar or archaic forms, and its Middle Verb, and it probably differed in some of these things from those *other* Gothic clans whose talks we have LOST and of which we consequently know nothing. But even as we have it — a regulated schooled Chancery book-dialect — Mæso-Gothic, like every other tung, has its curious abnormities and exceptions and absurd contradictions within itself. — and is no more worthy of being made a tyrant-fetish than Icelandic or Sanscrit.

I need not add that the words in these lists which may wear the same general outward shape may actually mask several independent roots, — that the *meanings* of *some* words we shall perhaps never know, — that the same *ending* may be borne by words of *different* genders, — that the *date* of these runic pieces has only been fixt approximately, and so on. We know very little of all such things as yet. How should we? Few and far between are the lights which glimmer over the clan-lands of our forefathers 1000 years before and after Christ. We may learn a little more in time, if we work hard and theorise less. But whatever we can now master as to this Old-Northern language, we have learned FROM THE MONUMENTS.<sup>2</sup> These therefore we must respect at all hazards, whatever *systems* may have to give way, and even tho the upshot should be that much of our boasted "Modern Philology" — with its "iron laws" and "straight lines" and "regular" police-ruled developments — is only a *House built upon the Sand!*

<sup>1</sup> This is now acknowledged by Prof. S. Bugge (in his new work on the Northern Mythology, I, p. 28): "Dets nordiske Særpræg er paa dette Trin saaledet udfoldet, at man med Grund kan betegne Sproget som kun en germansk Dialekt." Its [the Scandinavian tung's] Northern characteristics are in this stage [down to the end of the 8th century] so little developed, that we may well call the language a Teutonic [= Scando-Gothic] dialect.

<sup>2</sup> Thus here. They show us 3 examples of -R as sing. nominative-mark older than the assumed date 801 after Christ. But ALL these 3 (the two Danish, RUNR, Frederiksberg, RHULR, Helms; and RHOELTR, Vatn, Norway) date from the last half of the 8th century, somewhere about 800. The other, yet older, nominatives have ALL either no consonantal mark or that consonant is -s.



## NOUNS AND NAMES. To A. D. 400.

## SWEDEN.

- Masc. Nom.* Ænæhæ; Fino; Hæislæ; Hæi-tinæ; Hæring (but *Hæringæ* if we divide *Hæringæ gileugæ*); Hæuc; Siaæluh. — *Gen.* Scipæ; Dræwingæn. — *Dat.* Fræwærædæa; Oþua.  
*Fem. Nom.* Ginia. Sæligæstia.  
*Neut. Nom.* Leuwæ. — *Acc.* Leugæ.

## NORWAY.

- Masc. Nom.* Ælu; Dægæ; Godægæs; Hao; Ingost; Læmæ (? Lædæ); Lia; Wiwiln. —  
*Gen.* Hnæbmæs; Igingon (? fem.). — *Dat.* Apæa; gænaælæibæn; Hægustældia;  
 Mirilæa; Sæg(a); Dewæa; Wæringæa; Woduride<sup>2</sup>. — *Acc.* Stæinæ. — *Nom. pl.*  
 Ærbingæs.  
*Fem. Nom.* Ærbingæ; Dohtr; Eciwæa; Noþuingoa. — *Ac. pl.* Runo.  
*Neut. Nom.* Hælæa; Hlæiwæ.

## DENMARK.

- Masc. Nom.* Ædægæs(li); Æisg; Echlew; Erilæa; Gislong; Hæringæ; Hæriso; Hleung;  
 Lææsæuwingæ; Lepro (? Lupro); Lææ; Tæling; Tipas; Tunba; De; Wili;  
 Wiis(a). — *Gen.* Æs-ugis. — *Dat.* Holtingæa; Owlþu-þewæa; Wiyu-bigi(? æ). —  
*Acc.* Hægælæ; Hornæ; (or also ac. pl. neut.) Smuhæ.  
*Fem. Nom.* Niwæng-mæria. — *Gen.* Riigu.  
*Neut.* *Ac. pl.* Hornæ; (or also ac. s. m.). — *Gen. pl.* Ælæ; Læ-orb(æ).

## THE GOTHIC MARCH.

- Masc. Nom.* Ælu; Ræningæ; Tilæringa. — *Gen. pl.* Gutæ.  
*Neut.* *Dat.* Wi.

## NOMINAL ENDINGS.

## SWEDEN.

- Masc. Nom.* -æ<sup>3</sup>; -ing(? æ); -o; -<sup>2</sup>. — *Gen.* -æ; -ingæn. — *Dat.* -a; -æa.  
*Fem. Nom.* -ia<sup>1</sup>.  
*Neut. Nom.* -æ. — *Acc.* -æ.

## NORWAY.

- Masc. Nom.* -a; -æ<sup>2</sup>; -æs; -o; -u; -<sup>2</sup>. — *Gen.* -æs; -ingon. — *Dat.* -a (?); -æa<sup>4</sup>; -æn; -e<sup>2</sup>; -ia. —  
*Acc.* -æ. — *Nom. pl.* -æs.  
*Fem. Nom.* -æa; -ingæ; -ingoa; -. — *Ac. pl.* -o.  
*Neut. Nom.* -æ; -æa.

## DENMARK

- Masc. Nom.* -a (?<sup>2</sup>); -æ<sup>1</sup> (?<sup>2</sup>); -æa; -as; -e; -i (?<sup>2</sup>); -ing; -ingæ<sup>3</sup>; -o<sup>2</sup>; -ong; -ung; -<sup>2</sup>. — *Gen.* -is.  
 — *Dat.* -æa<sup>2</sup>. — *Acc.* -æ<sup>3</sup>.  
*Fem. Nom.* -ia. — *Gen.* -u.  
*Neut.* *Ac. pl.* -æ (?) — *Gen. pl.* -æ.

## THE GOTHIC MARCH.

- Masc. Nom.* -æ; -ings; -u. — *Gen. pl.* -æ.  
*Neut.* *Dat.* -i.

## OLD-NORTHERN.

- Masc. Nom.* -a (?<sup>3</sup>); -æ<sup>3</sup>; -æa; -æs; -as; -e; -i (?<sup>2</sup>); -ing<sup>2</sup>; -ingæ<sup>2</sup>; -ings; -o<sup>4</sup>; -ong; -u; -ung; -<sup>6</sup>. —  
*Gen.* -æ; -æs; -ingæn; -ingon; -is. — *Dat.* -a (?<sup>2</sup>); -æa<sup>7</sup>; -æn; -e; -ia. — *Acc.* -æ<sup>4</sup>. —  
*Nom. pl.* -æs. — *Gen. pl.* -æ.  
*Fem. Nom.* -æa; -ia<sup>3</sup>; -ingæ; -ingoa. — *Gen.* -u. — *Ac. pl.* -o.  
*Neut. Nom.* -æ<sup>2</sup>; -æa. — *Dat.* -i. — *Acc.* -æ. — *Gen. pl.* -æ.

## ADJECTIVES &amp; PARTICIPLES. To A. D. 400.

## NORWAY.

*Dat. s. m.* WITÆI (defin.).

## DENMARK.

*Dat. s. m.* ÆGÆSTIA (sup. def.). UGÆ (defin.).

## THE GOTHIC MARCH.

*Nom. s. f.* HÆILEG. — *Dat. s. n.* NIO (defin.).

## OLD-NORTHERN.

*Nom. s. f.* -. — *Dat. s. m. def.* -æ; -æi. — *Dat. s. m. sup. def.* -æstia. — *Dat. s. n. def.* -o.

## PRONOUNS. To A. D. 400.

## NORWAY.

*Nom. pl. neut.* Ia.

## DENMARK.

*Nom. s.* Ec.

## VERBS. To A. D. 400.

## SWEDEN.

2 *s. imperat.* Wæs! — 3 *s. pr. subj.* Ægi.

## NORWAY.

3 *s. p.* Fæihido; Woræhto. — 3 *pl. p.* Dælidun. — *Inf.* (Set)a.

## DENMARK.

1 *s. pr.* Hæite. — 3 *s. pr.* Ah²; O. — 3 *s. p.* Tæwido. — 2 *s. imperat.* Gæ²; He. — ? *Inf.* Niyæ.

## OLD-NORTHERN.

1 *s. pr.* -e. — 3 *s. pr.* -. — 3 *s. p.* -o³. — 3 *pl. p.* -un. — 2 *s. imperat.* -³. — *Inf.* -a; æ (?).

## PREPOSITIONS. To A. D. 400.

## NORWAY.

Æfter.

## DENMARK.

Gægin.

## ADVERBS. To A. D. 400.

## SWEDEN.

A; Ai; Hær.

## NOUNS AND NAMES. From 401 to 800.

## SWEDEN.

*Masc. Nom.* Æbæ²; Ælu; Erilæa; Gæfing; Hæidar-runo; Hæriwolæfa; Hæpuwolæfa; Hauþuðkü; lit; Mirilæ; Mwsyouingi; Sæaþ; Dorlæf; Uþær; Uanæbæræh. — *Gen.* Høges. — *Dat.* ? Æawelæ; Bæruta (? fem.); Hyþuwulæfa; Hyriwulæfæ; Læa; Syøænæa. — *Acc.* Fælæ; Ihæ; Ruma; Stænæ. — *Gen. pl.* Hælhæda; Hæsheddæ.  
*Fem. Nom.* Æheker; Hyeruwulæfa; Olþa. — *Dat.* Ælu; Unboæu. — *Acc.* Æræ²; Mucnu; Ro; Ûkisi. — *Nom. pl.* Ginæ-runæa; Runoa. — *Acc. pl.* Gino-ronoa; Runoa; Runya.  
*Neut. Nom.* Æanb. — *Dat.* Tuma. — *Nom. pl.* Hidear-rungno.

## NORWAY.

- Masc. Nom.* Aceþæn; Ælwa; Asping; Boso; Laing; Mirilæ; Rhœlætr; ? Sæmæng; Særælū; Þurmup; Unno; Up; ? Wættæt. — *Gen. Mænis.* — *Dat.* Hiligæa; Iewæsuna; Iddæn; Iupingæa; Wærna. — *Gen. pl.* Dæþyonæ; Hældæo.
- Fem. Nom.* Dælia. — *Gen.* Goþu; (O)þe(u). — *Acc.* Cægo; Ræw, Roæw, Roæ. — *Acc. pl.* Runæ.
- Neut. Nom.* Iod; Lau. — *Acc.* Læewe.

## DENMARK.

- Masc. Nom.* Æni; Æuair; Nura-kupi; Rhuulfr; Ruulfasts; Stæin; Trübu; Tu; Diwbyo-fuþr. — *Gen.* Hurnburæ; Suþiks. — *Dat.* ? Isingþæa. — *Acc.* Æþisl; Bruþur-sunn; Fapur; Kuþumut; Stain.
- Fem. Nom.* Upæict. — *Acc.* Drui.

## ENGLAND.

- Masc. Nom.* Ægili; Ælcfrith; Æleubwini; Alla; Alwin; Ædred; Baeda; Beagnop; Cadmon; Krist<sup>2</sup>; Cuhl; Cününg; Kung; Dægmond; Dah; Dom; Eadbierht; Eadred; Eanred; Els; Eomær; Eomaer; Epelberht; Fisc-flodu; Gisl; Gyosheard; God<sup>2</sup>; Gonrat; Gudrid; Hwæted; Ikkalacge; Isah; Lonæwore; Oeki; Olwfwolþu; Osiol; Oscil; Ræhæbul; Reumwalus; Romwalus; Wodæn; Wop; Wopgar; Wulfhere. — *Gen.* Alhs; Küniges; Ecgrifu; Heafanæs; Hronæs. — *Dat.* Æli; Breodera; Buciaehom; Dering(æ); Ecbi; Eomæ; Erha; Epelwini; Hroethberhtæ; Roetberhtæ; . . . rhtæ; Mungpælyo; Oþlæ; Raira; Sighyor; (tr)umbereht. — *Acc.* Alcfriþu; Berchtvini; Cünibalþ; Künig; Cünige; Cupbære(hting); Dæp-stan; Fergenberig; Galga; Greut; Hlafard; Houh; Laiciam; Onswini; Osiung; Sigi. — *Nom. pl.* gibroþæra; Men. — *Gen. pl.* Myrcna. — *Dat. pl.* Strelum. — *Ac. pl.* Men.
- Fem. Nom.* Clæo; Küneswipa; Künuburug; Hildi(g)uþ; Hildiþrþ; Igilsuþ; Wülf. — *Gen.* Cearungia; Cimokoms; Coinu; Gæliea; Ulyo. — *Dat.* Berhtsuiþe; Birlinio; Eateyonne; Rodi; Romæcæstri; Sowhula; Saule<sup>2</sup>; Winiwonæyo. — *Acc.* Aclihck. — *Dat. pl.* Sorgum.
- Neut. Nom.* *Gen.* Dæbs; Licæs; Rices. — *Dat.* Beornæ; Bergi; Blodæ; Gear. — *Acc.* Becun<sup>4</sup>; Brok; Cuombil-bio; Lic-bæcun; Sig-becn. — *Dat. pl.* Heafdum. — *Ac. pl.* Ban.

## THE GOTHIC MARCH.

- Masc. Nom.* Ælu.

## BRACTEATES, &amp;c. A. D. 401—800.

- Masc. Nom.* Alu<sup>4</sup>; Æniwulu; Ænwl; Ænoænæ; Auto; Beartigo; Cornilio; Cun(ung); Ku(nung); Dæituhæ; Ecmu; Eltil<sup>7</sup>; Elwu; Fæwæ; Foslæu; Fuwu; Gææcallu; Gal; Glæ; Hama; Hhlæædu-uigæ<sup>2</sup>; Huthu; Ichia; Inki; Ito; Laoku; Lul; Napæ; Næþuyæng; Niuwilæ; Otæ<sup>2</sup>; Oti; Owæ-alut; Sæbær; Sihmywnt; Sunedromdh; Tææ; Tallwe; Tænulu; Tæwon; Til; Tisæeg; Tvto; Twæd; Dasco (or Dusco); Dur; Wæigæ; Uyæyliil; Uodn. — *Gen.* Tenaes; Tenes. — *Dat.* Æælæucæa; Ælæwinæ<sup>2</sup>; Ælewin; Alte-uilææ<sup>2</sup>; Æohææ; Ap; Aulilyoæ; Eæþlæua; Houæa; Læucæa; Læwulouæa; Tiwitæ. — *Acc.* Uelyæ. — *Gen. pl.* Heldæa.
- Fem. Nom.* *Voc.* Icæa, Yæa, Ycæa<sup>2</sup>, Ykcæa, Yia, Ygæa, Ugha; Sælæw, Sælu. — *Dat.* Aivomia; Æþodu; Auasa; Cunimudiu; Elwæo; Glyoæu-giauyou; Hærængu; Liliaæiwu. — *Ac. pl.* Hæiticæ; Runoa.
- Neut. Nom.* *Acc.* Cia.

## NOMINAL ENDINGS.

## SWEDEN.

- Masc.* -a<sup>2</sup>; -æ<sup>2</sup>; -æa; -ing; -ingi; -o; -u; -ü; -<sup>3</sup>. — *Gen.* -es. — *Dat.* -a<sup>2</sup>; -æ<sup>2</sup>; -æa. — *Acc.* -a; -æ<sup>2</sup>; -ææ. — *Gen. pl.* -a; -uæ.
- Fem.* -a; -ia. — *Dat.* -æu; -u. — *Acc.* -æ<sup>2</sup>; -i; -o; -u. — *Nom. pl.* -æa; -oa. — *Ac. pl.* -ya; -öa<sup>2</sup>.
- Neut.* -. — *Dat.* -a. — *Nom. pl.* -o.

## NORWAY.

- Masc.* -a; -æ; -æng; -ing; -o; -r; -u; -<sup>4</sup>. — *Gen.* -is. — *Dat.* -a<sup>2</sup>; -æa; -æn; -ingæa; -. — *Gen. pl.* -æo; -yonaæ.  
*Fem.* -ia. — *Gen.* -u<sup>2</sup>. — *Acc.* -aæ; -æe; -o; -. — *Ac. pl.* -æ.  
*Neut.* -<sup>2</sup>. — *Acc.* -e.

## DENMARK.

- Masc.* -i<sup>2</sup>; -r<sup>2</sup>; -s; -<sup>2</sup>. — *Gen.* -æ; -inks. — *Dat.* -æa? — *Acc.* -u; -<sup>4</sup>.  
*Fem.* -. — *Acc.* -i.

## BRACTEATES.

- Masc.* -a; æ<sup>14</sup>; -e; -i; -o<sup>4</sup>; -on; -u<sup>12</sup>; -<sup>12</sup>. — *Gen.* -aes; -es. — *Dat.* -a; -æ<sup>3</sup>; -ææ; -æa<sup>6</sup>; -yoæ; -<sup>2</sup>. — *Acc.* -yæ. — *Gen. pl.* -æa.  
*Fem.* Icæa, Yæca, Ycæa<sup>2</sup>, Ykcæa, Yia, Ygæa, Ugha; -u; -. — *Dat.* -a; -æo; -ia; -iu; -u<sup>2</sup>; -you. — *Ac. pl.* -incæ; -oa.  
*Neut.* *Acc.* -u.

## SCANDINAVIAN OLD-NORTHERN.

- Masc.* -a<sup>4</sup>; -æ<sup>15</sup>; -æa; -e; -i<sup>3</sup>; -ingi, -ing<sup>3</sup>, -æng; -o<sup>3</sup>; -on; -r<sup>3</sup>; -s; -u<sup>15</sup>; -û; -<sup>24</sup>. — *Gen.* -æ; -aes, -es<sup>2</sup>; -inks; -is. — *Dat.* -a<sup>3</sup>; -æ<sup>3</sup>; -ææ; -æa (? 9); -æn; -ingæa; -yoæ; -<sup>2</sup>. — *Acc.* -a; -æ<sup>3</sup>; -aæ; -u; -yæ; -<sup>4</sup>. — *Gen. pl.* -a; -æa; -æo; -uæ; -yonaæ.  
*Fem.* -a; -ia<sup>2</sup>; Icæa, Yæca, Ycæa<sup>2</sup>, Ykcæa, Yia, Ygæa, Ugha; -u; -. — *Dat.* -a; -æo; -æu; -ia; -iu; -u (? 5); -you. — *Acc.* -ææ<sup>2</sup>; -æe; -æ; -i; -o<sup>2</sup>; -u; -. — *Nom. pl.* -æa; -oa. — *Ac. pl.* -æ; -incæ; -oa<sup>2</sup>; -ya.  
*Neut.* -<sup>3</sup>. — *Dat.* -a. — *Acc.* -e; -u. — *Nom. pl.* -o.

## ENGLISH OLD-NORTHERN.

- Masc.* -a<sup>2</sup>; -e<sup>2</sup>; -i<sup>3</sup>; -u<sup>2</sup>; -ung; -g; -us (Lat.); -<sup>33</sup>. — *Gen.* -ææ<sup>2</sup>; -es; -s; -u. — *Dat.* -a<sup>2</sup>; -æ<sup>3</sup>; -i<sup>4</sup>; -yo; -<sup>3</sup>. — *Acc.* -i<sup>3</sup>; -u<sup>2</sup>; -ing, -inge, -ung; -<sup>1</sup>. — *Nom. pl.* -a; -. — *Gen. pl.* -na. — *Dat. pl.* -um. — *Ac. pl.* -.  
*Fem.* -a; -o; -<sup>4</sup>. — *Gen.* -ia; -iea; -s; -u; -yo. — *Dat.* -a; -æyo; -e<sup>6</sup>; -i<sup>2</sup>; -io; -yonne. — *Acc.* -. — *Dat. pl.* -um.  
*Neut.* *Gen.* -ææ; -es; -s. — *Dat.* -æ<sup>2</sup>; -. — *Acc.* -<sup>3</sup>. — *Dat. pl.* -um. — *Ac. pl.* -.

## ADJECTIVES AND PARTICIPLES. A. D. 401—800.

## SWEDEN.

- Nom. s. masc.* Iilæ (defin.); Mæ (defin.); Sbæ (defin.). — *Dat. s. neut.* Niu (defin.).

## NORWAY.

- Nom. s. masc.* *Nom. s. fem.* Inglsk.

## ENGLAND.

- Nom. s. masc.* Almeyottig; Aluwaldo (def.); Gasric; Grorn; Modig. — *Nom. s. fem.* Ailie; gibræfed; bigoten; bistemid; Timþ; giwundad. — *Nom. s. neut.* Dun. — *Dat. s. masc.* Lanum. — *Dat. s. neut.* Fruman (defin.). — *Acc. s. m.* Iukc; Lim-wærigne; Riienæ. — *Acc. s. neut.* Al. — *Nom. pl. masc.* Æþpilæ; Fusæ; Giupeasu; Twægen. — *Acc. pl. masc.* Ale. — *Acc. pl. neut.* Ba.

## BRACTEATES.

- Nom. s. masc.* Hæ-curne (defin.); ? Lîþin. — *Dat. s. masc.* Sehs-cunæ (defin.); Tille (defin.); Ungæ<sup>3</sup> (defin.).

## PRONOUNS. From A. D. 401—800.

## SWEDEN.

- Nom. sing. Ec.* — *Nom. s. masc.* Sæ. — *Acc. sing. Mic.* — *Nom. pl. fem.* Sæa; Usa. — *Gen. pl. masc.* Deræ. — *Acc. pl. fem.* Dyiya.



## NORWAY.

*Nom. s. fem.* Hu. — *Acc. s. fem.* Yoie. — *Acc. s. neut.* Dætæa. — *Nom. pl. neut.* Ia.

## DENMARK.

*Acc. s. masc.* Sin. — *Acc. s. fem.* Diæu.

## ENGLAND.

*Nom. sing.* Ic<sup>1</sup>, Ik, Ih. — *Nom. s. masc.* He<sup>2</sup>. — *Gen. s. m.* His<sup>3</sup>. — *Gen. s. neut.* Dæes. — *Dat. s. masc.* Him. — *Dat. s. fem.* Der<sup>2</sup>, Daer, Dær. — *Acc. sing.* Mic<sup>2</sup>, Mik, Mec<sup>4</sup>, Meh, Mæ. — *Acc. s. masc.* Hinæ<sup>2</sup>; Dæ, The. — *Acc. s. neut.* Dis; Dæt. — *Dual acc.* Ungcet. — *Nom. pl. masc.* Hiæ<sup>2</sup>. — *Dat. pl.* Us. — *Acc. pl.* Us. — *Acc. pl. masc.* Hiæ.

## BRACTEATES. &amp;c.

*Dat. s. masc.* Imæ; Dam.

## VERBS. From A. D. 401 to 800.

## SWEDEN.

*1 s. pr.* Hæte'c. — *3 s. pr.* Æh, O. — *3 pl. pr.* Hæbo; Mæle<sup>2</sup>. — *3 s. p.* Dæude; Hiuk; Oæg; (ræis)ti; Sæte; Wæryit, Wæritæ, Riuti; Wortæ. — *3 pl. p.* (I)ugo (or (W)ugo). — *Imperat. 2 s.* Gæa.

## NORWAY.

*3 s. pr.* A, Ah<sup>2</sup>, O, Oh. — *3 s. p.* Fypæi; Was; Wrætæ, Wræet. — *Imperat. 2 s.* Ah<sup>2</sup>.

## DENMARK.

*3 s. p.* Kærpi; Fapi; Sati. — *3 pl. p.* Truknaþu.

## ENGLAND.

*1 s. pr.* Bim; Yee. — *3 s. pr.* Ah<sup>2</sup>, Oh; Coecas; Drygyþ; Rees; Sbærædh. — *3 pl. pr.* Fegtaþ. — *1 s. p.* Darstæ, Darste; biæald; Hnag; anof; Wæs. — *3 s. p.* Beckcto; Fædde; Fauoþo, Fuþe; onceredæ; ærof; Het; anof; arærde; Ysetæ, Sete, Settæ, Settæ, Sættæ; giswom; Walde; Warþ; Wæs; Wolk; Worhte; Urit. — *3 pl. p.* Kwomu; Faiþu; biæaldun; aægdu; Setton; bismæredu; gistoddun. — *2 s. imperat.* gebid! gibid! Wisæ! — *2 pl. imperat.* gibidæþ, gebidaed, genidæd, gibiddad, geniddaþ, gebiddæþ! — *3 s. pr. subj.* Helipæ; Iwi; Lice; usmæ. — *Inf.* Buga; Hælda; Hiewan; gistiga.

## BRACTEATES. &amp;c.

*3 s. pr.* Ænn<sup>2</sup>. — *3 s. p.* Fihædu; Hæg; Hu; Vroito. — *2 s. imperat.* Gib! Hæ<sup>2</sup>! Te<sup>2</sup>!

## PREPOSITIONS. From A. D. 401 to 800.

## SWEDEN.

Yfæta; Æt, Et; I (or Uti); I; Mut; Uti (or I).

## NORWAY.

? Æt; Ute.

## DENMARK.

Aft, Æft.

## ENGLAND.

Aft, After. Æfte, Æftar, Æfter<sup>2</sup>, Æfteræ<sup>2</sup>, Aeftæ<sup>2</sup>, beaftær; Ift; Æt, At; Foræ, Fore, Fär; In<sup>2</sup>, I<sup>4</sup>; Miþ<sup>2</sup>; Of; On<sup>4</sup>, O; Ti, Tyo.

## BRACTEATES.

To.

## ADVERBS. From A. D. 401 to 800.

## SWEDEN.

Æ, Æiu; Geu, Geuw; Hææræ, Heræ; Ni; Nu.

## NORWAY.

Ao; Hær(æ).

## ENGLAND.

Aici; And, End; Ean; Fearran; Ætcadre; Her; Hweþræ; Ni<sup>3</sup>; Eac; Sare; Der<sup>2</sup>, Dær.

## BRACTEATES.

Nu.

## NOUNS AND NAMES. From 801 to —.

## SWEDEN.

*Masc. Nom.* Enruk; Halstun; Iæuri; Inofasti; Ruti; Samsi. — *Gen.* Æsmuts; Hariwulfs. — *Dat.* Roaul. — *Acc.* Faþr; Sigi; Stun; Sul; Tæen. — *Nom. pl.* Stainar.  
*Fem. Nom.* Kearstin. — *Gen.* Unu. — *Dat.* Mariu.  
*Neut. Nom.* Riusii.

## NORWAY.

*Masc. Nom.* Aluer; Boute; Opinkar; Prestur; Toue; Dormuþ; Dorrsonr; Dort. — *Dat.* Ænsægui.  
*Fem. Nom.* Ossk. — *Dat.* Sikktaie. — *Acc.* Auik; Kloko.

## DENMARK.

*Masc. Nom.* A(Rfik)l; Æslaikir; Olufr; Skær; Siuarþ; Stæin; Tyw; Unitr. — *Gen.* Kunuælt; Ruhalts; Sikwulfs; Sunar; Tadis; Dular. — *Acc.* Stain. — *Dat. pl.* Sal-haukum.  
*Fem. Nom.* Sol; Doræ. — *Gen.* Afai; Inkur. — *Ac. pl.* Ær-runar.

## ENGLAND.

*Masc. Nom.* Emundr; Hælhi; (Hl)vdwyg; Myredah; Onlaf; Rikarth; Tidfirþ; Dornr. — *Gen.* Eadvlfes. — *Dat.* Osberchtae.  
*Fem. Nom.* *Dat.* Merthe; Sav(le).  
*Neut. Nom.* *Dat.* Æsboa.

## BRACTEATES, &amp;c.

*Masc. Nom.* Iauligr; Iohn; Iulieni. — *Dat.* Iaupini; Simi.  
*Fem. Nom.* *Dat.* Æmiliu. — *Dat. pl.* Birkoiinum.

## ADJECTIVES AND PARTICIPLES. From 801 to —.

## SWEDEN.

*Dat. s. fem.* Uena (defin.).

## ENGLAND.

*Masc. s. nom.* ʒernr; Siulfurn.

## PRONOUNS. From 801 to —.

## SWEDEN.

*Dat. s. Dik.* — *Acc. s. m.* Sin; Dansi; Dœniæ.

## NORWAY.

*Acc. s. f.* Dissa. — *Nom. pl. f.* Siæ.

## DENMARK.

*Gen. s. f.* Sinær. — *Ac. pl. f.* Pisi.

## ENGLAND.

*Nom. s. Dis.* — *Nom. s. m.* He. — *Dat. s. f.* This. — *Acc. s.* Meh<sup>2</sup>, Me.

## VERBS. From 800 to —.

## SWEDEN.

3 s. *p.* Æa; Korþe, Karþi; Risti; Wraiti.

## NORWAY.

3 s. *pr.* Oh. — 3 s. *p.* G (? = Garþe); Styöpte. — 3 *pl. p.* Leto. — *Inf.* Styöpa.

## DENMARK.

3 s. *pr.* Huiler. — 3 s. *p.* Raisti; Uk. — 2 s. *imper.* Al!

## ENGLAND.

3 s. *pr.* O; Is; Særþ. — 3 s. *p.* Brokte; Feg(de); Ræisto; Sete; IWrokte.

## BRACTEATES.

3 s. *p.* Fyidi; Ho; Hüng.

## PREPOSITIONS. From 801 to —.

## SWEDEN.

Yuir.

## NORWAY.

I; Aa.

## DENMARK.

O.

## ENGLAND.

O, On<sup>2</sup>; To.

## BRACTEATES.

I; On.

## ADVERBS. From 801 to —.

## NORWAY.

Ok, Uk.

## DENMARK.

Afta; Hæræ; In; Iwika.

## ENGLAND.

Dær.

## FRESH FINDS,

RECEIVED TOO LATE FOR INSERTION IN THEIR PROPER PLACES.

## VISBY, GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1250—1300.

*From the original, now in the Husaby Museum, Småland, Sweden. Drawn, full size, by  
Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN. The wood-engraving by J. F. ROSENSTAND.*



Golden finger-ring. Found in the summer of 1880 by workmen digging near Visby, south of the town: It was sold by them to a Goldsmith in Visby, who disposed of it to Cand. Phil. S. A. Bergsoe, of Cheapinghaven, then staying in Visby. That gentleman, knowing my taste for runic studies, kindly allowed me to purchase it from him, and it is now in my son's Collection at Husaby, in Småland, Sweden. The runes were at once remarkt by the goldsmith, but no one could read them. This is not wonderful, for they are the Old-Northern letters. The ring is well preserved. As to the inscription, I have shown this piece to a dozen of the most distinguisht antiquarians in Sweden and Denmark, and *all* have come to the same opinion — that the staves are undoubtedly genuine, and as old as the roundel itself. This was my own impression from the beginning, but I would not move till I had consulted our best experts.

Things being so far absolutely safe, our next step is to date the circlet, for the runes cannot be older than the object on which they stand. But this I could not do. The *general* shape — the Bezel-Ring — is of every time, is found in Asia more than 2000 years ago, then becomes Byzantine, thereafter late Roman, so Middle-age, and is made still. The *particular* type, however, with its characteristic Fleur-de-lis and leaf-ornamentation, was something for itself. No such specimen is in the Danish or the Norwegian Museum. So I took the opportunity of a visit to Stockholm, and askt the help of Hans Hildebrand, the Swedish Riks-antiquary. He kindly explained everything, at the same time showing me more than a dozen similar Rings in the Stockholm Collection, all or nearly all from Gotland. Several were found with Coins or other things fixing the date, and he was therefore able to determine this as the last half of the 13th century, now and then even later. He added that this particular type was Venetian and Mediterranean. Introduced to Visby by some merchant-prince, it would seem to have become quite fashionable in Gotland.

We have now Old-Northern runes on several objects comparatively late, the result of local taste and tradition. We need not therefore be surprised at finding such on this elegant annulus. They are still more striking as being *reverset*, reading from right to left in the olden way. The staves are 8 in number, but, being graven on the inside and therefore somewhat worn, are not always *quite* clear. The more central letters, the *NOFAS*, are plain enough. But the first *1* and the last *11* are dim. Still



they are there, as all the best judges are convinced. Weakest of all is the last 1, and one or two experts are not sure that the *upper* part is continued lower down. But held in a proper light the ring shows this lower part also, tho feeble from a bend of the metal here. The whole word (and INOFAST is as good a name as INOFASTI) is simply the name of the owner, here found for the first time. The runes thus say:

INOFASTI.

## TORVIK, HARDANGER, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 200—300.

*From materials kindly furnished by Messrs B. E. BENDIXEN and A. LORANGE, Bergen. Chemityped by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN, '15<sup>th</sup> of the size.*



The finding of this precious block was first made known to me by Mr. Lorange, Keeper of the Bergen Museum, where it is now preserved. Further details and a cast of the runes were afterwards communicated by him. Additional information came in from his energetic antiquarian colleague Hr. Lærer Bendixen of Bergen, as well as from Prof. Olaf Rygh, Keeper of the Christiania Museum. For everything here given my readers have therefore to thank the friendly zeal and courtesy of these learned diggers. The granite grave-minne is about 8 feet high, and came to light as follows:

A local paper, "Søndre Bergenhus Folketidende", first announced the find. Hr. Bendixen obtained preliminary help from the Parish Priest, Hr. Stub, and from the owner of the ground, the yeoman Kristoffer Torviken, and thereafter himself examined the mound and its surroundings. Hr. B. writes: "The homestead Torviken is in the Parish of Jondal, Strandbarm Deanery, on the northern or rather the western side of Hardanger-firth. The farm-buildings stand a little aside, a low woody crest separating them from the firth, while the farm itself stretches round a pretty little lake. I had not expected such remains in the district, as nothing has hitherto been found here. Two hews, however, once stood on this site, but they have long since been cleared away. They were probably from the Early Iron age, as they had grave-chambers. The third rasse, now to be described, stood on a natural bank or hillock N. E. of the homestead. It had a foot-ring of stones, some of them unusually large, and within this a heap of smaller cobbles mingled with earth. Turf covered the whole. At the bottom was a nearly unbroken layer of ashes and charcoal, and in many places small heaps of burnt bones. Thus many burials had taken place from time to time. Near the west of the center was a large grave-chamber. Unhappily it had been long before broken open and plundered, for all the roofing-slabs were gone, and consequently the kist was full of stones and soil, no fragment of the grave-gear being left. At the one short or gable end stood *one* slab, at the other were *two*. Each long side was made by 2 slabs placed lengthways, the one thicker and larger than the other. Both the long slabs were straight cut at the one end, slantingly broken at the other. While carrying away the mould outside the chamber, was picked up a brim-bit of the peculiar flower-pot shaped clay urns (Prof. Rygh's Norske Oldsager, Nos. 370—7), which mark Early-Iron graves in Norway. It had a gray color, was slightly burnt, and was stiffened with asbestos-fibres. The ornamentation was rich, lines slanting and horizontal and vertical, in bands and groups. There also came to light a few burnt bones, a large bent iron clinch-nail, some horse-teeth and some doubtful bits of iron. All the slabs but one were of a darkblue loose slate. The exception was — the RUNE-BEARER, one of the large side-stones, which was of fine lightgray granite. It is 2.30 meters long, 0.84 m. broad, and about 0.08 m. thick. The kist has been about 3.30 m. high, 0.63 m. broad, and the height that of the breadth of the side-stones. As I have said, the runestone was broken aslant at one end, but at the other had been cut off straight. In this way *one* letter, the last, has been shorn thro, and thus its one arm and the half of the central staff has perished. The runes, about 10 cm. high, are rather shallow, but are, I think, the plainest and broadest incised I have ever seen. Not one stave is doubtful. The cause is not far to seek. Lying for centuries inside the barrow, it has been sheltered from wind and weather, man and beast. At the one edge, part of the natural surface remains; but otherwise the block has been dressed quite smooth, before the letters were inscribed. It must have stood somewhere as a minne-stone. Thereafter it has been taken away and used as building-material for this Early-Iron grave, a bit being struck off at the end, to make it fit in. Of course a long time must have gone by, ere this desecration could have taken place. I have now purchased it for the Bergen Museum, to which also the few grave-laves have come. — We shall never get the missing rune-bit, or letters, if more than one. The owner searched long and carefully, but found nothing; and as far as I could see, this was the only piece of graystone in the tump. The peasants said, that no such stone existed elsewhere in the neighborhood."

Mr. Lorange would place the grave (in which the runestone lay) a little later, perhaps in the Middle Iron Age. Both gentlemen might agree in the average date of the 6th yearhundred. This will give us a couple of centuries for the great chieftain's funeral slab to be so far forgotten by his mighty kindred as to sink into mere common stone-lumber.

This, then, is the first Old-Northern grave-pillar found as *building-gear* in a STILL LATER HEATHEN tumulus. Great numbers of Ogham stones have been met with so employed. The runes, mostly  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to 6 inches high, are of the oldest types, as are the word-forms. The date I have given this megalith cannot, therefore, be far wrong.

As we see, the  $\gamma$  has lost its left arm, from the shortening of the block by the kist-builder. This letter was therefore  $\Upsilon$  (A). This gives us once more the usual formula of 2 names, one in the nominative and the other in the dative. Should aught else have followed, it may have been the O. N. word for WROTE or RAISED or SET (WREITÆ on the Reidstad stone; RUNO FÆIRIDO on the Einang stone), or something such.

The  $\Lambda$  above the  $\mathfrak{z}$  and before the  $\mathfrak{w}$ , I look upon as certainly a stop, a dividing mark. On the Gallehus Golden Horn this same mark, turned to the left and smaller, ( $\zeta$ ), is used as a dividing stop between the first word ( $\mathfrak{ECHLEW}$ ) and the second ( $\mathfrak{EGLSTIA}$ ). Should this be so, it is the first instance of such an *overput* divisional mark on any Old-Northern piece.

Here, as so often, we have  $\mathfrak{M}$ , the shorter type for both  $\mathfrak{M}$  ( $\mathfrak{D}$ ) and  $\mathfrak{M}$  ( $\mathfrak{M}$ ), and therefore, where we have not both  $\mathfrak{D}$  and  $\mathfrak{M}$  in the same inscription, only to be read by the help of the context. We shall never know which was intended; but the family and neighbors had no difficulty, for they were familiar with the forthfare's appellation. Both  $\mathfrak{LEM}$  and  $\mathfrak{LED}$  are olden Scando-Gothic names, tho scarce.  $\mathfrak{LEM}$  occurs sometimes in Old-Swedish documents, and is perhaps the Danish family-name  $\mathfrak{LEMME}$ ; it flourishes in England as  $\mathfrak{LAME}$ ,  $\mathfrak{LEEM}$  (and  $\mathfrak{LAMING}$  and  $\mathfrak{LEEMING}$ ). The latter may be left in the Longobardic  $\mathfrak{LETHU}$ , the Ohg.  $\mathfrak{LAITU}$ ,  $\mathfrak{LETHU}$ ,  $\mathfrak{LEDI}$  (placed by Förstemann under  $\mathfrak{LATH}$ ), would seem to be the Danish  $\mathfrak{LEDE}$  and  $\mathfrak{LEHDE}$ , and lives on in England as  $\mathfrak{LADE}$  and  $\mathfrak{LAID}$ . — In the later runes we have  $\mathfrak{WERING}$  once or twice in the form  $\mathfrak{URIKER}$  (should this be =  $\mathfrak{URINKER}$ ); in Ohg. it is  $\mathfrak{WARINC}$ ,  $\mathfrak{WIRINC}$ , with the womansname  $\mathfrak{WERINGA}$ . In England the family-name  $\mathfrak{WARE}$ ,  $\mathfrak{WEARE}$ ,  $\mathfrak{WARING}$ ,  $\mathfrak{WEARING}$ , are common. — Thus these names  $\mathfrak{LEM}$  (or  $\mathfrak{LED}$ ) and  $\mathfrak{WERING}$  here occur for the first time on any O. N. runic monument. — Confining ourselves to what is now on the stone, the risting is:

$\mathfrak{LEM}$  (or  $\mathfrak{LED}$ )  $\mathfrak{WERINGEA}$ .

$\mathfrak{LEM}$  (or  $\mathfrak{LED}$ ) to- $\mathfrak{WERING}$ .

June 1881. Hr. Bendixen has now published a short notice of this find, engraving the runes, in *Aarsberetning fra Foreningen til Norske Fortidsm.* Bevaring, 1880, Kristiania 1881, p. 49. — In the same volume (p. 17 of his overprint) Hr. A. Lorange, the Keeper of the Museum, has also given a page to this find, using the same woodcut of the staves.

## SÆBØ, HOPREKSTAD, SOGNEFJORD, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 750—800.

*Chemistyped by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN from the original, now in the Bergen Museum, the whole sword and its trade-mark (or ornament) 1—5th of the size, the runic name-inlay full size.*





My learned friend the Norwegian old-lorist A. Lorange, the accomplisht Keeper of the Bergen Museum, has for some time been engaged in a new and most interesting branch of study,— the character and fabrication of the weapons left to us from the Wiking period. The Swords have excited his particular attention and already with the happiest results. He has made important discoveries concerning them. One piece he has found to bear an Old-Northern runish inscription. With his usual kindness he has given me the necessary details, which I now submit to the reader.

The old brand now before us, No. 1622 in the Bergen Museum, was found in 1825 with some other Iron objects in a grave-mound at Sæbø, near Sognefjord. But Mr. Lorange, after carefully cleaning the blade, first perceived the staves and ornaments in 1881, and hastened to forward me drawings, afterwards with extreme courtesy lending me the original weapon for my examination and the use of my artist. The whole Sword is 0,975 long, two-edged, and with a broad hollow rand running nearly to the point. In this hollow on both sides near the haft, in chinks puncht in, small bits of twisted steel wire have been hammered and welded in the metal, forming letters on the one side and an interlaced pattern on the other. This is the first time that runes have been found in Scandinavia on so old a war-blade, altho such rune-ristings are often spoken of in the earliest traditions. And as to the technical execution of these marks, steel on steel, Mr. Lorange's careful examinations have led to new conclusions. He has gone thro all the Wiking-brands in the Bergen Museum, and has found 11 others bearing similar inlaid marks. But all these have either large Latin letters, or else lines so injured or doubtful as to give no meaning. The same net-pattern however, or interlaced trade-mark, is seen on 7 or 8 of these 11, and all of them, however differing in details, show that they belong to the same group. This is further proved by the surprising circumstance, that 6 of them bear in Roman letters the maker's name VLFBERHET (= ULFBERHT = WULFBERHT : WULFBRIGHT), a well-known Scando-Gothic name here for the first time found in Scandinavia. And it is remarkable, that blades manufactured by this Swordsmith have been found in Norwegian graves from Hevne in Southern Tronyem to Hedrum in Laurvig's Amt. The Sword in the Danish Museum engraved in Worsaae's Oldsager fig. 495 (and in Undset's Norske Oldsager i fremmede Museer, fig. 28), is similarly inlaid with the same name; and Dr. I. Undset has kindly informed me that in the Guild "Prussia's" Collection in Königsberg is preserved a Sword from the Wiking time, found in a lake in the province, identical with that engraved in Worsaae, and made by the same sword-smith. Thus we have already no fewer than 8 of these Wiking-blades with the same maker's name and the same trade-mark.

Mr. Lorange has further informed me that many of these brands are also *damascened*, showing that this peculiar decoration has by no means been rare in the Wiking period. We have to thank these minute investigations of Herr Lorange for the discovery, that among the hundreds of Wiking-swords preserved in the Norse Museums not only *one* damascened piece could be found, but even *many* such, not inferior in execution to the beautifully flowered Swords in the Danish Nydam Moss (from the last half of the 3rd century). Thus this technical skill is no novelty. It has come down from generation to generation, and there is now no doubt, or no great doubt, that these damascened blades are not made abroad, but are *manufactured by Scandinavian swordsmiths*. We shall know more, when Herr Lorange publishes his work on the Weapons of the Wiking period. Meantime I have given this blade rather a high date, partly because it bears *Old-Northern* runes, and partly because the OH (later A in Scandinavia) and the ULFBERHET (later ULFBERHT) are both of them so very antique. For it is apparently clear that on all these (DURMUD and ULFBERHET) swords the trade-mark, however shortened or lengthened by repetition of the strokes, is *the same*, has *the same type*. In this case DURMUD's brand was made for him by ULFBERHT.

Now on narrowly examining this runic blade, we see that all the letters are Old-Northern and reverst, reading from the right to the left. Only the first, the ʁ is slightly damaged, but not more so than that there is no doubt about it. (*Since my drawing was made*, the inscription has been injudiciously treated in Denmark with strong acid, and has suffered.) The first 2 staves are OH, an older 3 s. pr. of the verb AGA(X), to OWE, OWN, possess, otherwise in Scandinavia in the shorter and later form A. Thus OWNS, has, possesses. Then comes the sign for THUR, ʁ, here clearly used phonetically, as followed by MUD, thus the common Northern mansname THURMUTH. But the staff for M is also interesting, it being a hitherto not found O. N. variant, 𐌚, a simplification of the variant on the Brough stone and elsewhere. Thus the whole risting is:



OH DURMUD.

OWNS (*possesses-me*) THURMUTH.

In support of this interpretation I will add, that in Göransson's Bautil No. 25 is a large rune-block in cypher, and not yet read. At the top is an ornate Christian Cross, more or less "Maltese", while at the end of the rune-writing is another small one. In the center of the stone is a wiking-ship. But among the runes is this same Thor's mark, 𐌚, which may have been used phonetically for DUR. Captain W. H. F. Abrahamson ("Thors Hammers Tegn" in Skand. Litt. Selsk. Skrifter, 1810, p. 237) very judiciously supposes, that this stone was raised in memory of a man who had embraced the Christian trow but still held fast the heathen: 'I have now taken them both; let that help which is strongest'. As is well known, this Swastica, variously modified, very frequently stands alone as a Cross on runic stones.

As we have seen, this Thur-mark is here plainly before us as a word-sound. Have we parallels hereto elsewhere? Yes! As to the Symbol itself, we can trace it back as a Holy Mark in all times and lands in Europe, Asia, Africa and America, and as Christian from the Catacombs to modern Churches. In its earliest Eastern Home it was the Sign of THE GREAT GOD, THE GOD OF DAY, THE LIGHT-GOD, LIFE EVERLASTING, MITRA in the Sanscrit world, THE FORTUNATE AND UNCONQUERED. Hence, as Creeds fell away while the Holy Mark remained, it could as well represent the Classical JUPITER or HELIOS as the Persian MITRA, and so of local Gods everywhere. In Scandinavia, as we know, it figured the Hammer and Might of THU(NO)R. But when a stronger than THU(NO)R came, it would naturally pass over to him, and, like all the other Cross-types, from the oldest East to the latest West, here and there went over to CHRIST.

We have a proof of this in Ireland. This symbol is found among the Kelts there as far back as the 5th and 6th century, but very sparingly, sometimes on stones bearing Ogham inscriptions. It has now turned up on an Irish incised Cross, probably of the 5th yearhundred. This monument stands near Tober (the Well of Saint) Brigid, not far from the village of Cliffony, County Sligo, on one of the steps of which 2 small Roman Crosses, of great antiquity, are shallowly cut or punched in. It is thus described by Mr. W. F. Wakeman: "The most interesting feature, however, at the well or pool is a rather rough unhammered block of hard reddish sandstone, measuring 2 feet 11 in. in length, by 10 in. in breadth, and about 5 in. in thickness. This stone is apparently of the monumental class, and just one upon which an ogam inscription might be expected. It presents, however, no lettering of any kind; but upon one of its larger faces has been deeply inscribed, or punched, the figure of a cross, of the kind usually styled Celtic, on the head of which, as shown in the accompanying illustration [here copied half size. Heliotyped by Pacht], that very remarkable symbol, known to antiquaries as



*Croix Gammée, Fylfot, Swastika, Hammer of Thor, Boodhist Cross, &c.*, occurs. Of the pagan origin of this peculiar form of cross, there can be no question."<sup>1</sup>

This felefoot, then, is a *survival* from far-back heathen times into the Christian. Carried from land to land by waves of settlers, it reached Ireland in an overgang epoch when the older Gods were drawing back and the Lord Christ showed himself the mightiest and took their place, together with some of their symbols. Accordingly, we have here not only a rude Keltic Christian Cross, but a symbolical Crucifix, CHRIST ON THE CROSS. The ✚ simply spells CHRISTUS, just as distinctly as if it had been written in Oghams or Roman or Runic letters. It stands where the Head of the Redeemer would rest. — I cannot say what the peculiar ornament *over* the Cross was intended for. It may have been a kind of Nimbus or Glory; or the well-known scarf of Night, the darkness at the death of the Redeemer; or perhaps merely equal to the superscription "HIC EST JESUS REX JUDÆORUM". In any case we have here a Crucifix-monument standing alone in all the Christian West as to age, and the plain survival thereon in CHRIST's stead of the Holy Swastika God-mark ✚.

In the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, 4to, Vol. 27, 1879, pp. 41—46, Bishop Charles Graves gives 2 instances of very old Irish stones, inscribed with the Irish Cross, bearing the Swastika. One has this Holy Mark ✚ on the front *below* the Cross, which would be equal in sound to CRUX CHRISTI. The other, besides an ornamental Fylfot below the Cross on the front, has another such near the top of each small side and a plain Cross on the back. But neither of these stones has the Swastika so peculiarly placed, as on the TOBER BRIGID Cross just spoken of.

I have even found this olden symbol used in the same way in a Christian *Manuscript*. On the titlepage of Mr. Tollemache's Ms. of Orosius in king Alfred's O. Engl. version, a vellum whose lowest date is about 920 A. D., are rough but ready pen-and-ink drawings of the 4 Evangelists, symbolized, a touch of vermilion being here and there hurriedly added in the sketches. Beginning at the top to the left, we have in a roundel "aquila" [= JOHANNES], an Eagle down to the middle; outside, right, "*Dominus noster iohannes*". — Right of this, in a circle, "*agnus dei marcus*", and the figure of a Sheep, a nimbus round its head; a book is between its fore legs. This early symbol of St. Mark is very rare. — Right of this, a little lower, no frame, "*lucas*", the bild of a butting Ox. — Below, large, well and boldly drawn, a nimbust man, "*matheus*"; he kneels, holding in both hands a Box (he being a Tax-gatherer). Not often found as his type.

Now the first of these 4 figures, the Eagle, *grasps a Cup*, from the top of which issues a Serpent or Dragon. On the *outside* of the Beaker we see the *Name of CHRIST* or the *Holy Mark of the Redeemer*, IN RED. All this is in reference to the well-known legend that, before his banishment to Patmos, he was sent to Rome by Domitian and twice exposed to a dreadful death. A vessel filled with strong venom was given him; but, *uttering the name of CHRIST*, he drank it unhurt, a Snake or Dragon darting out of the cup. The only way by which the artist could *paint* this *sound* was by the *mark* which *spelt* it, and which was sometimes used *instead* of it. So here; carelessly dabbed on the bowl's side, in the same way as the crimson touches elsewhere, powerful to drive out the poisonous fiend, is in red the sacred name of CHRIST, ✚. After this trial, St. John was put into a boiling caldron of oil, but again suffered no injury.

Under the Eagle on the same page is "*vinea domini*", the *Vineyard of the Lord*, conventional foliage and fruit, symbolizing *Holy Church*. — Above this again, is a cryptic Old-Anglic Runish Alphabet, on which see my Vol. 2, p. 832.

We all know that the use of Cross-marks in the Christian church went the same way. When the earliest, the X, which was also the first letter in the Greek name for CHRISTUS, came in as a pass-mark among the persecuted Christians, it was also used short and phonetically, so that X signified CHRIST.<sup>2</sup> When this sign — afterwards specially given to Saint Andrew — was succeeded by ✚, the same thing took place. As early as 268 or 269 we have in the Catacombs:

<sup>1</sup> P. 376 of "On certain Wells situate in the north-west of Ireland, with remarks on the occurrence of the Croix Gammée, or Swastika, as found at St. Brigid's Well, near Clifony, Co. Sligo", by W. F. Wakeman, Hon. Local Sec. for Enniskillen District; pp. 365—384 of The Journal of the Roy. Hist. and Archæol. Association of Ireland, Oct. 1880, Dublin 1880, 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> To avoid prolixity, I take the above from the wellknown handbook by J. Stockbauer, Kunstgeschichte des Kreuzes, 8vo, Schaffhausen 1870, p. 85, 88.

IN \* DOMINO NOSTRO  
IN CHRIST OUR LORD.

The same is the case with the well-known  $\mathfrak{R}$ . Thus IN SIGNO  $\mathfrak{R}$  = *Christi*. IN  $\mathfrak{R}$  = *Christo*. We still use the X in the same way: 'Last Xmas [Christmas] I saw you in Xiania [Christiania]', &c. We now see that  $\mathfrak{F}$ , the Felefoot, was used in like manner, with its *heathen* sound *FUR* among the *heathen* and its *Christian* sound *CHRIST* among the *Christian* believers. But of this its use among the *heathen*, this Sæbø Sword is as yet the first example.

## RÖMES-FELL, S. TRONYEM, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 800—900.

*From the original in the Tronyem Museum, about 1—3rd. Runes given separately, full size.  
Drawn and Chemityped by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN.*



In 1880 a curious find was made in Römes-fell, near Römen in Å-fjord, Fossens Fogderi, South Tronyems Amt. Here, in a deep rock-cleft, carefully hidden by several heapt-up stones, 2 fine Walrus-teeth accidentally turned up. They have been described by Adjunkt Karl Rygh, the Keeper of the Tronyem Museum, in his "Arkæologiske Undersøgelser og Thronhjems Videnskabs-selskabs Tilvæxt af Oldsager i 1880", p. 19, which is part of "Aarsberetning 1880 fra Foren. til Norske Fortidsm. Bevar.", 8vo, Kristiania 1881. Both these ivory tusks are inscribed. During my stay at Tronyem in July 1881 I was enabled to examine them, and identified one of them as bearing Old-Northern staves.

The smaller one, foolishly shortened by the finder who cut a piece off and used it, is now only (not including the bend) about  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, its greatest width being about  $1\frac{1}{2}$ . Besides the usual accidental scathe-marks, it bears, elegantly cut,

$\mathfrak{K} \mathfrak{E} \mathfrak{T} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{L} \mathfrak{A}$ ,  
KÆTIL OWNS-me,

and is thus another example of this common formula.

The other is about  $18\frac{1}{2}$  Norwegian inches long, about 20 including the bend, and its greatest width is about  $1\frac{3}{4}$ . Nearly in the middle the owner has inscribed her name,

OSSK,

one of great Scando-Gothic antiquity and very scarce, answering to the Old-English WUNSC, the old Scandian OSK and the modern English WISH. The masc. ÓSKI (= *Wish-giver*, a name of (w)ODEN) was also borne by men (? = *the Wishd one*), as was the fem. OSK by women in the North, but all this early

died away. In England we have the masc. WESCY as late as 1378<sup>1</sup>. In runics it occurs twice, as USKI on the Laurberg stone, N. Jutland, and as YSKI on the Årja stone, Vol. 2, p. 634. As compounds we have the O. Engl. names WUSCBÆRN (spelt WUXBÆRN) and OSCBYRHT. As UNS became OSS, our US, so WUNSC became OSSC, the w being slurred in the usual Scandinavian way. We have here the O. Northern runic o, an olden runic s-shape, and the same Classical-shaped runic k as on the Brough stone in England and elsewhere. It is impossible strictly to date these pieces, which may have belonged to *husband and wife* or *brother and sister*. But if I am right in fixing them approximately in the 9th century, they will be same-tide with our great king ALFRED, to whom Ohthere, a Norwegian landholder then in his service, so graphically narrated his famous voyage of discovery up North and in the White Sea, the very first such exploration of which we have any clear record. Among other things, he told his lord the English king, that<sup>2</sup>:

Swiðost he fór ðýder. toecacan þæs landes sceawunge. for þæm hors-hwælum. forþæm hi habbað swýðe sædele bân on hýra toþum. þa teð hý brohton sume þem cýninge. ⁊ hýra hýd bið swiðe gód to scíp-rapum: Se hwæl bið micle læssa þonne oðre hwalas. ne bið hé lengra ðonne sýfan elna lang. ac on his agnum lande is se betsta hwæl-huntað. þa beoð eahta and feowertiges elna lange. ⁊ þa mæstan fiftiges elna lange. þara hé sæde þæt he sýxasum ofsloge sýxtig on twam dagum:·

*Chiefly he went thither, besides wishing to see the country, also for the Horse-whales [Walrusses], because they have very noble bones in their teeth. Of these tusks they [Ohthere and his servants] brought some to the king. And their hides are very good for ship-ropes. This whale is much less than other whales, it not being longer than seven ells [about 14 feet]. But in his own land [Hålogaland, now Helgeland, high north of Tromsø] is the best whale-hunting: the kind there are eight and forty ells [about 96 feet] long, the very largest fifty ells [about 100 feet] long. Of the former sort [the Walrusses] he said that he, six-some [himself and 5 others] had killed sixty in two days.*

I need not add, how esteemed the beautiful ivory of the Walrus was, and how often it was used for carving small objects. Many such are still in our Museums.

## EIDSBERG, SMÅLENENE, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1100—1200.

*Chemityped about 1/10<sup>th</sup> of the size by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN, from a paper Squeeze kindly forwarded by Prof. OLAF RYGH, Christiania.*

My learned friend Martin Arnesen, of Fredrikshald, first drew my attention to this piece, and sent me a full-size drawing. Then, with his usual helpful courtesy, Prof. Olaf Rygh took the necessary steps towards our understanding it, and for the information here communicated we have to thank that excellent old-loreist. — It appears, then, that in the summer of 1880 great repairs were undertaken in the old Eidsberg Church. The Norse antiquarian N. Nicolaysen dates the stone or oldest portion of this building in the 12th century. Now the slab here before us is of graystone, and belongs to this older part; its date therefore is the same. Afterward, probably late in the 13th. yearhundred,

<sup>1</sup> "Rotuli Collectorum . . . in Com. Eboraci", Vol. 5 of Yorkshire Archæol. & Top. Journal, London 1879, p. 6. These "Rotuli" are a mine of wealth for olden English names, as is "Liber Vitæ" for the oldest.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 248 of B. Thorpe's edition of Alfred's Old-English Orosius with English translation, 8vo, London 1853. But my extract is from the more correct text in the facsimile-leaves of the Lauderdale and Cotton Mss., containing Ohthere's and Wulfstan's voyages, folio, London 1855, pp. 7 and 8 of the Cotton codex, this passage wanting in the defective Lauderdale skinbook. In my translation I differ in one weighty place from my foregangers.



the holy house was enlarged, the tower being heightened with brick courses and the nave-walls removed and rebuilt with intermixt graystone and brick. To this later period belong 4 slabs of brick, one of them only a fragment, referring to the architect or masons then employed<sup>1</sup>. No. 1 bears the runish risting:  $\text{†} \text{OLAFS}$ ; No. 2 has:  $\text{†} \text{MIK}$  (= TO MIK); No. 3:  $\text{†} \text{THORFYS}$ ; No. 4, after a broken  $\text{†}$ ,  $\text{†} \text{KTR}$  (= KTR or KTRÖ). These unconnected bits (for of course some are lost) give no distinct meaning<sup>2</sup>. All 5 slabs are now in the Christiania Museum.



We have here to do, then, with the *granite* slab belonging to the *oldest* part of the Church. It was so placed in the wall that only the front was seen, and is only about 36 cm. thick. The temple itself is mentioned in Hakon Hakonson's Saga, ch. 180, as early as 1236. — What stands on the stone is plain enough, a mansname in Scandinavian staves and an Old-Northern *g*. All analogy would lead us to believe that we have here, as elsewhere, the *builder's record*, the *g* standing for GARDI or GERDE. In my eyes this is self-evident. The stone-cutter clearly had intended to carve *both* words *in full*, and had therefore cramped the letters of the *first* word *very close together*, that he might have room for the *second* word *also*. But after all he found there was not space left for 5 more staves (GARDI). So he added a *large G*, purposely to fill up all the vacancy. Exactly in the same way, on the Swedish Skalmstad block (which see in ARCHAIC MONUMENTS), we have only KI for KIARDU, 3 pl. p., GARED, *made*, there being *no room for more* on the stone. — Some of my learned friends, however, assert that this X is only an *ornament*. But surely this is contradicted by the *extraordinary narrowness* of the first word, which would have been a silly ugliness if the carver had *intended* to end with a large sprawling decoration. At all events I would not omit this curious slab, in my opinion *overgang*<sup>3</sup>. — The name inscribed has never been seen before in Norway, and is very scarce in Scandinavia, being found chiefly in Denmark, where it occurs twice (spelt UPINKAUR) on the runic stones at Skivum and Skjern, North Jutland. I therefore read:

ODINKAR G(arþi).

OTHINKAR G(*ared, made, built this*).

Feb. 1882. Since writing the above, I have received from that great antiquary Prof. Daniel Wilson, President of University College, Toronto, Canada, careful transcripts from his original sketch book of 1863, of 2 runic scribbles found by him in St. Molio's Cave, Argyleshire, Scotland, and still more correct than the copies he publisht in his valuable "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland", 8vo, 2nd

<sup>1</sup> As to the runic memorials of these church-builders, see the remarks on the Torpa stone, in ARCHAIC MONUMENTS.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Rygh adds, English: "Nos. 1 and 2 have broad concave lines, which would seem to have been impress on the wet clay with the finger. Nos. 3 and 4 have shallower and narrower runes, probably made by a sharp instrument. On No. 4 the staves are at the end of the stone, and therefore 3 or 4 letters have gone before, besides which the first stave may have been an  $\text{†}$ . The slabs therefore seem to have belonged to *two distinct inscriptions*, if not more. The  $\text{†}$  to  $\text{†} \text{MIK}$  may have been part of a 5 pl. p., for instance SETTO MIK."

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Ol. Rygh describes this find at p. 219 of Foren. t. Norske Fort. bev., 1880, Kristiania 1881.

edition, Vol. 2, London 1863, p. 280 and 281. Of the locality he says, p. 277: "Directly opposite to the Ayrshire coast, and within sight of the Bay of Largs, a small island protects the entrance to Lamash Bay, in the Isle of Arran, the well-known anchorage where Haco mustered his shattered fleet after its overthrow. — — This Melan's ey, or isle, there can be no doubt, is Holy Island, in the Bay of Lamash, which contains the cave assigned by immemorial tradition as the residence of St. Molio or St. Maoliosa, a disciple of Columba, and a favourite Celtic saint. — — The cave of St. Molio is little more than a water-worn recess in the sandstone rock at an elevation of about thirty feet from the present level of the sea. On the shore below, a circular well is pointed out as St. Molio's Bath, and a large block of sandstone cut perfectly flat on the top, and surrounded with a series of artificial recesses or seats, bears the name of the Saint's Chair. Such relics are by no means rare in Scotland. — — The roof and sides of the cave of St. Molio, on Holy Island, are covered with rude marks and inscriptions of many different periods." Among these scratches and scribbles, by pilgrims and others, after clearing away moss and lichens, Prof. Wilson found 5 in runes, which he gives.

The 5th St. Molio scribble copied by Prof. Wilson I here add, Photoxylograph by Herr Rosenstand from the original drawing, as being most likely *Norwegian*, tho *not* in the olden runes:



UNFLATÆR SE-ILGR ERKN-NESE.

UN-FLAT (*tall, a stout fellow*) is-SEA-ELK SEAL-NOSE.

UNFLATÆR, adjective, nom. s. masc., another plain instance of the old N in this negative particle UN (in the later Scandian U- or O-) *still left*. On the runic stone at Ljunga, Södermanland, Sweden, we have the mansname, nom. sing., UFLATI, where the N is nasalized. — SE-ILGR is easy enough. In the local talks as given in runes the word for SEA is spelt SA, SAI, SAU, SE, SI, SY, SIAO, SIAU, SU. So the vowel offers no difficulty. It is therefore (the runic mark for G being very interesting), literally, a man called ELK who was famous as a *sea-rover* or *merchant*, and gat the name SEA-ELK. So we have in olden Iceland the name ELGFROÐI; in olden Norway the names JON ELGR and SIGURDR ELGR; in olden Sweden the person called HARALD ÆLGH. — In the last word we take the N twice, in the constant runish way (to avoid double cutting), in the epithet or nickname given to SE-ILG, namely ERKN-NESE. The Seal played a still greater part of old than now in the North, and one species was the ERKN (ÖRKN, ORKN or ÆRKN), a word not in use in England, where we call all the usual sorts SEAL or SEA-CALF. Our friend SE-ILG had some special-shaped *nose*, and so his comrades fastened on him the term ERKN-NESE. So we have such old Scandian names as ORKN-HÖFDI (from his head), ÞORGEIRR SEL-NASI (SEAL-NOSE), SELA-KALFR, SEL-ÐORER, and on the Greenmount Sword-fitting (Vol. 3, p. 308) the owner of the Sword is called in the runes TOMNAL SELS-HOFOD (= DONNELL SEAL'S-HEAD). In the same way Giants got names from sea-creatures, like as the Ettin VAGNHÖFDI from VAGNA or VAGN a dolphin or porpoise and -HÖFDI; the giantess STOPHNISA from STUFA and HNISA, *delphinus phocaena*. — Of course we cannot date these rune-scribbles. We can only say generally, that they are from the wiking-period, before or after the 10th century.

## THORNHILL, YORKSHIRE, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700--800.

*From Rubbings, paper Squeezes and Sunbills kindly forwarded by the Rev. JOS. TH. FOWLER, F. S. A., Vice-Principal of Hatfield Hall, Durham. Chemitypes, 1-fourth, by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN.*



Besides the above invaluable help, Mr. Fowler has added an additional favor. He has obligingly written the text to this stone, for insertion here, completely embodying his reading — in which we both agree — and all the local details. This excellent paper I give in his own words:

"The stones described by the late Father Haigh in the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, London 1877, Vol. 4, pp. 416–455 [and see this Vol. 3, above, pp. 209–211], have been carefully preserved in the vestry of Thornhill Church. The Rector, the Rev. J. Ingham Brooke, has just happily added a third rune-bearer to the number, and has contributed an account of the find to the "*Thornhill Parish Magazine*", Vol. 10, January 1882, pp. 6–8 (Dewsbury 1882)<sup>1</sup>, from which I extract the following graphic particulars: "If any one has had occasion to pass through the choir vestry recently he will have observed the arrangement of some of our most precious architectural relics upon a shelf, which has been placed there to receive them. These consist for the most part of the fragments of runic crosses which were found at the time of the Restoration built up in some of our old walls. The most interesting of these are those which have inscriptions. And, as our readers are aware, we have two complete inscriptions upon the base of what have been memorial crosses, and a third fragment of a different character. These remains establish for our church a great antiquity. Some church or chapel there must have been here at Thornhill when those crosses were put up, more than a thousand years ago. This is their special interest to us. But besides this, the very characters or letters, which are engraved upon the stones, have a great interest . . . . But all this is introduction to the story of our great discovery. A few weeks ago, when we were placing the fragments we have been speaking about upon their shelf, our observant sexton, Edwin Sheard, at once exclaimed "Why there is a stone like these in the Tower, up in the bell chamber", and he went on to tell of the vain efforts he had often made to read the letters. It seemed too good to be true, but at any rate no time was lost in making an

<sup>1</sup> He adds, in a letter to myself (George Stephens) dated Feb. 24, 1882, wise and practical measures which ought to be imitated elsewhere: "I keep my Parishioners informed as to their [these stones'] great interest, and I intend to place on a Card near the place where they stand an account of what they are and what they say. Another idea I have is to place this last one in a kind of open frame, turning upon a pivot, so that all four sides could be examined at any time without handling the stone."



investigation into the matter. Tapers and candle ends, such as were at hand, were quickly lighted, and in solemn procession five of us mounted the Tower steps into the Belfry. There sure enough was the stone, glistening under the fresh whitewash with which the ringing chamber had been recently beautified. The strong basketwork ornamentation stood out clear and distinct, and there, too, were the precious letters. Certainly there were two lines of inscription, and possibly there might be more; for the massive stone had been built into our Tower somewhere between the years 1450 and 1600, as one of the great corner stones. The Rector was soon at work with an old knife, picking out the mortar and endeavouring to discover how far the stone was bedded into the wall. An hour's hard work, under the dim light of taper or candle end, made clear two facts, first that the stone went some inches further into the wall, and second, that a night of picking with the instruments that were available would not suffice to free the prize from the bed where it had so long been hid. The next morning a mason was set to work betimes, and at eight o'clock it was lying in the churchyard. Bedded in lime as it was we could at once make out that there were no less than four lines of clear cut inscription, and that every side was beautifully carved. The next point was to get it cleaned. This gave a long day's work to a skilled and careful hand, but it was done at last, and by far the finest fragment of a runic cross that we have found lay revealed. Its inscription was copied and was sent at once to Rev. J. Fowler, of Durham, a great authority on the subject, and he in his turn has sent it to Professor Stephens. They are pretty well agreed as to the reading." — It proved to be a block of sandstone, said to be of a kind not found in the immediate neighbourhood; broken at both ends, and with every appearance of having formed part of the tapering shaft of a cross. The dimensions are, length, 21 inches; breadth at bottom,  $12\frac{1}{2}$  in., at top,  $10\frac{3}{4}$  in.; thickness at bottom  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in., at top, 7 in. The illustrations, which are done from rubbings, paper-casts, and photographs taken from the stone itself, render further description needless. The runes are so distinct that they presented no particular difficulty, and Professor Stephens confirmed my first reading in almost every particular. There seems to be no doubt that it should be, line for line, as follows:

† IGILSUID ARÆRDE ÆFTER  
BERHTSUIDE BECUN  
AT BERGI GEBIDDAD  
DER SAULE.

† IGILSUTH REARED  
AFTER BERHTSUTHE  
BEACON AT BARROW.  
PRAY FOR THE SOUL.

The two first runes after the cross form a bind-rune, which I at first took to be another form of X (g) used as a sort of ornamental "capital", but Professor Stephens pointed out that GILSUTH is unknown, while IGILSUTH is common as a Scando-Gothic woman's name. Moreover, we have here two other bind-runes (the ER in ÆFTER and the DD in GEBIDDATH). If two, why not three, and if we read \* as IG, the missing stave-vowel is supplied, and we have the alliteration complete:

† IGILSUID ARÆRDE,  
ÆFTER BERHTSUIDE.  
BECUN AT BERGI.  
GEBIDDAD DER SAULE.

"ARÆRDE is the same word as our REARED or RAISED, in the former of which the R is merely a softened S. — ÆFTER is the usual word for *in memory of*. — BECUN is a *monument*, as at Dewsbury, where some one set up a *beacon after a bairn* (Yorkshire Arch. Journal 1, 224; Stephens, O. N. R. M. 1, 464). — AT BERGI I at first thought to mean *at the hill*, namely *Thorn hill*, but Professor Stephens confirms my later conviction that it means *at the grave-mound or barrow*, which need not have been larger than grave-mounds commonly are now. — GEBIDDATH THÆR SAULE. *bid-ye, pray-ye for the soul*, forms the conclusion of the Dewsbury inscription just referred to, and elsewhere.

"Thornhill is within a mile or two of Dewsbury, and doubtless formed a part of the same Christian settlement."

I will only add to this most welcome and satisfactory communication, that this is the oldest example of ARÆRDE yet found in England. And as we have this ARÆRDE, A-REARED, for an *older* ARÆSEDE, so we have examples in Scandinavia on rune-stones of A-RAISA, I-RESA, for the *later* RAISA, RESA, &c., the prefix rapidly falling away in Scandinavia. So it has in fact in England, to AREAR being seldom or never found in modern English. The simple to REAR, to RAISE, is preferred. — As to the names. We are not informed of the tie of relationship or friendship, whether the Cross was raised by mother to



daughter or daughter to mother, or sister to sister or friend to friend, or what not. All this was known to everybody at the time. I do not remember to have seen *IGILSWITH* before in England or Scandinavia, tho it is well known in olden German documents in the form *EGILSUIND*, *EGILSUNT*, *EILSUIND*, &c. Very many Old-English female names end in this *-SWITH* or *-SWITHA*. — *BERHTSWITH* (the Scando-Gothic *BERAHTSWIND*, *PERAHTSWIND*, *BERHTSUINDA*, &c.) is also very rare in England. It is best known there in connection with the fact, that the famous Abbess S. Hild of Whitby was the daughter of *HERERIC* and of the lady *BERCTSWID*, *BEORHTSUTHA* or *BEORSUTHA*, by Venerable Bæda called *BREGUSWITH* (which may have been a second name).

I now proceed to discuss the meaning of *AT BERGI*, here for the first time found in Britain on a grave-stone; my own opinion being that it means *AT the-BARROW* or *how* or *grave-mound*, and not *AT the-BERG* or *hill*. And as to England itself, I beg to refer the reader to the remarkable Brough stone, also in North-England, given at p. 169 of this volume. We there have the *CUOMBIL-BIO* (*cumble-boo*, *grave-kist*), in which the dead lady lay, distinctly mentioned; but also the names of the men are given who raised the *HOUGH* (*HOW*, *grave-mound*, *barrow*) over the kist. This word *BERG*, as we have said, is as yet found on a rune-pillar only once in England. In Scandinavia, the mother-land, it is almost equally rare. We have some 3000 runic grave-marks in Scandinavia; but, as far as I know, this word *BERG* occurs only on 3 of them. Let us examine these 3 rune-blocks in detail, and see what the epithet can mean there.

We will begin with the oldest, two of the heathen stones, apparently from the 10th century, at Hällestad in Torna Härad, Skåne (formerly a Danish folkland now a Swedish). These were previously known to us from Liljegren Nos. 1441, 2, Bautil Nos. 1164 and 1172, and Joh. Åkerman in his "Försök till Beskrifning öfver Hellestads Pastorat", 8vo, Lund 1828, p. 70, 73. But they have since been examined by Prof. S. Bugge and Docent Dr. Ludvig Wimmer. The latter gentleman has kindly furnished me with copies, as prepared by himself for his great work on the Runic Monuments of Denmark. These transcripts I here give, premising that some runes on the stones are now greatly damaged. Dr. Wimmer's text of the shorter block is:

OSKAUTR RISTDI STIN DANSI IFTIR AIRU. BRÐUR SIN; IAN SAR UAS HIMÐIKI TUKA.  
 NU SKAL STATO  
 STIN O BIARKI.

This I can only translate as:

OSKAUT RAISED STONE THIS AFTER AIRA, BROTHER SIN (*his*); IN (*but*) SA (*he*) WAS HOME-THIGGER  
 (*home-sharer*, *house-lodger* and *ward*) of-TUKI.  
 NOW SHALL STAND  
 this-STONE ON the-BARROW.

The longer monument reads, in Dr. Wimmer's transcript:

ASKIL SATI STIN DANSI IFTI(R) TUKA KURMS SUN, SAR HULAN TRUTIN.  
 SAR FLU AIGI  
 AT UBSALUM.  
 SATU TRIKAR  
 IFTIR SIN BRÐUR  
 STIN O BIARKI  
 STUPAN RUNUM,  
 ÐIR KURMS TUKA  
 KIKU NISTIR.

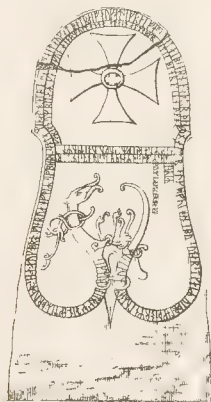
My version of this risting is:

ASKIL SET STONE THIS AFTER TUKI KURMS (= GORM'S, SON to-HIMSELF a-HOLD (*faithful* and *kindly*))  
 ÐRIHTEN (*lord*).  
 SA (*he*) FLED AIKI (*not*)  
 AT UPSALA.  
 SET DRENGS (*soldiers*)

AFTER SIN (*their*) BROTHER  
 this-STONE ON the-BARROW (*grave-mound*)  
 STUDED (*mark, adorned*) with RUNES,  
 THEY-who GORM'S TUKI  
 GIONGON (*went, stood*) NEXT

In both these places we have all previously translated O BIARKI *on the hill*. But the occurrence of this wordfall on the Thornhill stone in the meaning of BARROW gave me the clue to its meaning here. Doubt vanisht, when I remembered that all this part of Skåne, near and south and west of Lund, is *as flat as a pancake*. There is nothing like a hill or mount, no natural eminence that *could* be called BERG. And all scholars with whom I have since spoken on this head agree that I am right.

We will now turn to the 3rd and later rune-stone, from the early Christian time, maybe the 11th century. It is the famous and beautiful monolith at Hauggrän or Hogrån in the iland of Gotland, spoken of by me Vol. 2, p. 912, Liljegren's No. 1571 and his authorities, to which must be added J. Wallin's *Analecta Gothlandensia*, Ms. in Kalmar, I, p. 725, 1058, 1060, and Prof. Carl Säve's *Gutniska Urkunder*, 8vo. Stockholm 1859, No. 84. The only publisht drawing is that in N. H. Sjöborg's "*Samlingar för Nordens Fornälskare*", 4to. Vol. 2, Stockholm 1824, fig. 227, text at p. 56. This lithograph gives an excellent idea of the pillar itself, which belongs to the interesting horseshoe headed class so common in Gotland so rare elsewhere in Scandinavia, a type apparently introduced from England, perhaps over the Ile of Man. It is in the Churchyard, of limestone, 9 feet 6 inches high; greatest breadth, below, 5 feet. Lies east of the great door. As far back as is known, has been broken near the top. Such was its state in 1852, when it was carefully drawn by the indefatigable and enthusiastic and learned Gotlandish oldlorist Dr. P. A. Säve, who has kindly lent me (in 1882) his very large drawing. It is this drawing which was used by his rune-gifted brother, the late Prof. Carl Säve. But it contains several obscurities and some terms as yet found *on no other stone*. Consequently it has only been partially redd. But we all have followed suit in taking its A BIERGI to mean *on the hill or mount*. Here again the Thornhill stone assists us, and gives to that expression the meaning *ON the-BARROW, grave-mound, tumulus*. And this is again proved by the *flat district* where it was found, no shadow of a hill or height existing there. Accordingly Dr. P. A. Säve, to whom I communicated my idea, fully agrees with me that BARROW, *how*, is intended, not BERG, *mount*. He even thinks that such Gotlandish place-names as BJERGE, BJERGES, BJÄRS, BURGE, UPPE-GÅRDS, &c. have got their name from some old local "BARROW, steinröse, ätte hög", in fact a *grave-mound, tumulus*. — This block is also remarkable, as I have said elsewhere, as being the only grave-stone in Scandinavia bearing the word BEKUN (= BEACON, pillar, grave-mark) for the tall slab itself, that word which we find so frequently in England. For these and other reasons I give this long epitaph *in extenso*, and attempt its translation, begging pardon for any shortcomings. The lithograph in Sjöborg is useless for minute runish purposes, there being so many mistakes in the letters. But it gives a good idea of the elegant stone and its rune-lines and the shape of the staves and ornaments. I therefore show it here from Sjöborg, about half his size.



I would also gladly have copied Dr. P. A. Sæve's drawing, but it would have been *far too dear*; this stone is only an episode, the runes being *the later* or Scandinavian. However, I add the inscription, transliterated in the usual way. In this I use P. A. Sæve's runes, as I understand them, altering nothing:

SIGMUTR LET RASA SAIN EFTIR BRUDR SINA, AUK BRO KIERUA EFTIR SIKBIERN; SANTA MIKAL HIELPI (at H)ANS;  
AUK AT BOTRAIF, AUK AT SIGRAIF; AUK AT AIBIERN, FADUR DAIRA ALTRA, AUK BIKUI HAN I BÜ SUNARST. —  
KAIRUIDR LEKDI ORM-ALUR. NEMO IN-TIUR.

KARMANUM BETAR  
AR(u-b)EKUN.  
HIER MUN STANTA  
STAIN AT MERKI.  
U-MITR A BIERGI,  
IN BRO FURIR.  
SIGMUTR (SIGR),  
IS SLIKU UNIT KÜML.  
ROKS SUN RISTI  
RUNAR DESI;  
KAIRLAIFR SUMA-ARAR  
KARIA KA(T).

SIGMUT (= SIGMUND) LET RAISE *this-SAIN* (*truth-stone*) AFTER BROTHERS SINE (*his*), EKE (*and*) BROW (*bridge*) GARE (*make*) AFTER SIKBIERN — SAINT MICHAEL HELP (*and* : *soul*) HIS —; EKE AT (*to*) BOTRAIF; EKE AT SIGRAIF; EKE AT AIBIERN, FATHER THEIR ALL (*of all these the father*), EKE BIGGED (*dwelt*) HE IN BY (*home-stead*) SUNDERST (*the southern-most*). — KAIRUTH LAID (*cut out*) the-WORM-OLS (*serpent-thongs, rune-winds*). NEMNE (*all but, except*) the-IN DEER (*the dragon-head, &c.*).

For-CARL-MEN (*heroes*) BETES (*makes boot, adorns, is-fitting*)

An-ARE (*honor-*) BEACON (*pillar*).

HERE MUN (*shall*) STAND

*this-STONE AT (as) a-MARK*

UN-METE (*large, towering*) ON the-BARROW,

IN (*but, and also*) the-BROW (*bridge*) BEFORE-it.

SIGMUND so-SAYETH.

AS (*who*) SWILK (*such*) has-WON (*made*) a-CUMBEL (*grave-mark*).

ROKS-SON RISTEL

RUNES THESE:

KAIRLAIF the-SEEM-STONES (*honor-blocks, ring-stones*)

to-CARRY (*drive, bring*) GAT (= *carried, brought hither*).

We see from the whole that a great local chief, AIBIERN, has died or fallen together with 3 sons, SIKBIERN, BUTRAIF and SIGRAIF. The living son and heir raises a noble CUMBEL (monument) to his and their memory, a Rune-pillar, stone-setting (or foot-stones or ring-stones) and a Bridge or Causeway. All who have taken part in this pious work state the share they have had in it. Besides SIGMUND himself, who has arranged the whole and paid for the Bridge-building, KAIRWITH cut out the snake-winds, ROKSSON carved the runes and the dragon-head, &c., and KAIRLAIF drew all the stones to their proper places. The grave-words, with the closing 12 lines in stave-rime verse, were doubtless composed by SIGMUND. — But the linguistic difficulties. They are many, and I am not sure that I have loost them all without fault. — SAIN I think to be another example of the variously written SAN, SIN, SAEN, ISIN, &c., for *SOOTH-stone*, truly witnessing slab, of which I have spoken elsewhere. It occurs on 4 other Swedish blocks in the *same spelling* as here. — ORM-ALUR I have seen on no other grave-minne or elsewhere. It seems to me to have no other meaning than what it literally says, WORM-OLS, the winding snake-lines for the runes. — LEKDI, LAID-down, markt with his chisel, is therefore the fitting verb. — NEMO, found here for the first time in runes, and now as extinct (Iceland excepted) in Scandinavia as in England, was found there in several shapes in olden times. It is the O. Swed. and O. Dan. NUM; N. I. NEMA; O. E. NEFNE, NEMNE, NIMNE, NEMDE, NYMDE; M. G. NIBAI; O. S. NEBU; Ohg. NIBU, NIBI, NUBI; comp. Lat. NISI. See on this word A. Kock, "Bidrag till Svensk Etymologi", Lund

1880, p. 52. — IN-TIUR, found here for the first time. Apparently can only mean the IN-DEER, the animal inside the risting, the worm-head, &c. — BETAR and ARU-BEKUN speak for themselves. — C-MIETR, the O. Engl. UNMÆTE, UNMETTE, here first found, is self-evident. — SLIKU = SWALIKU = SWILK, SUCH, d. s. n., is the earliest instance of this pronoun in runes. — UNIT (= WUNNIT, with the usual falling away of the tip-w in so many Scandinavian words), is the supine from WINNA to WIN by work, work, do, make. — SUMA-ARAR, a compound, nom. s. SOMI, gen. SOMA, masc., what is *seemly, honorable*. ARAR I look upon as the ac. pl. m. of AR, a stone, honor-stone. Whether we look upon this word as originally signifying *fire, to kindle*, or a *stone on which to kindle*, it is certain that besides the masc. longer forms (compounds or not) N. I. ARINN, ARNE, O. Swed. ARIN, ÆRIN, Dan. ARNE, Smålandish ÅRIL, there existed a shorter masc. form AR in Iceland, ARE, ARE in Norway. These words are used in various side-meanings, usually for *hearth, fire-place*, but also for *hearth-stone, stone or stones placed round the fire-place*, and produced many compounds, such as ÅRHELLA, ÅRESTOVA. But the open hearth is rapidly disappearing in Scandinavia as elsewhere, and all these words are dying out. I have never seen or heard any one of them in England. There can be no doubt that this vocable could have been used for *stone* simply, like so many others. At all events SUMA-ARAR, *honor-stones* to the dead helts, suits admirably, and I cannot help thinking that this is the same ARAR as meets us on the Swedish Berga block, given by me above p. 285, whose closing strophe is:

MANA\_ARAR

LIKU IFT

MAUN (*remind, speak of him*) these-ARES (*honor-stones*)

LONG AFTER-him.

No less hard is the following word, KARIA. The difficulty is, that so many of our common vocables are necessarily so scarce in the few documents which have come down to us. Thus of CARRY in English (with its side-forms older CERRAN, CEORRAN, CYRRAN, later KER, CHARE, CHAR, &c.) and KÖRA (Icel. KEYRA) in Scandinavia, originally as I believe the same or from the same root, we have no *ancient* examples. But they were not "invented" all of a sudden in the 13th or 14th century. We can see this from the local differences of meaning. So, roughly speaking, to CARRY in English *now* means to bear along whether on ones person or in a vehicle, whereas the Scandian KÖRA is *now* about = to DRIVE a horse, whether or no harness to a vehicle. On this stone the meaning is simply, as I take it, *to CARRY, transport*. Should this be the word, it is the oldest instance of it yet found. — KAT, CAT, *let*, with an infinitive, is not uncommon on these olden pieces. — The general meaning of the whole risting is clear, even should I have failed in one particular or other, and at all events it strikingly illustrates the BECUN and AT BERGI of this third Thornhill stone.

## DEARHAM, NEAR MARYPORT, W. CUMBERLAND, ENGLAND.

' DATE ABOUT A. D. 850—950.

*From drawings, light-blds and rubbings kindly forwarded by the Rev. W S. CALVERLEY*

*Engraved by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN, 1<sup>st</sup>*

Badly engraved by Daniel and Samuel Lysons in their *Magna Britannia*, Vol. 4, Cumberland, 4to, London 1816, a work I have never seen and of which no copy exists in Denmark. These gentlemen had not discovered the Latin and Runic inscriptions, which were first found by the Rev. W. C. Calverley, during repairs of his church in 1882. All that Dr. John Stuart, in his magnificent "Sculptured Stones of Scotland", folio, Vol. 2, Edinburgh 1867, Notices p. 18, says of this block is, that it is "covered with rude sculpture", and was probably part of an ancient cross: but he gives no authority for this last mistaken opinion.

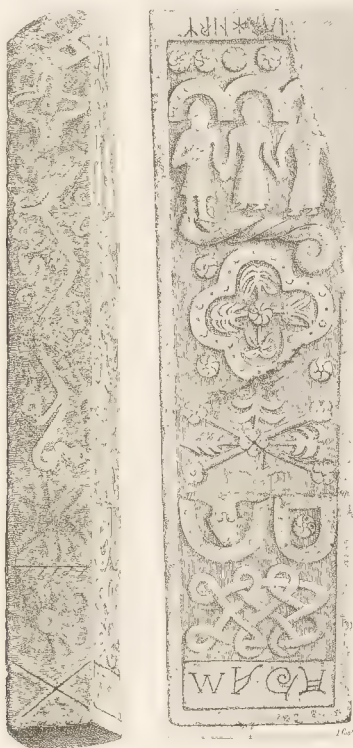


This sarcophagus has therefore hitherto been practically unknown, and we must all thank the zeal and care with which Mr. Calverley has worked upon it. At my request, he has favored me with the following excellent details, with permission to use them here:

"Dearham Vicarage. Carlisle.

May 16, 1882.

"Dearham Church, in the Diocese of Carlisle, stands in a howe [hollow, dell], something more than 100 feet above the sea level and at a distance, in a direct line, of two English miles from the shore of Solway and two miles and a half from the mouth of the river Ellen, eastward. This neck of land slopes quickly down on the east and north sides to Rowbeck, whilst on the west and south two little ghylls [hill-streams], running into the beck, almost divide the peninsula from the main land. The



position is naturally strong. On the opposite side of Rowbeck, and facing the east of the Church, is a farm-house, Dearham Hall, formerly the home of the Dearhams and probably fortified. At the west end of the Church stands a massive, square, battlemented Tower, built on to the old Church late in the 13th century or early in the 14th. It is 40 feet high or thereabouts so that, standing in the hollow of the projecting neck of land, it commands the tops of the undulations over the surrounding district for a great distance, without itself becoming conspicuous. It would thus be a valuable shelter, beacon and defence during the border troubles.

"Many coffin lids or sepulchral slabs, bearing floriated Crosses with Calvary steps and window tracery and the Sword and Shears and Book, are found built as copings to the Churchyard wall and porch, and as seats in the porch. This last was added in the decorated period.

"The most easterly portion of the Chancel has been added to a former Chancel in the Early English period. That former Chancel was added to the nave during the Norman period. The two small original Norman windows of fine hewn masonry, which throw light upon the altar of that day, still

remain. The original stone Church probably corresponded in length to the present Nave, which is now being restored and enlarged by the addition of an aisle on the North side. This length was about 48 feet. The foundations of the eastern and western walls were found under the present chancel and tower arches during the recent works. — In the south wall towards the east end was a recess in the wall. In the place where the piscina should be, it still remains. Beneath this recess and inside the Church, south of the altar of the early Church, there had been many burials. Upon trying the ground with an iron rod and finding an obstruction at a depth of about 5 feet, and much water, it was determined to remove the soil carefully and prove the cause of the dampness, so as to remove it if possible. Close to the wall and only a few inches from the surface, a burial was observed facing eastward. No traces of any coffin or envelopment, a veritable illustration of "earth to earth". Each bone lay bedded in the mould, in perfect order. The workmen, who were most careful and reverent, were ordered to step aside and excavate alongside the burial; but with a like result at a greater depth. A second time there was made a new beginning, and now, at a somewhat greater depth and partially under the superincumbent death-heap (in its turn an earlier burial than the first), lay one who had been interred with a long straight Wand — without bark upon it — adown his body, but in no coffin. At least no traces of such could be seen. There were wet leaves amongst the clayey soil, preserved through ages in the cold and airless humidity of this grave, so different from the dry pure earth of the upper ones. A bed of Hazel or Ivy leaves had been laid for the dead body, and probably his Cross (an untooled peeled Hazel wand with a cross piece) was then laid upon him.

"But what was the cause of the dampness and thus the preservation of these frail leaves, and this wand only half an inch in diameter? It was, that beneath this grave and a little to the side was a coffin of oak; at each end its sides projected, having been cut away by an adze or hatchet, so as to form at each end two handles, thus:



The lid had fallen in. The iron nails were still to be seen. Of the body but few were the remains. The teeth were ground down close to the jawbone. The burial had been placed in the clay, from which no water could escape, and hence the preservation of the wood. This I raised up, and beneath it, on the bottom of the grave, still lay, apparently almost as perfect as when placed there, 2 Hazel wands, thus X, as a St. Andrew's Cross, with the bark still on them and the silvery light to show they were Hazel when dry. Similar Hazel wands were above the coffin, *flattened* on one side and with the bark on, whereas the *first*-mentioned wand was *round* and had evidently been purposely peeled. Whether the crossed wands have any special significance or were tied round the coffin, which evidently was intended to be carried, I cannot say. I would only remind you of the St. Andrew's Cross and the thunderbolts on the Dearham Runic Slab, and of the four like Crosses at the foot of the famous Cross-pillar in the Dearham churchyard.

"In connection with these burials and Hazel wands I would mention, that St. Kentigern [died 601] was the apostle of Strathclyde. There is a story or legend about him to this effect: Some one who had a spite against him put out all the fires in his monastery. Hereupon St. Kentigern snatched up a green Hazel bough, and in the name of the Holy Trinity blessed it and blowed upon it. Immediately, by fire sent down from heaven, the bough produced a great flame, and the Saint lighted the candles for the vigils. On this, the light ceased from the wood. I think these facts tend to prove St. Kentigern's influence in connection with this coast.

"To return to the Church. I do not know to whom it was dedicated. All my searchings have been fruitless. The stones of which it was built are the usual square-faced long wedge-like red sandstone blocks used by the Romans at their camps. Many still retain the Roman tooling. Amongst them, during the work of restoration, I have discovered the top of an elegant little Roman Altar; but, unfortunately, the inscription is gone. The Roman road from the station at Ellenborough on the Solway, by Papcastle to Keswick, runs within a mile of the Church; from this Ellenborough station, or from some nearer Roman look-out, the stones of the old Church would be carried. — According to his biographer, St. Kentigern journeys from Carlisle to Keswick and there erects a Cross, whence the place afterwards takes the name Crossthwaite. He then makes for the sea, and so along the coastlands

towards Wales. Thus all along the Roman road we have evidences of mission stations, which may have been founded or re-invigorated by him.

"We have two roads leading over the old common, from *Ellenborough* and *Ewanrigg* and past *Kirkborough* and *Hayborough*, still called *Crosshow* loanings, and another road from *Craikhow*. All run to the Church, where stood the Cross before the first stone Church, and perhaps before either St. Cuthbert's or St. Kentigern's time. Another early mission station stood between Dearham and the sea, at *Cross-stenanby*, now *Cross-canonby*, and further at *Gill-crux* on the inland side of Dearham.

"The Dearham slab, as is well known, was over the North doorway of the Church, whence I took it out. But, besides being so badly engraved by Lysons, its Roman and Runic letterings were unknown. They were buried under many coats of whitewash and plaster. How much we are indebted to this shielding plaster, we cannot say! Now that the stone has been taken down, during the repairs, all is clear. It was intended to be recumbent, not to stand upright, and is sculptured only on the top and on one long side. Thus it was originally placed alongside a wall, or in a recess in a wall, where the further side and the ends would not be seen. — It is of yellowish sandstone, probably from the old quarry near the junction of *Row-beck* with the *Ellen*. Length, 4 feet by 3 inches and a quarter; least width, at foot, 13 inches; greatest width, 15 inches; depth, 6 inches. — On the top, a raised border runs round the slab, 1 inch in width, but 2 inches at the runic end. The width of the panel bearing the Roman letters is 3½ inches. — At the right corner of the upper or broader end a piece has been broken away, carrying with it part of the third figure and the beginning of the runic writing. Sufficient remains to show, that we have here a representation of the fall and restoration of humanity, in which the seed of the woman shall bruise the Serpent's head, tho that Serpent bruise his heel. (Genesis, 3, 15). Under the runes, 7 revolving bodies whirl above the tabernacle-work of three round arches, each studded with 8 symbolic pellets, under which are *Adam*, in whom all die, hand in hand with the *Woman*, and with *Christ* in whom all are made alive again. Beneath, are 2 Serpents, one biting the foot of the mitred man, "the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls" (1 Peter, 2, 25); the other with bruised head, down twisted. Something is left of further sculpture, running up the broken part. — Then comes a mysterious quatrefoil, the centre occupied by a revolving body which throws out 4 tongues of flame or arrows of fire at right angles with each other, whilst each arch of the sign is studded with *raised flat pellets* and *incised points*, arranged alternately, each arch containing 4 pellets and 3 points, the whole sign 28 pellets and points in all. Outside the quatrefoil, in 3 of the angles, again revolves the whirling body. What can this be but the revolutions of Sun and Moon, the 7 days of the week, the 4 weeks of the month or 28 days, of which *four* are the great Holy days the Sundays? — Then another strange sign, in which Thunder-bolts and Lightning-arrows take the form of a St. Andrew's Cross and a Greek Cross. — Next, an archway, something of the shape of a horse-shoe, studded with points (only 4 left), with the revolving sphere again in its centre; beside it, a mitred head under a canopy or halo or arch, studded with 8 flat pellets. — So comes the emblem of Eternity or of the Ancient of Days, the fret without beginning and without end. — All the sculptures on this upper side or face are *in relief*.

"The front side has no border, and most of its sculptures are *incised*. Beginning on the right, we have the ancient Cross sign known as St. Andrew's. — Next, I think, the Sun in all his glory, or perhaps the earth. — Then, a straight perpendicular line, with 5 side-strokes. Seemingly, too regular to be chisel-marks, tho I dare not give them any meaning. — Next, a sort of revolving body throwing out rays of light, the 6 principal being slightly curved, shewing *active motion*. This may be the Sun. Each figure has 6 large and 6 small rays, which I think correspond to 12 hours day and 12 hours night, 7 such days being a week, of which 4 are a month (4 Sundays), of which 12 are a year. — To the left is an inflected or deflected rod, one end taking the form of a crook. The whole has budded and floriated, and the trefoil is plainly visible amongst the floriations, as also is the arrow-lightning sign. — Further left, a 4-lobed Star, followed by diamond or losenge work (a bit of the corner knocked off). — The (12 hours' light and 12 night hours, or full) day of active life of our Bishop, whose Staff has budded and been fruitful among the worshippers of the Sun or the Thunderer, is over. He enters Eternity, with the guiding Star before him, which has the shape of the Cross. — What is certain is, that this Runic Slab must be *earlier* than the North doorway of our Norman Church, over which it was placed as mere building-stuff.

W. S. Calverley."



After this exhaustive and valuable paper, I have little to say. I look upon this Slab as excessively costly, not only because it bears runes, but also as giving us new material in that *difficult* study — chiefly for want of monuments — the *oldest* Christian art-symbols. All that I can clearly see is, that Mr. Calverley has rightly identified the principal scene, Man fallen and Man redeemed, here shown in a masterly picture full of deep meaning, which I have *never seen before*. What strikes us is, that Adam and Eve are *draped*. But this only shows that the treatment is conventional. It is not the scene in Paradise, it is the Man-kind, the Human Race, for whom Christ died. And so the charming naive handling of the Serpent, his revenge and his punishment shown on the same plane by doubling his form, as so often in olden art, pagan and Christian. — We must wait for fresh finds, before we can speak with any certainty on the other symbols, which may have belonged to an individual local artist or thinker, rather than to a school.

My approximate *date* is founded on the stone itself being old building-rubbish from Pre-Norman times, from its bearing Old-Northern Runes together with Roman letters later than the time of Charlemagne, and from its antique ornamentation. It is the *second* Sarcophagus slab bearing runes known to me in England, the *first* being the Dover stone, 8th century, my Vol. 1, p. 465 and Vol. 2, p. 865.

As to the *inscriptions*. The word ADAM is certainly the name of the deccast, and is not uncommon in early as in later days. He may well have been a Bishop or Abbot, or some high ecclesiastic. With regard to the runes. The date makes it unlikely that they should be the later or Scandinavian. The corner being broken off here, some 4 staves or so are gone at the *beginning*, while there never has been any other letter after the last Y on the right. Now if later runes, we get, in the complete word, HNLERM, the Æ and R being a bind. But this gives no meaning, and contractions are very unlikely here, as we expect the usual prayer-formula, which would be made very clear. All things show, therefore, that we must take the inscription to have been in the *Old-Northern* letters. In this case the *first* stave in this last vocable is the usual bind for GI, as on the Dover stone (GIYOSLHEARD) and elsewhere, while the *last* will be the usual O, N. mark for A. We thus get GI-NLERA. We at once recognize this as good Old-English, 3 s. pres. subjunctive, *may-he-NERE*, *help*, *save*, the verb itself being widely known in Scando-Gothic dialects, from the Mæso-Gothic GANASYAN, to save, *active*, GANISAN, to be saved, *neuter*; Old-English GNERIAN, GENESAN; Ohg. GNERIAN; O. Fris. NERA; O. Icel. and O. Swedish NÆRA; Danish NÆRE, downwards. In some talks it sinks to the meaning of *to nourish*, *feed*. And as we have in Old-English and elsewhere HÆLEND (the Healer, the Saviour) for JESUS or CHRIST, so we have also NERIGEND, NERIEHD for God and Christ. But in these far-off runic times, among the many verbs used to express this idea of Salvation and Protection for the departed friend (such as HELP, LETE, SEE, &c.), we have never yet found this particular verb NERIAN. In my opinion this is only from paucity of monuments, what we have being as nothing to what we have lost, and new runic words and formulas yearly coming in as new monuments come in. I cannot therefore but look on this resting as in Old-Northern staves, and regard this as giving the first example of this prayer for the dead with this particular word. — The letter before it is a broken ʀ (L), and to its left A (U), and then a broken ʁ (S), thus SUL, *soul*, in the accusative, (a spelling instead of the usual SAUL, which is also found elsewhere). Remains the first word, broken away. This must have been KRIST (the ST carved separately, or in one, as a bind, ʁʀ), as on the Kilbar stone, p. 315 in this volume. The whole will then have been:

ADAM.

(krist s)U(L) GI-NLERA.

*May-Christ his-SOUL NÆRE (save, bless)!*

In this case we have here -A as the mark of the 3 person sng. of the present subjunctive, it afterwards falling to -E. But this is a further proof of the likelihood of my reading, for we expect this archaic sound on so very old a monument. The ʁ (Æ), in the bind for ÆR, is also (like the A for A on the Brough stone) an early rarity in England.



## AFTERWRIT.

Vol. 1, p. XXII. ALDBOROUGH. — In The Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Journal, Parts 17, 18, 8vo, London 1877, is a most valuable article, with plates, by the late Rev. D. H. Haigh on "Yorkshire Dials". This one is engraved on Pl. 1, with text at p. 151. It is figured from a rubbing and cast by the vicar, the Rev. P. W. Loosemore. These show that we must read *ÆRIERAN*, not *ARÆRAN*. The curious mark also is not a triple Cross, but a variety of the Svastika or Fylfot.

Vol. 1, p. 313. — In "Résultat des Recherches exécutées dans les Lacs de la Suisse Occidentale depuis l'année 1866" (4to, Zürich 1876, p. 14, Tab. 7, fig. 1 and suppl., printed in Mittheilungen aus Zürich, Vol. 19), Dr. V. Gross figures one of the 2 Yewen Sickle-handles found by him at Mørigen, the site of one of the ancient pile-villages on the lake. The engravings are repeated in the Archæological Journal, Vol. 3. and by Mr. J. Evans in his Bronze Implements of Great Brit. and Irel. (London 1881, p. 196), who adds from Sir John Lubbock that the planes and knives of the Esquimaux are recast in the same manner for the fingers and the thumb. This method of protecting the hand is still more elaborate than in the Danish and the Småland examples, but the idea is the same. The latter and simpler type must also have been known to the Romans, for in "Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines" by Daremberg and Saglio, Pt. 3, Paris 1874, 4to, p. 432, is an engraving (from Berichte d. Sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissenschaften, 1861, pl. ix, 9 a) of shelf-fittings in the shop of a Roman Cutler. In the top tier hang 10 Sickles. The hafts vary, but some have the Northern bent hand-protecting shape.

Vol. 1, p. 369. HAVERSLUND. — I now (Oct. 11, 1880) see in the papers that this stolen stone has been found in the Park of a Hunting-box near Potsdam. The thief turns out to have been Prince Friedrich Karl of Prussia. We shall see whether the robbers will send it back again to the Danish province whence it was so shamelessly dragged.

Vol. 2, p. 626. VÄNDERSTAD. — From a letter just received (May 1882) from Prof. Rev. W. W. Skeat of Cambridge, I find that he has examined this block, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and finds that Bure's text, as given by me, is correct with one exception. The forth-faren's name is *IULBUR*, not *IULBURN*, the *N* being nasalized.

Vol. 1, p. 67, Vol. 2, p. 828. — July 1879. F. H. Dickenson, Esq., of London, has kindly forwarded to me the following communication: "We have traces of Hengist and Horsa in Somerset. At the extreme S. E. corner of the county, bordering on Dorset, are Henstridge and Horsington, which with 2 or 3 other parishes of more modern name occupy a very remarkable rectangle of about 15 square miles. . . . Henstridge is called in Domesday Hengestridge. It is very remarkable that the two places should be close together." — Thus we have in England *HINKS* and *HENST* as slurred forms of *HENGIST*; in Scandinavia, where the *N* also fell out, it early became *BEST* = a horse.

Vol. 3, p. 8. — July 1880. Cand. Phil. Moltke Moe, of Christiania, has kindly sent me an overprint of his interesting article on his Folk-lore tour in Telemarken (printed in N. Univ. og Skole-Annaler, 1880). At p. 16 he has the following valuable remarks on the *Narrationes lubricæ* so common in our Northern lands. — "These small stories had already attracted my notice. Besides being contributions of a peculiar kind to the characteristic features of our people, I could not help seeing in

them many traces — however weak — of a sort of Northern Fallos [= Phallus] or Priap-worship. The *Narrationes* I wrote down last summer have surprisingly strengthened my supposition. Not only would they seem to have preserved remains of the nature and forms of this most ancient cultus, viewed and told humorously or burlesquely, but some of the standing phrases are apparently echoes of central glosses and expressions in Völsapátt<sup>r</sup>. Besides these tales themselves and other obscene folk-traditions, light will probably be thrown on this whole question by some of our wood-carvings and grave-finds, for instance the Stone-Phalli found in old grave-hows<sup>2</sup>, and Adam of Bremen's words as to the God Frey, "cuius simulachrum (in Upsala) fingunt ingenti priapo" (Hist. eccles. cap. 233 (IV, 26)). — In 1880 was found in a peat-bog in Åsmild parish, near Viborg, S. Jutland, an idol or protecting amulet in the shape of a wooden image, roughly adapted from the 3-forked branch of a tree. This God or Figure was plainly a Priapus, apparently from the Bronze age. — It has been engraved, with other such Phallus figures found in Scandinavia and England, in Hr. A. Feddersen's interesting paper "To Mosefund" (pp. 369—389 of Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed, Kjøbenhavn 1881. 8vo). — See for similar worship and similar things in Ireland: R. R. Brash, The Ogam Inscribed Monuments of the Gaedhil, London 1879. p. 95 and Pl. 9.

Vol. 3, p. 24. SKÅ-ÅNG. — Should the bind \* be here redd iǫ, as on the English Thornhill stone, and not ǫ. we should get:

HÆRINGÆ IGLEUGÆ AI!

*Let HÆRINGÆ the-GLEG (wise, bright, prudent) OWE (have this-grave).*

The i in IGLEUGÆ will then be the usual intensive prefix, of which we have so many examples, added to the common Scando-Gothic word: O. E. GLEW, GLEAW, &c., M. Goth. (GLAGWUS), N. Icel. GLÖGG(R), Og. & O. S. GLAÐ, GILOU, &c.

Vol. 3, p. 30, l. 8. — The lately publisht Vol. 2, part 1 of Thorsen's Danske Runemindesmærker, Plate 26, shows that the Fjellerad stone bears D(A)UM (not DADM) HAUKI.

Vol. 3, p. 35, l. 7. — Read HELE-HEDDUÆ.

Vol. 3, p. 36. UPSALA. — An engraving of this Danish Axe-fragment will be found in "E. Cartailhac, L'âge de la Pierre dans les souvenirs et les superstitions populaires", Paris 1878. — Therefrom it is copied at p. 123 of "Matériaux pour l'hist. prim. et naturelle de l'Homme. par Ém. Cartailhac", 2 Sér. T. IX, 1878, Toulouse, 8vo.

Vol. 3, p. 40. — The Hammel stone has since been publisht, drawn by Prof. Magnus Petersen, in Prof. Thorsen's De Danske Runemindesmærker, Vol. 2, Part 1, Plate 64.

Vol. 3, p. 47, 48. — See the remarks of Mr. John Abercromby on cryptic writing also on Ogham stones, in The Academy, London, Nov. 13, 1880, p. 346.

Vol. 3, p. 48. — The O.N. character 𐌺, here given by me as NG, may perhaps be a variant of B. In my Ms. Alphabet No. 39 (Vol. 1, p. 110), of the 10th or 11th century, we have B in this same shape. Quite lately (summer of 1880) a heathen rune-stone, probably from the 10th century, was found on the seaside at Brunsgård, Nylarsker, Bornholm, Denmark. I have to thank Herr P. Hauberg, of Cheapinghaven, for beautiful drawings, taken by him on the spot. The block bears only one word, the name of the forthfaren.

𐌺 𐌺 𐌺 𐌺 𐌺 𐌺 𐌺 𐌺 𐌺 𐌺

KITELBARN.

Here we see exactly the same type for B, only ververst.

Vol. 3, p. 49, l. 15 from below. — For ILLUSTRIOUS read MARINGS.

Vol. 3, p. 54, l. 14 from below. — For bandric read baudrick.

Vol. 3, p. 78. — Tronyem, July 1881. I have now examined this Bø stone. My plate is most exact.

Vol. 3, p. 87. — Christiania, Norway, June 1881. Kindly assisted by Prof. Olaf Rygh, the Keeper of the Museum here, I have carefully gone thro all the Old-Northern Runic Monuments in the University Collection. They are: Bø, Bratsberg, Elgesem, Frøhang, Orstad, Reidstad, Sigdal, Tomstad,

<sup>1</sup> "Nordiske Oldskr. XXVII, p. 135 f. III. Platte a, b, c, d, II, 351 fol.; new-Icelandic version in Arnason, Íslenskar þjóðsögur I. 176 foll. Hr. H. Ross has obligingly communicated interesting details as to the continuation of such glosses in our dialects."

<sup>2</sup> "Holmboe, Om Civaisme i Europa (Kristiana uden-kab-els-kal- for-aandlinger 1866, p. 263 fol.g.)"

Tune and West Tanem. — We are *both* of opinion (which Prof. R. permits me to make known here) that my engravings of these pieces, now seen by me for the first time, — tho not so minutely photographic in their character as they would have been if engraved now — are yet *excellent* and *substantially correct*, and give properly the general contours of THE LETTERS THEMSELVES, however they are to be transliterated or sounded or understood. Only, as regards the Tune block, there is one divisional dot behind *ÆTER*, and 2 such dots (not one) before *STÆINÆ*. On this same stone I clearly see the L in *LIA*; Prof. Rygh thinks it cannot be this stave, while in the word (*SET*)<sup>Δ</sup> my learned friend doubts whether the first rune was an s, the remaining foot being so slanting. (But our runic pieces abound in such variations).

Vol. 3, p. 95. — Bergen, Norway. July 1881. My copy of this *ELGESEM* stone, now in the Museum here, is faultless.

Vol. 3, p. 96. — My engraving of this piece, examined by me at Christiania in July 1881, is quite correct. See under p. 87.

Vol. 3, p. 99, 100. — My copies of the Orstad, Reidstad, Sigdal and Bratsberg stones, compared by me with the originals in Christiania, July 1881, are faultless. See under p. 87.

Vol. 3, p. 106. — In July 1881 I examined this *FÖRDE* piece, and found my engraving absolutely correct.

Vol. 3, p. 108. — My copy of the Tomstad block, compared by me with the original, Christiania, in July 1881, is excellent. See under p. 87.

Vol. 3, p. 115. — As might be expected, my copy of this *VATN* block, which I examined in Tronjem in July 1881, is perfect.

Vol. 3, p. 116. — Having compared my copy of the West Tanem stone with the original, now in the Christiania Museum, in July 1881, I find it very good. See under p. 87.

Vol. 3, p. 117, under *HOLMEN*. — *For below read below*<sup>1</sup>.

Vol. 3, p. 124. — Jan. 1881. In the lately published last part, Vol. 4, of *Antiqvarisk Tidskrift för Sverige* the Swedish Riks-Antiquary, H. Hildebrand, at p. 216 dates the *HIMLINGÖE* Brooch at the year 200, or a little later.

Vol. 3, p. 124. — Under *VI MOSS*, add: ? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300—350.

Vol. 3, p. 128. *VI MOSS*. — In C. R. Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, Part 2. 8vo, London 1879, is a valuable paper on the altars and votive offerings of a whole little temple to the local Goddess Coventina, and also the local military chest (about 15,000 Roman coins), which had been carefully sunk in the temple-well at the approach of an overwhelming body of barbarians (Picts and Scots), to attack a part of the Roman Wall in the reign of Gratian, A. D. 367—383. The well was cleared out by Mr. Clayton in 1876, at Procolitia, now Carrawburgh, on the Tyne. — In like manner 17 Altars were discovered at Maryport, on the Roman Wall, in 1870. They had been buried by the Roman garrison there, with their faces carefully placed downwards, that they might escape desecration by the same foe.

Vol. 3, p. 128. *THE GOLDEN HORNS*. — Oct. 1880. With regard to the *first* divisional mark on the Runic Horn, the *Ç*, it may be remarked that this same character (only larger and *standing*, *Δ*.) is found, evidently as a stop in the same way, *above* the last letter of the first word on the lately discovered Torvik stone in Norway, which see. — On the evening of the 23 Nov. 1880 the Chamberlain Worsaae, Vice-President of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, gave an animated address on the Figures and Symbols characterizing the Golden Horns and the Golden Bracteates. In a rapid concentration of critical construction, the speaker claimed to have solved the mystery of these emblems, and announced that they belonged to the God-myths of ancient Scandinavia, more particularly the Death of Baldor. In my opinion Worsaae's argument was right in its main points, and will be a fresh point of departure for our future studies. On the same occasion he fixt the date of these Horns at the 6th century, which, for various reasons<sup>1</sup>, I think impossibly low. The date I have given I believe

<sup>1</sup> I will only mention two. In the 6th century Christianity had already been largely embraced by the Scandinavian populations in Britain, and had undoubtedly indirectly toucht and modified the heathendom of Scandinavia itself; — and, the stage of Northern paganism when Thor had 3 heads and the Gods wore high Horns must have been very far back indeed, certainly far older than the 6th century or even than the 4th. In *all* the traditions and poems and fragments, Eddic and Popular, which have come down to us in Scandinavia and England, we have not even one solitary *epithet* "three-headed" or "horned" as applied to any God. This "barbarous" period was already past, and the Gods (as in the Greece of Art) had become largely idealized in an anthropomorphical direction.

to be rather too late than too early. Should Worsaae be right in his brilliant identification, one consequence may be that *both* the Horns were made and given to the Temple *at the same time*. In this case HORNÆ is not ac. sing. masc., but ac. pl. neuter, = THESE-HORNS. Such nom. and ac. pl. neut. in -A or -Æ or -o, &c. are found in the oldest English and now and then in Scandinavian-runic inscriptions. — The argument that the Horns must be "late" because they have such a "Classical motive" as for instance *the Centaur*, belongs to the modern use of the word "Classical" in Scandinavian archæology as equivalent to "Roman", and this as equal to "late Roman", and "provincial" Italian in the "barbarous" lands. All this ignores the many powerful and flourishing Greek colonies in the "Seythian and Slavic" countries many centuries before Christ, the daily contact which the Gothic populations had therewith, and the many examples of Greek-classical things and ornamentation which have come down to us from the latest Bronze and earliest Iron periods. See this question further discust under THE GOTHIC MARCH.

Vol. 3, p. 132. ALTENKIRCHEN STONE. — I have since found this stone engraved lying on its side, as it really is built into the wall, in Fr. Kugler's "Kleine Schriften und Studien", Vol. 1, 8vo, Stuttgart 1853, p. 668. Here also is no inscription on the block, which it therefore never has had. Kugler, who examined the church in 1839 and drew the figure with his own hand, agrees as to its antiquity, as to its representing the overcome Svantevit, and as to its representing the triumph of Christ and the fact that what the Idol-temple of Arkona once was the Holy House of Altenkirchen now is. — In a chapter giving many examples of heathen monuments for various reasons retained or placed in churches, Ferd. Piper (Mythologie der christlichen Kunst, 8vo, Vol. 1, Weimar 1847, p. 53) also mentions this piece. Its position as lying on its side is a proof to him that it was intended to show the victory gained by the church. He adds that he has often seen it, but has not one word about its bearing any inscription.

Vol. 3, p. 136. MÆRE HAIRPIN. — In July 1881 I narrowly scanned the original in the Tronym Forn-hall. My facsimile is excellent. In the last stave but one, however, (the bind which I have redd KONA), the mark on the top right is a little *higher up* than in my woodcut, and can well be taken as ʀ (L) not ʁ (N). If so, we get KOAL which is = KWAL, the feminine noun (O. E. CWALU, CWAL, Mid. E. CWALE, now out of use) for *torment, pain, suffering, slaughter, death*, which in later N. I., when the vowel-change crept in, became KVÖL in the nom. sing. Whichever way we take it the result will be substantially the same, some kind of violent death or extreme suffering — in this case apparently caused by a woman.

Vol. 3, p. 139. VOLDTOFTE. — At p. 249, Vol. 2, Part 2 of his Danske Run. Prof. Thorsen adopts the opinion of Dr. Wimmer (answered by me Vol. 1, p. LVI, LVII), but without mentioning the name of that runologist, that we are to read RUULFR STS!

Vol. 3, p. 147. THISTED. — Jan. 1881. In his just publisht Runemindesmærker, 2, 2, p. 199, Prof. Thorsen easily gets rid of the A in TADIS. He reads the word as TYDIS, and this is to stand for MOPIS, and this is to be the modern TR's, the name of the province. The SOL he retains. But this is reasonable, compared to making the Y into Ð. — Add (p. 148) Jarl Thoror in Norway had a daughter OLÖF.

<p>"Hun var þegar a unga Alldre furdu kurteys, og var allra kvenna frijdust sköpuð, þeirra sem þa voru i Norvege. Dvi var leingt Nafn hennar, og var kölluð OLOF GEYSLE.</p>	<p><i>She was then in her young age very graceful, and was fairest made of all the women who were then in Norway. Therefore her name was lengthened, and she was called OLOF SUN-BEAM.</i></p>
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

Saga af Dorgrijmi Pruda. Cap. 2. (Nockrer Marg-Frooder Sögu-þættir. 4to, Hoolum 1756, p. 5).


Vol. 3, p. 167. — Others of these "Triangular-pommels" have since been found in Sweden, bringing the number up to at least a score. See E. Ekhoft's paper "Bohuslänska fornsaker från hednatiden", pp. 193—234 of "Göteborgs och Bohusläns Fornminnen", 8vo, Part 6, Stockholm 1880. At p. 198 one such is engraved, of gold, with garnets let-in, *verroterie cloisonnée*. — See also the CHESSELL DOWN Sword, under LAST FINDS further on.









Vol. 3, p. 168. KORSÖDEGÅRD. — Prof. Ol. Rygh's own account of this find, with engravings of the Sword and the Shieldboss, has now appeared in "Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmerkers bevaring. Aarsberetning for 1880", 8vo, Kristiania 1881, p. 184, and Pl. 6, fig. 29, 30, 31.




Vol. 3, p. 170. BROUGH ROMAN ALTAR. — This stone has been discust by Mr. W. Thompson Watkin. See the *Athenæum*, London, Nov. 13, 1880, and the *Academy*, London, Nov. 13, 1880, Feb. 12, 1881. He decides that this block, found at the Veteræ of the Romans, was dedicated to the Emperor SEPTIMUS SEVERUS, anno 195.

Vol. 3, p. 171, 172. — The so-called Roman rustic capital M is also old Greek. The oldest instance I have seen is in the bilingual (Greek and Palmyrene-Aramaic) inscription, now in the British Museum, brought from Tadmor or Palmyra, and inscribed A. D. 134. See No. 176 of the plates publisht by the English Palæographic Society, where M is always normally M, the sides usually slanting either to the right or the left. As early as 500 Bef. Chr., in the Treaty of Elis and the Heræans (Brit. Museum), we have the same tendency, M, only the arms start *from the top*, not from the middle. In the Corcyrean Inscription, B. C. 600 (Brit. Mus.), we have the "regular" M, as developept from the Phœnician . — As to the antiquity of this M in the Latin alphabet used in England, we have a hint in the find of 1878. In that year was discovered near South Shields in North Durham a fine grave-monument raised by a Palmyrene merchant named Barates to his wife Regina. The inscription is tway-tung, Latin and Aramaic. It has been handled and engraved by Prof. W. Wright in Transactions of the Soc. of Biblical Archæology, Vol. 6, Part 2, London 1879. See particularly the plates at p. 436 and 438. In the central niche of this tomb is a bas-relief of the lady herself. In the Latin text the M is , as on the Brough stone. The date of this monument is supposed by Prof. Hübner to be about the end of the 2nd or beginning of the 3rd century after Christ.

And again the M has the same  shape on the Roman tombstone to Julia Martima found in Cumberland. See it engraved at p. 28 of the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Ant. and Arch. Society, Vol. 5, Part 1, 8vo, Kendal 1881.

So again with the A. Starting from the Egyptian Hieratic Alphabet, whose symbol for A is a 2-legged Bird, skeletoned into , we find this A-mark running thro all the oldest so-called Phœnician stave-rows, till, by Demotic or Current writing it is naturally and inevitably simplified into , one side-stroke instead of two. Confining ourselves here to the oldest Greek settlements (for the Runic is an offshoot of the Greek), and beginning with the letters at Thera in the 9th century B. C., we find that along the whole line the type for A is , eventually often simplified to . Nothing like Y for A is known. The Runic A is therefore a simplification of the Egyptian-Phœnician-Greek , and the Runic Y for A must seemingly have had some special Political or Religious or Schismatic reason for its creation, and must be *younger* than . If so, its use for A in the later or Scandinavian Futhork is a *survival*, and the runic alphabet merely took back its *primitive* mark for A. We therefore need not be thunderstruck and confounded at meeting  for A as early as the 6th Christian yearhundred. On the contrary, it is quite possible that fresh runic finds will carry this  for A a still further back.

Vol. 3, p. 172. — We have the same Cross () carved over each bust of the 2 decest persons, on a grave-pillar of great antiquity, apparently from the south of France. Its age is not given. See *Ch. Cahier*, Nouveaux Mélanges d'Archéologie d'Hist. et de Lit. sur le Moyen Age. Ivoires, Miniatures, Émaux. 4to, Paris 1874, p. 230.

Vol. 3, p. 175, note 2. — Notwithstanding that Prof. Skeat gives the weight of his authority to the supposition that BARROW, *tumulus*, springs from a Keltic source, my own idea is that it is the regular successor of the O. English word BEORG, BERG, like as MEARG, MERG, has become the modern MARROW, and other such. — The oldest instance known to me of the use of this word in England for an *even then* old grave-how, is of the year 755—7. It is in a charter of Æthilbald king of Mercia (Kemble, I, p. 121): "iuxta siluam quam dicunt toccanceaga. habens in proximo *tumulum* qui habet nomen READABEORG."

Vol. 3, p. 189. BEWCASTLE. — About 1840 an accomlisht English Lady, Miss Sarah Losh, built at Wreay near Carlisle in Cumberland, instead of the olden one, a new stone church of great beauty in the Basilica shape. In the churchyard she raised as a grave-minne to her parents an *admirable full-size facsimile*, carved out of one block, of the famous runish Cross at BEWCASTLE. This I saw in August 1882. Only, instead of the Old-Engl. runes, it bears Latin grave-words.

Vol. 3, p. 189. RUTHWELL. — Sept. 1881. Dr. William Gow, M. A., of Kirkland House, Ayrshire, Scotland, has kindly communicated some remarks on this noble monument, and on my Chemitype of the same. My Chemitypes were "composed" from four drawings, one of each side By

inadvertence my artist has accidentally transposed them. The *faces* of the Cross, which contain Scriptural Sculptures and Latin Inscriptions, — as the Cross is now fixt — more nearly face north and south than east and west. The two *sides*, which bear Vine-ornaments and animals and O. E. runes, should have been placed so that the side at present found in the engraved figure at our left *should appear in that at our right, and vice versa*. Dr. John Stuart, in his invaluable "Sculptured Stones of Scotland", Vol. 2, has engraved the 2 faces and the 2 sides all *separately*, and therefore *could not* make the mistake I have committed. — Dr. Gow adds, that "wind and weather are leaving their marks on the cross, the edges especially of the soft red sandstone are suffering; here and there there is something like a minute barnacle in profusion. The sides are so narrow that it is the inscription in runes that must suffer most." — In his valuable "Scotland in Early Christian Times", 2nd Ser., 8vo, Edinburgh 1881, the gifted Keeper of the Scottish Museum, Dr. Joseph Anderson, handles this Cross p. 232—246. Reduced drawings of the principal parts are added.

Nov. 1882. Such extraordinary things have been said and done about this Rood, that I think it my duty to add some pages hereon, taken from my work "Prof. S. Bugge's Studies on Northern Mythology shortly examined".<sup>1</sup>

My first extract is from pp. 60—83:

THE RUTHWELL CROSS.

We are now able to take up the Ruthwell Cross. As it is of the utmost consequence to this argument, I beg to ask your kind attention. I wish to discuss it very quietly and very impartially, so that all may judge. It is true that Prof. Bugge absolves it in a few lines, while I shall be compelled to devote many pages to it. My apology is, its being a matchless Northern monument, — the finest Runic Cross in the world —, and its many other valuable details. It was handled by me in the 1st Vol. of my Old-Northern Runic Monuments, published in 1867, and the views I there express have been admitted by all our best English critics to be correct. I may add that the Casts of all the runic letterings, from which I made my rune-transcripts in my drawings of the whole Cross, as executed by Prof. Magnus Petersen, were given by me to the Danish Museum, in the same way as I have given all my other runic casts; and there they might easily have been examined by Prof. Bugge, who studied many other *less* important Runic casts from Great Britain deposited in the *same* Museum.

The result to which I came was, that the poetical stave-rime lines in Old-North-English on this Cross, as our famous John Mitchell Kemble had already made good, were a part of the Dream of the Holy Rood, *the Cross itself describing* the Crucifixion of Christ, as *seen by itself*, its words being *heard by the English poet* in a Dream. This happy identification was made by Mr. Kemble previous to the publication of the precious Vercelli codex from the 10th century in O. S. E., which among other pieces and poems contains this remarkable and beautiful lay. This, therefore, proved Kemble's wonderful sagacity and correctness.

But I also showed, from a cast of the top-stone, which was *unknown* to Mr. Kemble, that there were runes there also, which said: CADMON MÆ FAUGEÐO, *Cadmon me made or composed*, equal to the usual Latin CADMON ME FECIT.

I then concluded that this Cadmon or Cædmon was the well-known splendid North-English Bard whose fame is so widely spread, and who has left such noble stave-rime verses on Biblical subjects, — but only extant in a 10th century Old-South-English transcript. This appeared to me certain, from the peculiar characteristics of Cædmon's known writings; from the name Cædmon being so excessively scarce of old, there being no more than perhaps a couple antique examples of it in all Britain, and none in any other country; from all the other details of the Cross, which point back to the 7th century; and from the impossibility of 2 Shakespeares living at the same moment in the same locality. I therefore fixt its date at about 680, nearly the year of Cædmon's death.

I then argued that certain expressions in the verses suit only, and must have been an echo of, the Northern Baldor-myth, which was still living on in England, but must have been centuries older, for the language and traditions of the Angles in Northumbria were brought by them from Scandinavia, chiefly from Denmark. If so, if these words referred to Baldor's death and were heathen remembrances, an intermixture of pagan and Christian ideas, the myth being known in England hundreds

<sup>1</sup> With many Illustrations. 8vo. Williams and Norgate; 14 Henrietta St., London; 20 Frederick St., Edinburgh. 1883.

of years before the 7th century, its home must originally have been Denmark in the 2nd and 3rd century. In all this I have been upheld by the best critics in England and America. But, if I am right in this, Prof. Bugge's theory as to the Baldor-myth being manufactured by Wikings in the 9th or 10th century — falls away at once.

Let us now examine Prof. Bugge's objections. I take them *as they stand*.

1. I date this Cross "in the 2nd half of the 7th century". My date is about 680, a considerable difference in so delicate a question.

2. In Note 1, p. 42, our learned critic says, that I read on the top-piece CADMON MÆ FAUCEDO, adding, that if this be correctly redd, FAUCEDO cannot belong to the O. E. verb FEGAN, German FÜGEN, but must belong to the verb FAGIAN, meaning to adorn, decorate with figures and letters, and that MÆ will therefore be the stone Cross, not the poem. He adds, that this FAUCEDO, as to its ending, is "hoist betænkelig", *highly suspicious*. Lastly, that as this inscription is very doubtful, and he has not himself seen it, he dare not decide whether it be redd correctly.

This conclusion is curious enough. What surprises one is, that a monument so exceptionally remarkable, bearing such costly verses in the precious O. N. English dialect, whose antique remains are so very scarce and of such value in the study of the oldest Scandinavian, should not have been interesting enough to lead him to examine the casts in the Danish Museum, he passing them every day when he looked at other such of less consequence. Had he done so, he would have seen that the words are *not* doubtful, but have been redd in the same way by all who have seen them.

It is certainly unfortunate that FAUCEDO ends in -o, for Prof. Bugge has laid it down as a law that this o-ending only belongs to the *first* person of the past tense. Hence he brings in his *i*, *expressed* or understood, into several of the O. N. runic inscriptions, doing violence to the language to get this *i*, and tho this *i*-formula in solemn epigraphs was unknown to our heathen forefathers, and has even never been found in the thousands of *ristings* in the *later* runes. On the other hand there are many examples of this final -o or -u, 3 s. past tense, in the O. N. runes, beginning with the TÆUDO of the Golden Horn, and scores in the *later* runes. The difficulty of this -o is therefore entirely of his own making, and is neither my fault nor the fault of the Cross.

But by an additional ukase Prof. Bugge announces, that FAUCEDO can have nothing to do with FEGAN. Now it is well known that an olden FAGAN, FAGIAN, has left many traces in the Scando-Gothic tongues, a whole armful of varying sideforms and mixt forms and side-meanings and mixt meanings, inextricably running into each other as so often, from FAW to FAIR, in sense from *make* and *fit* to *please*. Hence an endless overgang in the vowel, especially in times when local talks were so many, one fixt and hard book-language *nowhere*. We need go no further than to our own oldest runish remains to prove this, for we have in them already 10 examples of this verb in the 3 s. past, cut on pieces in the usual way for *made me*, like the Latin FECIT, which word also has many curious spellings of old.

3 s. p. FÆTHIDO, Einang, Norway.	A. D. 200—300.
" " FYDEL, Charnay, Burgundy.	" 400—500.
" " FUDE, Osthofen, Rheinessen.	" "
" " FTHEDU, Bracteates 49, 49 b.	" 500—600.
" " FAUCEDO, Ruthwell, England.	" 680.
" " FÆEDEL, Bracteate 89.	" 600—700.
" " FEG(de), Alnmouth, England.	" 705.
" " FADI, Helmsø, Denmark.	" 750—800.
" " FAADO, Flemløse, Denmark.	" 800.
" " FYIDI, Bracteate 92.	" 550—600.

These facts speak for themselves. Of these 10 examples no 2 are alike in spelling, while 4 in this single verb end in -o or -u. Besides the usual FADI, still other variations occur in the later runes.

Perhaps we may now permit the "highly suspicious" FAUCEDO, 3 s. p., to stand, and even allow that the MÆ means the beautiful poem, here so exceptionally carved on a public monument, — the more as no known antique O. N. runic Cross bears the name of the artist who carved *the stone itself*.

3. The Danish archæologist Dr. Sophus Müller is of opinion, that the Ruthwell Cross cannot be older than about the year 1000. He comes to this conclusion from the ornamentation, which he places in the late Carolingian period, the style being imported from France into England.



Now no one is more willing than myself to admit the merits of Dr. Müller's brilliant essay<sup>1</sup> on the Northern Ornamentation, from whose pages we have all learned so much. But I think he has sometimes been misled by his theory, that the ornamentation shall *always* date the object. I contend that all *other* things shall also be taken into consideration, and that these are often *absolute and final* as to the date, so that sometimes the *object* must date the *ornamentation*.

This dispute has wide bearings, also as to Scandinavian art in general. There are certain features in Classical art, such as Leaves and Foliage and full Flowers, which point to a Classical origin and great antiquity. There are certain other added art-motives, such as band-interlacings and dracontine and winged and other creatures, which indicate a development of the former style with non-classical intermixtures, also very old. This *interringled* style was taken up by Charlemagne in France, eagerly cultivated there, and is named by some the Carovingian renaissance. Now if this were really first established in the 9th century by Charlemagne and his school in Gaul, it must be much younger in Scandinavia and England. But the Ruthwell and the Bewcastle Crosses bear these characteristics. The Ruthwell Cross is therefore not from about the year 680; it is not much older than the year 1000.

Here I would remark, in all humility, that the illustrious men of Scandinavia have certainly known something about the history and the art of *their own lands*. And, also in all humility, I would add, that this sharp theory of Dr. S. Müller is opposed to the united testimony of all our best and most learned men in England, in older and later days, many of them profound archæologists and historians, some of them also architects of world-wide fame, men versed in stone and metal, and who have themselves raised Churches, Monasteries and Cathedrals for the worship of God. They, too, must surely be supposed to know *something* of the antiquities and styles of *their own land*, which they have studied for centuries, the one following the other from youth to old age.

The opinion of the English school is very shortly given by me in Vol. 1, p. 400 of my O. N. R. Mon., in connection with the grand Bewcastle Cross in Cumberland, Northumbria, which English scholars agree in dating at about 670. But the date of *this Cross* also has of course been explained away by a mere stroke of the pen, altho the long inscription in the oldest runes plainly tells us that it was raised in memory of ALCFRITH, king of Deira (the southern part of Northumbria), by his half-brother EGGFRITH OSWISON. The runes also name the family mourners, KUNNBURUG, Alcfrith's Queen, her sister KUNESWITHA, and WULFHERE king of the Mercians, who was son of Penda and brother of KUNNBURUG. — Surely simple, honest, unlearned people like ourselves might have thought that this grave-pillar might have been respected. But no. Dr. S. Müller touches it with the wand of his theory, and it melts away altogether. I am not aware that he has given it any date. Perhaps "about the year 1000" would suit him here also.

Apropos of this Bewcastle Cross. It is curious to see how things work in this world. Both the Bewcastle and the Ruthwell Crosses can be dated by their many O. N. runes, which had past out of use on public funeral monuments in England by the year 1000. But the Bewcastle pillar has also an *historical* statement, and no fewer than 5 *historical* names of the local king and his house. The Ruthwell Cross, besides the very archaic Roman letters, has 25 lines of verse in the oldest English runes, in a perantique dialect, and with heathen ideas. Both have in the main the *same* ornamentation. If these *stones* can be dated, their *decoration* must be *equally* old. In that case the Northumbrian Casket with its characteristic inscription in the Old-English runes, is of the same general age. But if so, other of our oldest English runic and non-runic pieces will follow suit, and those of Scandinavia in the same style of art will follow, — and so this type of ornamentation will be thrown centuries back both in England and Scandinavia. But this cannot be. What would then become of the theories of Dr. S. Müller and of Prof. S. Bugge? Can nothing be done? Certainly.

Dr. Müller is a distinguished archæologist, and *that only*. As such, and not as runologist, he simply *ignores* such small things as Runes, Linguistics, Palæography and History. Keeping strictly to ornamentation, which *he says* overrides everything and dates everything old and new, he pens a short off-hand sentence in words the fewest, and the age of the Ruthwell Cross (and by implication that at Bewcastle) sinks at once to about the year 1000. And this he does, because Prof. S. Bugge, the profest *runologist*, authorizes him so to do.

<sup>1</sup> Dyreornamentiken i Norden. Af Sophus Müller. Kjøbenhavn 1890, 8vo.



On the other hand Prof. Bugge, the distinguisht rune-smith, washes his hands of archæology and ornamentation as helping to date any runic inscription. That is Dr. S. Müller's business. So he thus, as linguist, and as *linguist only*, pronounces as to the Bewcastle Cross (quoted in S. Müller's "Dyreornamentiken" p. 155): „den foreliggende Læsning og Tydning ikke er fuldstændig sikker og paalidelig", *the reading and explanation given is not entirely certain and trustworthy*. In one line the whole is decided. We have heard the Oracle. *Papa locutus est. Causa finita est*. Prof. Bugge does not say where the imperfection lies; or what he means by "entirely"; or that all the principal runewords on this Bewcastle Cross are plain enough practically; or that as to the main points all its translators are agreed, including the late learned Mr. Maughan, himself a runologist, the Priest of the Parish, who saw and studied the Cross daily for many years; or that 1 or 2, or 3, or even 4 or 5 doubtful letters in such a long inscription will not affect its general meaning and the style and character of the whole splendid Pillar, still less *abolish the existence* of the well-known *historical names*, the buried king and his successor and his family, 5 names in all, which separately and taken together *inevitably* clench the date. In this way *the one* of these unwelcome witnesses is quietly got rid of.

As to the Ruthwell Cross, where one would think nearly *all*, in the eyes of a runologist, would depend on the wonderful and archaic O. N. English runic poem, Prof. Bugge — who elsewhere can write *whole pages* on one letter or one word — simply shakes his head and passes on. His words are (*not 2 whole lines altogether*), at p. 42, note 1: "Da Indskriften desuden er meget utydelig og da jeg ikke selv har seet den, vover jeg ikke at afgjøre, hvorvidt den er rigtig læst". That is: *As the inscription, besides, is very indistinct, and as I have not myself seen it, I dare not decide how far it is correctly redd*. Now in these short 24 words we have yet room for 2 assertions and 1 conclusion. The first assertion is, that *the runes on this top-stone are very indistinct*. The second is, that Prof. Bugge *had not himself seen the inscription*. The conclusion is, that *he dare not decide how far it is correctly redd*.

A lately deceased learned Englishman, the Rev. D. H. Haigh, who was a good runic scholar, who spent his life in seeking for and copying and explaining and publishing the oldest sculptured and inscribed stones in Great Britain and Ireland, and who was an excellent archæologist and numismatist, familiar with ecclesiastical architecture and ornamentation, and who himself at his own expense built a beautiful little Church in the olden style. — with his own hands made the plaster casts of all the Ruthwell runes from which I and my artist Prof. Magnus Petersen workt, and which are now in the Danish Museum. May such a man be allowed to form any opinion? If he may, let us hear what he says in his valuable paper on this Cross in *Archæologia Eliana*, New Series. Vol. 1, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1857, a paper written *before* he visited Ruthwell and made a cast of the top-stone. At p. 156 he declares that the Bewcastle Cross was raised in memory of king *ALCFRID*, exactly as Mr. Maughan and I have said. At p. 173 he states: "I believe this [Ruthwell] monument, and that at Bewcastle, to be of the same age, and the work of the same hand, and the latter must have been erected A.D. 664 or 5. Now this was precisely the period at which Cædmon, first of all the English nation, began to compose religious poems, in the monastery of the Abbess Hilda." At p. 176 and 177 he says: "The scroll-work on the eastern side of the Bewcastle monument, and on the two sides of that at Ruthwell, is identical in design, and differs very much from that which is found on other Saxon crosses. In fact I know of nothing like it except small portions on a fragment of a cross in the York Museum, on another fragment preserved in Jarrow church, and on a cross at Hexham."

"At Barnack, in Northamptonshire, three miles from Stamford, there is a church the tower of which, presenting on three sides scrolls with birds, and windows filled with tracery of interlacing knotwork, is certainly a work of the seventh century, and one which I always regarded as a relic of the monastery built by St. Wilfrid in this neighbourhood on land granted to him by Alcfrid." Here, then, *before* the inscriptions on the top-stone — omitted in the engravings of Dr. Duncan and therefore unknown to Mr. Kemble — were restored to us, Mr. Haigh places these two monuments between 660 and 670, and concludes that the Ruthwell runic poem must have been written by Cædmon.

<sup>1</sup> In the 2nd tome of Dr. John Stuart's magnificent and solid work "The Sculptured Stones of Scotland", (he under the last word taking many monuments in North England), folio, Edinburgh, 1867, which reacht me *after* the printing of my Vol. 2 was completed, the learned author engraves and describes *not a few* other such stones, *unknown to Mr. Haigh*. They also are in the same style as the oldest Crosses given by me, and are attributed by our English and Scottish experts, including Dr. Stuart himself, to the 7th, 8th and early 9th centuries. Others have since been found.

Now as to the top-stone. This was copied by Cardonnel in his large folio engraving published in London in 1789, but which Dr. Duncan and Mr. Kemble had never seen. On Cardonnel's plate — tho he was no runologist — the CADMON MÆ FAUGDO are nearly as plain as on the cast copied by me. And when Mr. Haigh had examined the Cross itself, and had made the cast of the top-stone, he wrote to me under date Oct. 4, 1863, giving the runes as CADMON MÆ FAUGDO, exactly as I have done. Thus Prof. Bugge's first assertion, that the runes here are "very indistinct", falls away.

As to the second assertion, that the learned critic *had not himself seen the inscription*, why did he not examine the cast in the Museum, comparing it with Cardonnel's plate made nearly 100 years before, of which I had an expensive facsimile made and placed in my book where it was well known to him, or why did he not visit Ruthwell itself as I did the moment I could, — ere he came to so sweeping and injurious a conclusion, one which affected the eyes and character of gentlemen as honorable as himself?

We have now only Prof. Bugge's gracious *conclusion* left; that he "dare not decide how far it is correctly redd." Mighty well. We doff our caps, and lout very low. But as he would not take the necessary steps, absolutely shutting his eyes to the plain facts and the long and detailed statements in my text — my paper on the Ruthwell Cross fills 43 pages in folio, which swarm with details of FACT, besides the 2 large plates — he must abide by the verdict of other men, as competent as himself, who admitted facts and statements whose very existence Prof. Bugge studiously and carefully kept back from his readers. They could therefore have no suspicion that anything existed, to gainsay and invalidate and disprove his 2 *assertions* and his *conclusion*.

This, then, is the way in which our learned critic has given his death-doom in less than 2 lines. Altogether ignoring the runic inscriptions and everything else on the Cross, he merely uses Dr. S. Müller's hasty and short and peremptory verdict, that the ornamentation dates it at about the year 1000. So everything else disappears, and this monument also "goes out of the Saga", to the mutual satisfaction of both parties and the salvation of both theories. But whether this curious facile method, this mere abuse of subjective caprice, this more than ridiculous personal infallibility, can be approved by a reality called SCIENCE — I shall leave for others to decide.

In more particular connection with this Ruthwell Cross, I will recapitulate the English view in the fewest words possible.

a. *Roman Art in Britain.* England was for 350 years a Roman province, full of Roman Camps and Cities and Villas with many yet extant Tessellated Pavements, and Temples and Art, and in daily intercourse with all Italy and the Roman world in general. I need not speak of the thousands of Roman remains in England called Altars, Grave-stones, Mile-stones and the like, many of which are highly decorated and not a few can be year-set; but in the rich cities of luxurious Roman Britain were all sorts of artists and workmen, Roman and Roman-British and other, who produced articles after Roman and modified-Roman models. Well known are the many Roman Kilns in England, where were made immense supplies of Pottery of all kinds, sometimes even imitating with some success the celebrated Samian ware. And among these objects the Roman ornamentation is frequently perfect. Such things as Tiles and Bricks often bear Legionary marks, and can be exactly dated. The Roman-British workshops have long past away. But the Kilns and their pottery remain, and this elegant terracotta with Roman ornamentation would be seen everywhere by the Barbarians who used or destroyed it. These Roman-British Kilns have been hidden by the earth for 1500 years, and are now time after time accidentally discovered, and examined by modern antiquarians.

b. *Welsh-Christian Art in Britain.* Christianity reached Celtic-Roman England in the 2nd and 3rd century after Christ<sup>1</sup>, whether from the Eastern or the Western Church is for this argument immaterial; in either case its Christian-Keltic Art — and *some* such Art it *must* have had, was partly Classical. After the Angles had ravaged and subdued the land, many Christian Churches were still standing, some perfect — as that of St. Martin in Canterbury<sup>2</sup>, in which worshipt the Frankish princess

<sup>1</sup> In Wales alone 479 village names remain, chiefly derived from local saints who flourished in the 4th and 5th centuries. Cornwall follows, with such in the 5th and 6th.

<sup>2</sup> As far as is known, this was the oldest church in England. It was dedicated in honor of the famous St. Martin of Tours, to whom also was hallowed the "White House", Candida Casa, on the promontory now called Whithorn, by the earliest missionary bishop in Southern Scotland. "Before long", says G. F. Maclear (*Conversion of the West: The Celts*. London 1880. p. 43),

Bertha with her Bishop Luidhard, in 597, tho her husband king Æthelberht, lord of all the under-kings from Kent to the Humber in the North, was still a pagan. Many of these buildings, and other such Roman-British structures, were more or less injured or destroyed; but all must have been enriched with at least *some* Italian-Keltic ornamentation. Such decorations *must* have been seen by, and *must* have influenced, the victorious invaders when they used these places, unaltered or restored, for secular or Christian purposes.

c. *Heathen-Northern Art in Britain.* The Barbarian invaders of Britain came chiefly from the North in the Early Iron Age, a period when the North itself was largely penetrated by things Roman or Romanized and by olden "Classical" art-motives in general. They *could* not therefore have been ignorant of such. And wherever they went south and west, they came in contact with them. But when they subdued the half-Romanized British Kelts, they found Classical art everywhere in the land, and this would inevitably influence their own vigorous Barbarian styles. In the pottery they themselves made, they even imitated some ornaments of the simpler Roman ware.

d. *Christian-Northern Art in Britain.* But their conquests brought the Northern Barbarians face to face with a new factor — Christian populations. And by degrees, commonly after a few years, they themselves adopted the new faith. The influences for this step were very strong. Classical paganism was now almost extinct; Scando-Gothic paganism was daily giving way; most of the Goths were already more or less Christianized. In their new island-home Welsh and Keltic Christianity was all around the Angles, like as the same creed now covered most of the adjacent continent; even as heathens they intermarried with Frankic and other continental Christians, and their chiefs were sometimes baptized in Gaul or elsewhere abroad. Besides far older *Family* and local conversions, *Tribal* evangelization among the Angles in North England set in, thanks to the Keltic missions from Ireland (Christianized in the 5th century) over South Scotland, before A. D. 650; in the south, king Æthelberht and his court and people, influenced by the Roman mission under Augustine, embraced the Gospel in 597. But *Conversion* meant in some degree *Culture*, and *Culture* was largely *Classical*. As Christians, the Northern settlers at once past over to the decencies and ceremonies of Western Belief, and to the Italian and Gallic decorations in the churches and Monasteries. There and elsewhere, they saw things influenced by Roman-Christian types mixt with Barbarian or Keltic motives and ornament, while crowds of all ranks and both sexes continually pilgrimaged to Rome to Italy to Gaul and elsewhere, and English art-work became famous.

e. *S. Wilfrid.* As early as the end of the 4th century St. Ninian, after visiting St. Martin Bishop of Tours and being ordained by him, built a stone church in the foreign style at Whithorn or Candida Casa, in Wigtonshire, Galloway, among the Southern Picts, quite close to Northumbria. — Edwin, the great king of Northumbria, was baptized in 627, and raised a small church of *wood*. Shortly afterwards Paulinus, as bishop of York, built a large church of *stone*, enclosing the wooden one. Paulinus was an *Italian*, sent over by Pope Gregory the Great long before. So quickly *may* such things sometimes take place, all theories notwithstanding. — In 676 Benedict Bishop brought over from Gaul a Number of skilled workmen, who built him a stone church in the Roman fashion at Wearmouth in Durham. The next year he sent to Gaul for Glass and Glaziers, that the building might have glass windows. All sorts of church furniture, decorations and vestments also came from Gaul. And we are told that the *English* workmen learnt to make many things, instructed by the *French* workmen. The great and good Benedict Bishop was *six times* in Rome and Italy. — In 710 Naiton, king of the Northern Picts, sent for foreign masons, and built himself a stone church in the Roman fashion. — But notably one accomplished and illustrious Evangelizer, the renowned Bishop Wilfrid, labored enthusiastically to extend Roman church-customs and Romanized Christian Art in England in a Gallo-Roman-Northumbrian style, frequently visiting the continent and bringing over numbers of Italian and Gallic workmen. He was especially a great builder, and in a costly manner, in stone. He died in 709, at the age of 75. He and his school covered the North of England with fine specimens of this Gallo-Italic-Keltic-Gothic — or in one word Northumbrian, art, which went on extending and flourishing in Britain down to the end of the 8th century and later.

"no Celtic missionary from Ireland or Scotland thought of commencing his work in Frisia or Thuringia before he had first visited the shrine of the saint whose dying words had been "*Non recuso laborem*." Abbot-bishop Martin died about A. D. 400, over 80 years of age.



f. *Charlemagne.* The great Emperor Charlemagne highly favored this development, modified and protected it, sending to England for the best English clergy and artists<sup>1</sup> to introduce her learning and improvements into his wide lands; and this style became so popular in Gaul, that from him it has been called Carolingian.

g. *The old style perishes.* In the 9th and 10th centuries, however, the Scandinavian Wikings and Royal Throne-seekers ravaged Great Britain and Ireland. They systematically broke down or burnt all the holy buildings. Particularly Halfdan and his followers in 870—4 destroyed all the monasteries and churches in the North of England and South of Scotland — the old Northumbria —, and these ruined establishments were not finally restored till after the Norman conquest<sup>2</sup>. Accordingly, almost all the striking English Antiquarian stones, ornamented in the peculiar style of art now under discussion, whether with or without Runic or Roman letters or both, are found scattered about, or in churchyards, or are dug up on ecclesiastical sites or are discovered as mere building-materials used in far later times, when old churches were rebuilt or restored, — exactly as the old Runic stones of Scandinavia are usually found at this moment.

h. *The new style.* But by the Norman conquest, as all know, this Roman-Gallic-Gothic-Keltic style, with Roman letters of the oldest type and with its now nearly forgotten Old-English Runes on Royal and Episcopal grave-pillars and the funeral Crosses of eminent laymen, — was *gone out*, extinct in England. A *later* taste prevailed, and inscriptions were now in the Roman letters of the middle-age.

For all these reasons, it is *absolutely and physically impossible* that the Ruthwell or the Bewcastle Cross can be "from about the year 1000" or anything even approaching there to.

At the same time it will follow as a corollary, if we are to venture on pithy glib-sounding extreme statements either way, — that it would be more correct to say, that the Carolingian Renaissance substantially *went from England to France*, rather than the contrary. It is certainly a monstrous contradiction of all the known facts to assert, that everything bearing the art-characteristics of this Renaissance in England and Scandinavia — is "from the 9th century" or "as low down as about the year 1000."

What should be reply to a theory which affirmed, that a noble monument was raised — for instance in Denmark — bearing the oldest Northern Runes, in an excessively antique oldest Danish dialect forming stave-rime verses in which clearly survived the heathen Baldor-myth, hundreds of years after the Kingdom had become Christian, with Latin sentences added in letter-shapes of the rarest in the barbarian west, and with ornamental figures going back to the oldest Italian-Gallic-Gothic schools — and that this Pillar was set up by or in memory of some Danish king of the 12th century, say *Waldemar the Great*?

4. But I now come to Prof. Bugge's last argument, that the words (which he admits the Ruthwell Cross bore) WITH STREALS (or missiles) WAS I ALL WOUNDED, do *not* apply to the Cross itself, the wooden Rood, but are said of *the living Christ*, and this long before his actual Crucifixion, when he was attackt with swords and staves and otherwise insulted.

This is extraordinary, a good specimen of the extreme ingenuity and special pleading with which the gifted author everywhere tries to escape from or to explain away the simplest realities. And the whole rests upon a fundamental error, persevered in *notwithstanding* my having distinctly pointed out the truth in my reading and comment of 1867. But this truth would strike down the Wiking theory. It was therefore ignored. *Long live theories, however many facts perish!*

<sup>1</sup> I will only mention *one* among the distinguished men invited over by Charlemagne to Gaul, the illustrious Alcuin. "Amongst his scholars in the Palatine school", says Smith, (Dictionary of Christian Biography, Vol. 1, p. 74), "were Charles himself, with his sons Charles, Pipin, and Lewis, his sister Gisela, and his daughter of the same name; Angilbert, afterwards abbot of St. Riquier; Adalhard, abbot of Corvey; Rigbod, archbishop of Trèves; Rietrudis, a noble nun of Chelles; and Gundrada, the sister of Adalhard. His most famous pupils during his later years at Tours were Rabanus Maurus, afterwards archbishop of Mentz; Hatto, abbot of Fulda; Haimo, bishop of Halberstadt; Samuel, abbot of Lorsch, and afterwards bishop of Worms; Adalbert, abbot of Ferrières; Aldric, bishop of Sens; and Amalarius, deacon of Metz."

<sup>2</sup> "The churches at Jarrow-on-Tyne and Monkwearmouth, built by Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid, who sent the architects to King Neetan to build him a church after the Roman manner in the first quarter of the eighth century, were both destroyed by the Danes in 867, and both remained in a ruined condition till 1074, when they were reconstructed and restored to sacred use. It may be possible that some part of the remains, as now existing, may be of the original construction, but this fact is undetermined." — Jos. Anderson. *Scotland in Early Christian Times*. 8vo. Edinburgh 1881, p. 55.



The mistake is this. The Dream of the Holy Rood, of which a part is cut on this Ruthwell Cross, is, as we know it complete in an O. S. E. 10th century transcript, a stave-rime poem in 314 lines. The first 54 tell us how the author falls asleep, and dreams that he sees the actual Cross on which the Saviour suffered. Shortly after, in his dream, he hears this beam, this Rood, this wooden Cross, describe the death of our Lord on its bosom.

The first actual words *spoken by the Cross*<sup>1</sup>, as the Bard listened to them in his dream and as he remembered them when he woke, are given by him in lines 55—166, thus in 102 lines, which we may call the Cross-words part 1. They are a panorama of the Passion.

The next actual words *spoken by the Cross*, — which we may call the Cross-words part 2, are given in lines 167—244. In these last the tree or Cross expounds the meaning of the awful death it had just described, refers to the promist uprising of Christ from the dead, speaks of the great Judgment to come, and ends by bidding us so use this holy sacrifice as to work out our own salvation.

The remaining lines, 245—314, the Cross being now *silent*, are *added* by the English poet, and are a grand outburst of beautiful verse, in which the Scald longs for the heavenly fruits of Christ's death, the joys of Paradise.

Now what concerns us here is — the Crucifixion-words spoken by the Cross in Part 1; for these alone are carved upon the stone. The 2nd part of the Cross-words is only homiletic. Even the 1st or Crucifixion section contains 102 lines, and there was no room on the Runic parts of the stone pillar for so many. Several lines — how many we do not know — have been broken away from the pillar, which has suffered severely here and there. At this moment only about 25 lines, out of the 77 in the Vercelli codex to which they more particularly answer, are left on the stone. And even these 25 are not consecutive; but we can perfectly follow the order and meaning by help of the previous

<sup>1</sup> (Added in Sept. 1881.) — This is the earliest metaphorical introduction of THE WOODEN CROSS *speaking* known to me. It is a bold feature of poetical and religious art, and has apparently not been often used later. I only remember it once again in English. This is the "Dispute between Mary and the Cross" in the Vernon Ms., date about 1370. It is printed in Dr. R. Morris's valuable "Legends of the Holy Rood" (8vo. London 1871, pp. 131—149, in 40 stanzas containing 528 lines of verse) and opens:

Oure ladi freo;  
on Rode treo;  
made hire mon:  
Heo seide on þe  
þe fruit of me;  
is we bigon:  
Mi fruit I- seo:  
in blodi blee;  
Among his fon,  
Serwe I- seo:  
þe veines fleo  
from blodi bon.

A variant of the same text, in the somewhat later Royal Ms., 18 A 10, is given by Dr. M. in the same work pp. 197—209, in only 372 lines. — For the 2 other examples elsewhere we have to thank the accomplished French savant Prof. Paul Meyer. First is a Latin poem written early in the 13th century, in which the Virgin Mary utters four 9-lined stanzas, reproaching the Rood for having become the instrument of her Son's death. The Cross defends itself in six similar verses. This piece begins:

"Crux, de te volo conqueri:  
Quid est quod in te reperi  
Fructum non tibi debitum?"

It is printed for the first time by Prof. Meyer in "Daurel et Beton, Chanson de Geste Provençale, publiée pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit unique appartenant à M. A. Didot". Paris 1880, pp. lxxv lxxvj. (Soc. des Anc. textes Franç.)

The second, dated 1346, is in a Provençal dialect. It opens imperfectly from a damage in the codex, but has still 196 lines left. After Our Lady's first (defective) words against the Tree, the "Respon la crotz a Marie" commences:

"Dona, salvant la vostre honor,  
Nous deu pas creyse la dolor.  
Non dit jes que fayt aiat  
Per que de vos si sie ostat."

The debate continues, thus summed up by Prof. M. (p. lxxij). "La Vierge reproche à la croix sa cruauté envers le Sauveur. Celle-ci se défend et fait valoir d'ingénieux arguments. Elle a agi comme doit faire un loyal serviteur à l'égard de son seigneur. Jésus voulait mourir pour racheter le genre humain: elle s'est conformée à sa volonté; elle a servi d'instrument à la rédemption; elle n'avait ni le droit ni le pouvoir de résister à la volonté divine. Enfin, elle explique allégoriquement les souffrances de Jésus, cherchant à montrer que chacune d'elles était nécessaire, et de la sorte le débat devient un petit traité théologique de la passion." — This piece also is published, for the first time, by Prof. P. Meyer in the same work, p. lxxix—lxxxv.

skinbook containing the whole lay. Now what does this 77-lines' section, all uttered by the actual Beam or Rood on which Christ hung, and 25 lines of which are still left on the stone Cross, tell us? I will mention, quite shortly, the particulars:

1. The Tree tells how it was cut down in the wood, the holt, ("holtes on ende", Vercelli Cod. l. 58)<sup>1</sup>.

2. How it was carried to a hill, and fixt up there. (Verc. Cod. l. 64).

3. How "the FREÁ of mankind", "the young helt" (the youthful hero) prepared to mount it. (V. C. l. 66).

4. How the Saviour was fastened to its bosom with nails. (V. C. l. 91).

5. How Christ dies. (V. C. l. 98).

6. How the Rood is reddened by the blood which flowed from his side. (The man who pierced his side is not even named, still less is there one word as to his being *blind*). (Verc. C. l. 98).

7. How the Redeemer hangs on the Cross, gloomy clouds about him, heavy shadows over the shine-path. (V. Cod. l. 108).

8. WEPT ALL CREATION,

WAIL'D THE FALL OF THEIR KING. (V. C. l. 111).

9. The Tree further relates how Christ's friends take down the lifeless body. (Verc. Cod. l. 122).

10. How the Rood is left empty steaming with blood, and how it was:

WITH STREALS (arrows and other missiles) ALL WOUNDED. (Vercelli Codex l. 126).

11. How the Cross sees the Healer's dear ones stand over his corpse. (V. Cod. l. 129).

12. And how it beholds them burying the lifeless lich in a stone sepulcher. (Verc. C. l. 140).

13. How the 3 Crosses stand and mourn. (V. C. line 143).

14. How men drag down these 3 Crosses, dig a pit and bury them. (Verc. C. l. 151).

15. How that very Cross on which Christ thus suffered was dug up again — it is not said when or by whom — and how *this Rood, which is the speaker*, was bedeckt with gold and silver. (Vercelli Codex, l. 156).

All this is the language of the Cross itself, in its striking picture of Christ's Passion, which now ends. Hammerich's Danish version takes the same view<sup>2</sup>.

After reading the above, there can be no doubt left, that, when *the Cross* says IT WAS

WITH STREALS ALL WOUNDED,

it says quite plainly that *against itself*, the *wooden Rood*, very many arrows and other missiles had been cast, aimed at the man who was *fastened upon it*, and that a number of these bolts had struck *the Cross* and covered it with wounds. Maybe also, in this dim intermixture of heathen and Christian teachings, of BALDOR and of CHRIST, one such "streal", the MISTELTO, had reacht the Lord himself.

But what is the date? Let us recapitulate.

1. We only know of *one* CÆDMON as a poet, and *he* lived in Northumbria and died there about 680.

2. The runes say that CÆDMON MADE ME, in all reason the precious Runic poem.

3. The Old-English Runes are of the oldest types.

4. The Latin inscriptions are in letter-shapes among the oldest in the English west. Such uncial forms are impossible there in the 10th year-hundred.

5. The ornamentation is the same as on a number of other carvings in Britain in the 7th & 8th centuries

<sup>1</sup> We see by this that the *later* (middle-age) legend, which carried the beam out of which the Cross was made to the *Temple in Jerusalem*, whence it was dragged by the Jews and fashioned into the Rood, was *unknown* to Cædmon. If it was a *Tree*, cut down in the *holt*, it could not have been a piece of *timber*, lying in the *Temple*. This also is a proof of great antiquity.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. Hammerich. De episk-kristelige oldkvad hos de gotiske folk. 4to. Kjøbenhavn 1873, p. 17, 20:

Mandhjems Frøj  
så jeg magtfuld ile; — — —  
Da gjordet sig helten,  
helten hin unge, — — —  
Al skabningen græd  
af gru ved sin konnings fald! — — —  
bloddugt, pilstunget  
blev jeg stående.

6. The dialect of the O. North English is of the most archaic class. The rune-lines give also, for the first and last time in England, the antique and otherwise lost Old-English dual ac. pronoun *UNGÆT for us two*. The S. E. 10th century transcript has here the usual *later* *UNC BUTU, us both*.

7. So certainly is the S. E. poem a *copy* of something *far older*, that in one place in the Ms. a stave-rime word beginning with *s* has been accidentally omitted by the scribe. But this word, *SORGUM*, is in its proper place on the stone Cross.

8. We see also how very far back the Runic Lay is, from its excessively archaic simplicity, the *absence* of "padding", of later make-up fillings-in, in the verses. The 25 North English lines contain 81 words; in the S. English 10th century codex they mount up to 101. No fewer than 20 have been added, in gradual transcriptions. One-5th of the whole is therefore *later amplification* in the Vercelli skinbook.

Surely, if we have any honest, solid, careful, comparative, archæological and historical and palæographical and linguistic criticism left — and I think we have *some*, these accumulated arguments *prove* that the date given to the Ruthwell Cross, about A. D. 680, is correct. And in fact the *later* we fix the age, the more incredible and impossible does the whole become.

But in this case we must also remember, that the language and heathen intermixtures here found were not *made* by Cædmon. He spoke, to be commonly understood, the language of his Anglian elders, who had swarmed over to Northumbria hundreds of years before. Their homeland, as all history and traditions and monuments show, was Denmark chiefly, certainly Scandinavia.

The Baldor-myth was therefore known in England, and eventually in Denmark, at least 3 or 4 centuries after Christ, and is here brokenly echoed by the stone Cross about the year 680. Thus it could not have been first made by Wikings in the 9th and 10th centuries.

(The second passage is the note added at p. 43 of the Afterwrit:)

Nov. 1882. — As to this Top-stone, also spoken of at p. 352, a simpler and shorter way is to *suppress it altogether*. This has been done by at least two learned men. — In his "Anglo-Saxon Reader" (Oxford 1876, whose 2nd ed. I have not seen) Mr. Henry Sweet, without printing anything on the Cross, says p. 169 that the poem in the Vercelli Codex, parts of which are on the Ruthwell Pillar, was written by Cynewulf! After this surprising discovery, a joke or whim which he does not attempt to prove, he continues, that some lines of this lay are on the Ruthwell Rood "in the Old Northumbrian dialect of the eighth or ninth century." We therefore now know, that the runic verses are by Cynewulf, not earlier than the 8th or 9th age. That the Cross itself should be so impertinent as to say *CÆDMON ME MADE* (whatever those words may mean) was of course no concern of Mr. Sweet's reader. It is therefore not even hinted at. — Next, in Prof. G. Zupitza's "Alt- und Mittelenglisches Übungsbuch" (2nd ed. Wien 1882, the 1st ed. I have not seen), the Ruthwell runic inscriptions are printed p. 2 foll., without a word as to their date or authorship. However, curiously enough, the Cardonnel's Plate (which has the *CÆDMON ME MADE*) is expressly named among the materials which *the author says he has used*, the Topstone and its statement is *entirely ignored* by Prof. Zupitza. — But we must not complain. All this and much worse is now common enough. And it often goes under the name of "High Science".

May 1883. — In "The Academy" for March 31, 1883, I find, p. 225, as to a meeting of the Cambridge Archæological Society, March 5, 1883: "Mr. G. F. Browne showed a drawing of ornamental scrolls from the mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna, and pointed out their almost exact resemblance to the scrolls on "Paulinus's Cross" at Whalley, of which no other example is known in England. He gave reasons for thinking it probable that Paulinus had visited Ravenna before being sent to England (A. D. 601). He showed also a drawing of continuous scrolls, with birds, leaves, fruit, &c., from the tomb of St. Januarius in the Catacomb of St. Praetextatus at Rome, and pointed out their remarkable resemblance to scrolls with birds, &c., on the great crosses at Ruthwell and Bewcastle, remarking that the date indicated on the Bewcastle cross, about A. D. 665, coincided with the time at which Wilfrid was making visits to Rome, and was not long prior to the date at which the Catacombs ceased to be places of pilgrimage on the removal of the relics of saints to the churches in Rome." — I only add that the Rev. G. F. Browne is the greatest living authority on British Crosses, which he has for years studied minutely, and that the Bewcastle and Ruthwell Crosses — if not by the same hand — are in the same style and of the same age.

Vol. 3, p. 200. DEWSBURY. — This costly gravewrit, the smallest yet known in England, is now in the British Museum, to which it was lately given by T. W. W. Robinson, Esq., F. S. A. I saw it,

with admiration of its elegance, in August 1882. — At p. 221 of "The Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Journal", Vol. 1, 8vo, London 1870, is a paper by the Rev. J. T. Fowler, M. A., F. S. A., "On some Ancient Inscribed Stones at Dewsbury", this one among them, with drawings. Fragments of what may have been the Cross of Paulinus are also here described, and a 7th century uninscribed coped stone, of which he says, p. 224: "The sides have running patterns of foliage, surrounded by cable-moulding, and the end, or gable, contains a rude cross in low relief. Whitaker is not far wrong in saying that it is "shaped exactly like a common cottage house"."

Vol. 3, p. 201—3. *ÆGIL*. — The oldest art-representation known to me of that Aryan Wonder-Bowman whose last Scando-Gothic echoes are *Ægil*, Hemming, Robin Hood, William of Cloudsley, William Tell<sup>1</sup>, Palne Toke and the like, comes from the far East. During the years 1873—6 Major-General Cunningham dug out the remains of the Buddhist Stûpa or Temple at Bharhut, 120 Engl. miles south-west of Allahabad. He found there a number of costly representations carved in granite, pillars, medallions and other sculptures, from the 3rd century before Christ, many of them illustrating the legends connected with the Jâtakas, or successive births (incarnations) of Buddha. These he publisht in a splendid 4to, at the expense of the British-Indian Government<sup>2</sup>.

One of the basrelief medallions, given in photograph Plate 27. No. 13, is the Asadrîsa Jâtaka. The learned writer's text hereto, p. 70, is as follows: "This sculpture is unfortunately much broken, and any inscription which it may have had is lost; but the story of Prince Asadrîsa, the great Archer, is too clearly told to leave any doubt as to its identification. This Jâtaka is one of those given by Spence Hardy [Manual of Buddhism, p. 114], from whose work the following translation is extracted: — "In this birth, Bodhisat was the son of Brahmadatta, king of Benares, and was called Asadrîsa. He had a younger brother, Brahmadatta. On arriving at a proper age, he received all necessary instructions from a learned preceptor; and the king at his death commanded that the kingdom should be given to Asadrîsa, and the vazirship to his brother. The nobles were willing that the royal command should be obeyed; but as Bodhisat positively refused the kingdom, it was given to his younger brother, and he became vazir, or inferior king. A certain nobleman afterwards insinuated to the king that Asadrîsa was plotting against his life; on hearing which he became enraged, and commanded that the traitor should be apprehended. But Bodhisat received warning of the danger in which he was placed, and fled to the city of Sârnâya. On arriving at the gate of the city, he sent to inform the king that a famous archer had arrived in his dominions. The king gave orders that he should be admitted into the royal presence, and asked what wages he would require; and when he was answered that a thousand *masurans* would be a reasonable salary, he gave his promise that this sum should be allowed. The king's former archers were naturally envious that a mere stranger should receive an allowance so much superior to their own. One day the king having entered the royal garden, commanded that a couch should be placed, and a cloth spread, at the foot of a mango tree. When seated, he espied a mango fruit at the very uppermost part of the tree; and as it was impossible that any one could get it by climbing, he intimated that the archers should be called, who were to bring it down by an arrow. The archers of course gave way to the man of the thousand *masurans*; and the king repeated his command to Asadrîsa, who requested that the royal couch might be removed from under the tree. The archers perceiving that the Bodhisat had neither bow nor arrow in his hand, resolved among themselves, that if he were to request their assistance, they would refuse him the use of their weapons. Bodhisat then laid aside his usual garment, arrayed himself in a splendid robe, girt his sword by his side, and his quiver upon his shoulder; and putting together a bow that was made of separate pieces, jointed, with a coral necklace as the bow-string, he approached the king, and inquired whether the fruit was to be felled by the arrow as it went up or as it returned. The king replied that it would be the greater wonder if the fruit were brought down by the returning arrow. Bodhisat gave notice that as the arrow would proceed right into the firmament, it would be necessary to wait for its return with a little patience. An arrow was then shot, which cleft a small portion from the mango, then went to the other world, and was seized by the Devas. Another arrow was shot, and after sometime, there was a noise in the air,

<sup>1</sup> There is a whole literature on the Tell Saga and the apple, etc. The last essay in English is "William Tell", (pp. 113—138 of "Curious Myths of the Middle Ages", by S. Baring-Gould, 8vo, London 1881).

<sup>2</sup> The Stûpa of Bharhut: a Buddhist Monument, ornamented with numerous sculptures illustrative of Buddhist Legend and History, in The Third Century B. C. By Alexander Cunningham, Director General Archæological Survey of India. London 1879.



thrum, thrum, thrum, at which the people were afraid. Bodhisat told them it was the sound of the arrow; and they were then more fearful, as each one thought it might fall upon his own body. The arrow, as it returned, divided the mango from the tree; and Bodhisat going to the place, caught the fruit in one hand and the arrow in the other. At the sight of this, the people a thousand times shouted in triumph, a thousand times clapped their hands, and a thousand times waved their kerchiefs round their heads and danced; and the king gave Asadrisa countless treasures. — At this time seven kings, having heard that Asadrisa was dead, surrounded the City of Benares, and gave the king his choice, either to fight or to deliver up his kingdom. Brahmadata sighed for the assistance of his brother, and having received information of his place of retreat, sent a noble to invite him to return. Asadrisa at once took leave of Sāmāya, and on arriving near Benares, he ascended a scaffold, from which he shot an arrow, with an epistle attached to the following effect: 'This is the first arrow from the hand of Asadrisa; if the second should be sent, you will all be slain'. The arrow fell upon a dish from which the seven kings were eating rice, and as they thought within themselves that the threat would certainly be accomplished, they fled to their own cities. Thus Bodhisat conquered the seven kings, without the shedding of a single drop of blood. Brahmadata now offered to resign the kingdom, but Bodhisat again refused it, and going to the forest of Himāla, by strict asceticism, he gained supernatural power, and afterwards passed away to the highest of the celestial regions."

Thus in this even then *modern* Indian variant, Ægil is engaged in feud and fight, exactly as on the still *later* North-English Casket. — Curiously enough, the last 3-fold exploit of the Indian prince lives on, almost unchanged, in the last exploit of the Scandinavian wonder-shot An the Bowbender. (Ans Saga Bogsvēgis. K. 7 in Rafn's Forn. Sög. Nordrl. 2, p. 357).

July 1882. Part 12 of the folio Album published by the English Palæographical Society has just appeared. Its plates 228 and 229 are admirable autotype facsimiles of THE FRANKS CASKET, with a leaf of descriptive text.

Vol. 3, p. 216. ALNMOUTH. — Plate 117 of the late Dr. John Stuart's noble "Sculptured Stones of Scotland", folio, Vol. 2, which reached me after the publication of my Vol. 2, gives *all the 4 sides* of these Cross-fragments, tho not quite correctly. We can thus examine also *the back* of the large piece, which shows the Crucifixion. This is carved in the oldest way, the Sun and Moon above, the 2 Thieves under the arms of the Rood, and below them the Centurion and the reacher up of the sponge with vinegar, with costly interlaced work as the base of the Cross. Add hereto the very antique character of the Roman letters. — I therefore now think that Mr. Haigh's *first date* (about A. D. 705) is undoubtedly the correct one. The EADULF here commemorated is therefore the king who usurpt the crown at the death of king ALDFRID, but was shortly after defeated and slain. See Vol 1, p. 462.

Vol. 3, p. 219, 220. — A French savant, Mons. L. L. H. Combetignes-Varennnes, a learned student of Runic and other Calendars, has just (Jan. 1882) favored me with a valuable Ms. treatise on this curious Calendar. We will hope that he will make it public. Meantime he has kindly permitted me to say, that his paper closes as follows: "En résumé, ce calendrier, non terminé par son auteur, donne, pour la portion que Worm nous en a conservée (quoique avec de grandes fautes d'exécution), les Signes des fêtes, le Cycle Solaire et le Cycle Lunaire, c. a. d. qu'il appartient à la classe que Worm nomme Calendriers parfaits. L'année y commence avec le 14 Octobre et le nombre d'or du 1<sup>er</sup> Janvier est 3. Il offre, en outre, comme renseignements complémentaires, un Cycle Solaire complet, un Cycle Lunaire défectueux et quelques monogrammes ou dessins sans importance. — Ce qui constitue l'intérêt capital offert par ce calendrier, c'est qu'il est probable que la Série de son cycle lunaire (correspondant, comme toujours, à un alphabet) runique, est tout-à-fait inédite."

In this memoir the learned author identifies the festivals, among them those of S. Edmund (England), S. Thorlak (Iceland) and S. Knut, Duke and Martyr (Denmark), thus making the Calendar a century *more modern* than the date I had assigned to it.

Vol. 3, p. 227. Top. — "Runi o runici si appellavano gli antichi caratteri dei popoli del Nord." *Luigi Frati. Di un Calendario Runico della Pontificia Università di Bologna. 4to. Bologna 1841, p. 8.*

Vol. 3, p. 227, No. 6. — I now prefer to take SEHS-CUNÆ in the meaning *SAX-KEEN, sword-bold, falchion-daring*. So, if I am right in my rendering of the Tjursåker stone (p. 344 above), we have SAKSE-TUNDR = *Sax-lord, Sword-Captain*, as an epithet of and kenning for (w)ODEN.

Vol. 3, p. 229. — In the Bergen Museum is a small rudely decorated middle-age shrine-chest from Fortuñ Church, N. Bergenhus-amt. Round the sides is the Roman alphabet, followed by a blundered *AMOR VINCIT OM(nia)*.

Dec. 1, 1881. I have just added to the Husaby Museum, Småland, Sweden, the smallest Pocket-Alphabet in Runes known to me. It is a fine-grained glimmery hard sandstone, about  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches long by  $2\frac{1}{4}$  wide, and from  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch thick. This well-preserved piece was found some time ago near Randers in Jutland, Denmark, came into the hands of Dr. Lassen in that city, thence to a Danish collector (Stud. juris C. F. Kuhn), and so to me. Its date would seem to be about the 13th century. Everything is rather deeply cut, and there is not the shadow of a doubt as to the absolutely genuine character of the object itself. — The front bears, on and between 3 framing lines, the following inscription:

{   B ↓ f   P   P	A B C D E F G
*   P   P	H I K L M N

The stroke at the top left is merely to join the 2 long lines, thus marking where the resting begins. The 2 straight strokes at the left and right of the under line are ornamental, symmetrically open and end that portion. Thus the stave-row is in the Latin order, as was usual at this period, and goes no farther than N. As we have seen, (sometimes for want of room), these carved Alphabets are often defective; that is, they *remind* the reader of what came after. Little need be said as to the shape of the letters. The ↓ for c is a common middle-age type, and in the same period ¶ or f is often found for d; P and P are rare variants at this date for F and G, the common forms being P and P. The L and M are here given by PY, short writing, the arm of the P being taken from the left arm of the Y. — On the narrow end of the stone, to the right of this writing, is cut-in an equal-limbed Cross, rather Greek than Maltese in shape, +, in my opinion of the same old date as all the rest. The ABC, as we know, in later times usually began or ended with the Cross-mark. Hence the English term for Alphabet — *Christ-cross-row*. — On the back or side opposite to the runes, perpendicularly in a Cartouche, with simple zigzag ornamental strokes below, is apparently the Boo-mark of the writer, a kind of interlaced s and i (or i and s). This would seem to mean merely initials, for instance of SWAIN IONSSON (or ION SWAINSSON). — On the long edge to the right of the inscription is scratcht-in the date 1023. This is evidently a modern scribble; the piece is not older than about the 13th century.

(Jan. 1882.) Since writing the above, another like object has been found in Denmark. At the beginning of the year 1882 a husbandman ploughing a field on the homestead JESSIGÅRD, in Østermarie Parish, Bornholm, pickt up a little sand-stone, nearly 5 inches greatest height by about  $4\frac{1}{4}$  greatest width, irregularly oblong in shape, but broken at each corner below. It is nearly an inch thick. — On the tolerably even front, within a cartouche framing the whole, are 4 lines of the later runes, clearly cut-in. They form the stave-row, in the usual Roman order, thus:

1 B P + P	A B D E F
P *   P	G H I K L
Y \ P P	M N O P R
4 ↑ P \	S T U X

In these middle-age ABC's, the c is often omitted, P being used for both c and k. When distinguisht, the soft sound was given by the shorter (1, J, φ, ↓, ↓, n, 1, l, ↓, &c.) or longer (P, k, &c.) s-mark, or by some variant of the P (such as P). — The q also was not needed. — Interesting here is the differentiation of the g and k as P and P, the A for both R and A, and the two Roman letters for P and x. The stone is broken away below, so that only the top left limb of the 4 in X now remains, but there is no doubt that this was the original stave. It is this creeping-in of the Roman signs bodily, which inclines me to give a late date to this curious lave, about the year 1400 with a little elbow-room on either side. This piece also, which is now in the Danish Museum, is undoubtedly genuine. These 2 stone pocket-alphabets are the only ones at present known to me.

Feb. 1882. After mentioning fresh Alphabet-bells, the Editor of "Notes and Queries" adds (Aug. 20, 1881, p. 159): "Within the last quarter of a century the pot-hawkers in the north of

England were in the habit of selling large yellow bowls with the alphabet stamped on their rims, just in the fashion of these curious bells." — Under EDSBERG, Norway, above, is given a runic inscription from St. Molio's Cave, Scotland. In this wiking-scribble the *e* is very nearly allied in shape (?) to that on the Bornholm pocket ABC.

Vol. 3, p. 234. Bracteate No. 59. — Nov. 1882. Another fine specimen of this golden blink, from the same die, has just been found in Fyn, Denmark.

Vol. 3, p. 236. No. 75. — We have another old-lave in England which may help to explain this precious English Coin. Happily scarce a year goes by without our meeting for sculptured stones, centuries ago used as mere building-stuff, in the repairs of Churches &c. So in 1874, during the restoration of *Dacre* Church in Cumberland was found a large block, nearly 1 foot greatest width by about 3 feet in height, clearly part of an historical Pillar. It is engraved and described by Henry Richardson, Esq., in *The Reliquary*, Vol. 16, 1875—76, p. 33, pl. 3, who shows that it was a local stele raised to commemorate king Athelstane, the English king, receiving the submission in 926 of Constantine king of the Scots, Huwal king of the West Britons, and Wer king of the Gwents, as described in the O. Engl. Chronicle and in *Florence of Worcester* s. a. 926. It took place at Eamot (now Eamont) near *Dacre*. — I will very shortly describe its sculptures. *Back*. No decoration. *Each side*. Basket-work, in 2 patterns. *Front*. (Every thing is very rude and much injured). Below, THE FALL, Tree with Apples, Adam on one side, Eve on the other. — Higher up, A STAG, above in the left perhaps a Dog. Whether these refer to Hunting or are Symbolical, I cannot say. — Above TWO MEN (? KINGS), the right hand of the one clasping the left of the other. They stand on each side of a kind of Altar, or Reliquary on an Altar. Evidently OATH-SWEARING and HOMAGE. On the extreme right is a strange carving, seemingly HELLMOUTH, as tho announcing THE PUNISHMENT OF MAIN-SWEARING. — Higher up THE TRIQUETRA (Holy Trinity), and above this THE LAMB (Christ). — On blocks above or below this, may have stood other things or an inscription.

Thus here as on the English golden Triens we have the OATH GANG, on the Coin after heathen traditions, on the stone after Christian usage, but treated by the artist somewhat after the style of Roman art.

Vol. 3, p. 240. — Low down. *For* resemblance *read* resemblance.

Vol. 3, p. 242. — Oct. 1881. This Coin-hoard has now been carefully described by the Keeper of the Christiania Coin-Cabinet, in a 4to work published in commemoration of the Marriage of the Crownprince of Norway-Sweden. "Myntfundet fra Græslid i Thydalen. Af Dr. L. B. Stenersen. Christiania 1881." This learned monograph is illustrated by 7 Plates, containing 225 Coins in Autotype. See p. 348, above.

Vol. 3, p. 249, Bracteate No. 82. — I have to thank the courtesy of the learned author, Dr. MAX BARTELS of Berlin, for a copy of his overprint of a valuable essay on these Barbaric Gems ("Die Gemme von Alsen und ihre Verwandten", pp. 179—207 of *Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie*, 8vo, Berlin 1882). In this exhaustive paper the whole subject is handled afresh, and the writer has brought together also new-found specimens of these curious objects. No fewer than 12 are here carefully engraved, with all available information. Dr. Bartels concludes that I was right in my identification and explanation, that they were all the work of *one* artist, probably a Dane living in Sealand, that he commenced with one figure, then went on to two, and at last advanced to three, and that the pieces themselves were most likely intended as Talismans. — April 29, 1883. The same accomplished oldlorist has just favored me with a second paper by him on this subject, in the *Zeitschr. f. Ethn.* 1883, under the title "Die Gemme von Alsen und ihre Verwandten. (Nachtrag und Berichtigung)." No fewer than 5 fresh pieces are here described, so that the total number now reaches 17. All 5 are found in the Netherlands. The last, No. 17, from Lieveven (Roden, Drenthe), is here engraved, and is a remarkable variant. *Three* figures, their faces to the left, salute a *fourth*, who looks to the right. Above the group is a large square-armed Cross, with a many-armed smaller Cross or star on each side. Thus for the first time a specimen with so many as 4 persons, and with a Cross (whether Christian, Heathen or Gnostic, which I as little dare decide as Dr. Bartels himself). Meantime all this opens to us fresh fields of interest.

Vol. 3, p. 117, 259. — The oldest dated hanging-bell known in Germany is that in the Burchardi-Church, Würzburg, from 1249. (H. Otte, *Handbuch der kirchlichen Kunst-Archäologie*, 8vo, Vol. 1, Leipzig 1868, p. 245).



Vol. 3, p. 262. — See Dr. A. Mitchell's "The Past in the Present", 8vo, Edinburgh 1880, p. 11, where a primitive Scottish Loom, with its *Slay* or *Spatha* is engraved; and p. 235, where a minute description is given.

Vol. 3, p. 267. — The influence of the civilisation called Assyrian spread very far in the north of Europe and Asia. In his remarkable and noble folio "Antiquités du Nord Finno-Ougrien", Part 1, Helsingfors 1877, p. 46, the learned Finnish Archæologist J. R. Aspelin says: "Les trouvailles de l'âge du bronze faites à l'ouest de l'Oural offrent en général des formes moins anciennes, dérivées des formes sibériennes, et accusent dans leur confection le plus haut degré d'habileté technique qui ait été atteint pendant cette période. On peut en conclure que cette région a été peuplée la dernière et que c'est là peut-être que l'âge du bronze a eu la plus longue durée. Si l'on compare les trouvailles faites dans la nécropole d'Ananino, sur la rive occidentale de la Kama, nécropole appartenant à une période de transition entre l'âge du bronze et celui du fer, avec les antiquités trouvées dans des tombeaux scythiques qui renfermaient quelques objets de provenance grecque, il paraît probable que la fin de l'âge du bronze, sur les bords de la Kama, correspond au III<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J. C. L'âge du bronze a cessé en Sibérie au moins aussi tôt que sur les bords de la Kama; c'est ce que prouve la comparaison entre les antiquités de l'ancien âge du fer de l'Altai et les objets trouvés dans les tombeaux scythiques de la Russie méridionale, lesquels datent des derniers siècles avant J. C. Il faut pourtant ici prendre en considération ce que dit Hérodote, que de son temps, ou peut-être plus exactement lors de leur lutte avec les Perses, en 530 avant J. C., les Massagètes faisaient leurs armes de bronzes, tandis qu'ils se paraient d'ornements en or. En revanche, il est impossible de déterminer, même approximativement, l'époque où cette civilisation a commencé à se répandre en Sibérie. Le fait, que sa durée a été fort longue résulte du grand nombre des sépultures et des mines. Et comme, dans la Sibérie occidentale, elle n'a pas été précédée d'un âge de la pierre, elle a dû y être introduite par une population émigrée d'une région où l'âge du bronze remontait à des temps encore plus reculés. Peut-être les recherches dont l'antique civilisation assyrienne est actuellement l'objet contribueront-elles à éclaircir ces questions. En effet, les armes de bronze ornées de têtes d'animaux, les figures d'animaux debout qui surmontent quelques pics de mineur, et d'autres objets encore, paraissent accuser une parenté originaire avec les antiquités assyriennes."

I add the following, from "The Academy" London, Sept. 17, 1881, p. 223: — "*Prehistoric Importation of Jade.* — Prof. G. de Mortillet opens the last number of the *Matériaux pour l'Histoire de l'Homme* with an interesting article on "The Importation of Nephrite and of Bronze". He describes the curious assemblage of objects found in the lower station of Gérofin (or Oefeli) on the lake of Bienné, which he regards as offering evidence of very early commercial relations with the East. From thirty to forty implements of jade and jadeite have been found, with several celts and knife-daggers of bronze, and four chisels in unalloyed copper. But the most remarkable object is a bronze pin, of Oriental type, similar to pins used at the present day in China. The presence of this object lends support to the belief that the jade also must have come from Central Asia; and it may be remarked that M. Mortillet has long held that our knowledge of bronze was originally introduced from India. The assemblage of objects from Gérofin shows that this station belongs to that early part of the Bronze age which M. Mortillet designates as the *Morgien* epoch, after the lake-dwelling at Morges on the lake of Geneva."

Vol. 3, p. 277. — The variant runics for *Y*. In the summer of 1882 was found in Handest Church, Jutland, Denmark, a very old grave-stone in the common runes. It says:

TUKI RATY STIN DONSI IFTIR UF(? K or T)A, FADUR SIN, HARDA KUDAN DIGN.

TUKI WROTE STONE THIS AFTER UFI K or T)I FATHER SIN (*his*), a-HARD (*very*) GOOD THANE.

Here RATY is given by R†↑S, and there can be no doubt as to the power of the last letter.

Vol. 3, p. 279. — Line 1. *Read* Bägby.

Vol. 3, p. 308. FRÖSÖ. — Add, that I now divide and translate the last words: ORIUN (or TRIUN if Lector Olsson be right) RAISTA. UK TSAIN RUNOR DISAR. ORIUN (or TRIUN) RAISED the-block. HEWED STONE RUNES THESE. The rune-smith STONE was therefore the letter-cutter. The mansname STAIN is not seldom lispt into TSAIN.

Vol. 3, p. 315. KILBAR. — The substance of this account was first publisht by me in "Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland", 4to, Vol. 3, New Series, Edingburgh 1881, pp. 33—36. I have to thank the learned Scottish Antiquarian Society for the excellent clichées of the stone, used by me in my text.



Vol. 3, p. 335. AL, Hallingdal. — Prof. Ol. Rygh describes this church inscription at p. 220 of *Foren. t. Norske Fortidsm.* 1880, Kristiania 1881.

Vol. 3, p. 338. STAVANGER. — I should have remarked that I have already identified this title GUM on a *Christian* monument in Norway. This is therefore properly the *second* Norse stone (the first *pagan*) bearing that word of office. In 1870 I published a paper "On Scandinavian Runic Stones which speak of Knut the Great"<sup>1</sup>. These minne-blocks were 4 in number, the first being the monolith at FENNE-FOSS, Evje, Nedenæs Amt, Norway. But it was then *lost* to science (walled up in a chimney!), and could therefore only be handled by the help of olden and incorrect copies. In 1875, however, it was happily rescued in fragments, and given to the Christiania Museum<sup>2</sup>. The learned and indefatigable keeper, in the kindest way, favored me with drawings and paper casts of all that was left (about the first 2-thirds of the whole), and with a few exceptions every letter in this part can be read. I therefore will add the inscription as now deciphered by me from these materials, adding that Prof. Olaf Rygh approves my reading. The K in ARKSTIN is doubtful and the word is also given as ARNSTIN in the old copies, while the STIN, the N in DINA, the SA UAR, and all after DA are quite burned or broken away. But, with the help of the 3 ancient transcripts, we can confidently read the whole, which has been very elegantly carved:

ARKSTIN RISTI STIN DINA IFTIR BJOR, SUN SIN, NIS KOD(A). SA UAR TUDR I LIDI DA IS KNUTR SOTO IKLOT.  
 ARKSTIN RAISED STONE THIS AFTER BJOR, SON SIN (his), of-NÆS the-GOTEL SA (he) WAS DEAD (died or fell)  
 IN the-LITH (armament) THO AS (then as, when) KNUT SOUGHT (invaded) ENGLAND.

The bits remaining clearly show NIS KOD(A) cut just over the SIN, and it must therefore refer to BJOR, who was thus Judge-and-Church-lord altho absent, acting by deputy. Prof. Ol. Rygh and Prof. Sophus Bugge are both of opinion that this NIS is the present HORDNÆS, close to Fenne-foss, running into a lake. There has long been an old Church there, and such were usually built on the site of a heathen temple. — As this LITH is the particular and famous THINGMANNA LITH, the Housecarles, Bodyguard of King Knut (CANUTE), so in its general acceptation, as at p. 350 further on, it is Military Service, the General Levy, or some war-expedition.

Vol. 3, p. 352, VIBLE. — Speaking of Egelric, Bishop of Durham 1042, Mr. Poole writes: "Besides other good works, he was the maker of a way over the marsh lands between Deeping and Spalding, long known as the Egelric Rode. And let us here note how frequent were these princely works, — roads, bridges, embankments, and the like, — undertaken by ecclesiastics for the benefit of their neighbours. They accounted, and justly accounted, such public works, equally with churches and monasteries, worthy to be ranked among works of charity and religion." — Rev. G. A. Poole, *Diocesan Histories*. Peterborough. 8vo, London 1881, p. 33.

In that striking Anglo-Norman poem "La Vie de Saint Gilles", by Guillaume de Berneville, written in the 12th century, (publ. by Gaston Paris & Alph. Bos, Paris, 1881, Soc. des Anc. textes Fr.) the Hallow lavishes his goods in charity. Among other things, l. 273, 4:

Ainz fist as povres abbeies,		Abbies poor enricht he quick,
As punz e as maladeries		BRIDGES BUILT and helpit the sick.

Vol. 3, p. 356. — For FIRIOS (? FIRI-OS) read FARIOS (? FARI-OS).

Vol. 3, p. 367. ARG. — ARGGER, ARGGRIM and other names made Förstemann suspect that this word must have had some older meaning, to him unknown. The name ARGULF, borne by a Frank who was bishop of Lerins in the middle of the 7th century, shows that this ancient sense of ARG must have been *fierce, strong*.

This meaning is also found elsewhere in olden English, particularly in the N. E. of the Lindisfarne codex. In the rendering of *generatio mala et adultera*, where for the last word the S. E. has (Mat. 12, 39) 'forliger' and the Rushworth skinbook 'forlegene', the Lindisfarne has 'ARG'. So in Mark 8, 38, where the S. E. has (for *adultera et peccatrice*) 'unricht-hæmedan and synfulran' and the Rushworth 'derne-giligr and AROGNISSE' the Lindisfarne has 'derne-leger and ARG'.

Vol. 3, p. 368. — For Grinim read Grimm.

<sup>1</sup> The Archæologia. London. 4to, Vol. 43, pp. 97—117.

<sup>2</sup> Foreningen til Norske Fortids Mindesmarkers bevaring. Aarsberetning for 1875, p. 88. Christiania 1876.

Vol. 3, p. 375. *MLÆ*. — Line 2 from bottom; *for fund read found*. — Yet another such lave of the longer and older form lives-on in Jutland, Denmark. Molbech tells us in his *Dialect Lexicon*, p. 669, that the verb *ÆWL* there means *to have a foul mouth, to be nasty and spiteful and irritating*. It is also used with *PO* for *to fall upon with bad language* (*ÆWL SÆ IND PO JEN*). Such a pickthank is an *ÆWLER* or *ÆWLE-BASSE*, and is *ÆWLEWURN*. — I add to Molbech, that a common Jutish expression for things that cannot agree, do not suit, is: 'Tyk mjelk å torrebrokken de æ godt for *Ævltsænd*', *thick milk and turf-brocks (bits), that is good for EVIL-TEETH* (bad, tender, teeth). And in Als when the grains of Buckwheat are poor, have no meal in them, they are said to be "*ævlet*" = *EVILED*. So in older English: "And if the ende bringe forth an euyll succeſſe".

Here *ÆYLL* is a diphthongic monosyllable. The above verse-line is from "The Tragedie of Gorboduc", 1565, ed. by W. D. Cooper, London 1847, p. 99.

Vol. 3, p. 380. *RUNES*. — We find *RUNES* for *LETTERS* in England as late as the 14th century. In the 2 North-English texts of the *Cursor Mundi* (edited by Dr. R. Morris for the Early English Text Society, Part 3, 8vo, London 1876, p. 370, 1, line 15,230) we read:

Als it es redd in RUN | als it is redd in RUNE.

This, being lookt on as obsolete by the 15th century midland copyists, is by them given: wip wordis noȝt to roun | as hit is red in toun.

Again at p. 898, 9, line 15,704 and elsewhere:

can na man rede in RUN | can na man rede in ROUN.  
(can na man rede ne roun | may no man rede in toun).

Vol. 3, p. 385, *Kragehul*. — For *WU*, read *WYU*.

Vol. 3, p. 386. *WORD-LIST*. — Add: *ÆCÆA*, *Bracteate 96*. Dat. s. Mansname. See text.

*ÆCO*, *Chessel Down*. *AW*, terror, death and destruction. ?Nom. s. f. See text. — *ÆGSI*, *Strand*.

Dat. s. m. (or f.). Fright, horror. See text.

*ADAM*, *Dearham*. Nom. Mansname. Not in runes.

*Ægsi*, under *ÆCO*.

*BRUDR*, *Selsey*. Nom. s. BROTHER.

*CLÆO*, *Clebury*. Nom. s. ?f. A *CLAW*, (pointer, sundial-gnomon). See text.

*ECAL*, *Strand*. *AYE*, ever. See text.

*EL* . . . ., *Selsey*. No more letters left.

*FÆHI*, *Bracteate 96*. Contracted, not room for more, the ending was therefore understood.

Doubtless meant for *FÆHIDO* or *FÆHIDE*, or whatever the local ending then and there was; 3 s. p. *FAWED*, made, struck.

*GISLI*. — See *ÆEDEGÆSLI*, under *AD*.

*HÆDULICEA*, *Strand*. Dat. s. Mansname, To *HÆDULIC*. See text.

*HÆEIWIDO*, *Strand*. 3 s. p. *HOWED*, buried in his grave-mound. See text.

*HU*, *Sealand*. See text.

*IN*, *Strand*. Ac. s. m. *HIM*. See text and under *IS*.

*INGE*. See *HÆDULICEA*, *DIED-RODWENC*.

*INO*, *Strand*. N. s. Mansname. See text.

*IWI*, *Clebury*. 3 s. pr. subj. *EYE*, show to the eye, point out. See text.

*MÆGUM*, *Strand*. Dat. pl. With his *MAUGS*, kin, family. See text.

*GINLERA*, *Dearham*. 3 s. pr. subj. *NÆRE*, save, bless. See text.

*ON*, *Selsey*. Prep. *ON*, in.

*SNÆIC*, *Bracteate 96*. Nom. Mansname, *SNÆING*, *SNOWSON*. See text.

*SERI*, *Chessel Down*. Dat. s. To-the-SERE, armor, weapons (of the foe). See text.

*STÆDEA*, *Strand*. Gen. pl. ? neut. Of-the-STEADS, harbors, coasts. See text.

*DIEDRODWENC*, *Torwik*. Nom. Mansname. See text.

Vol. 3, p. 397—402. — The reader will please to add and tabulate for himself the grammatical forms and endings given in the *FRESH* and *LAST Runic FINDS*. They are of the same general character, and abundantly strengthen my argument.

Vol. 3, p. 407. *TORWIK*. — I do not know whether *WÆRING* is still a Norse name. But it must have been till quite lately. The history of Norse names is still to be written. But I have just

seen a letter to a Norwegian tradesman called WÆRINGSAASEN. Therefore his *father* was Herr WÆRINGSAA, who took his name from the place where he lived, the AA or A (Old-English A, EA, E, a stream) being called after the farm of the yeoman WÆRING nearby. *Family-names* from *Place-names* are rapidly coming-up in Norway, to avoid the excessively common names which answer to our Jones, Smith, &c. Thus from the man GRIM and his clearing or farm (GÅRD, our GARTH), we get the Norwegian name GRIMSGÅRD, which becomes a family name. But the son of Herr GRIMSGÅRD is of course Herr GRIMGÅRSEN. So the son of a FURULUND would be a FURULUNDSEN. The only difference in Sweden is, that the older form SON is preferred. — Bendixen's notice of this stone, which was found in the spring of 1880, is at p. 49 of his overprint, but at p. 66 of the Journal itself.

Vol. 3, p. 167, 407. SÆBÓ. — Mr. Franks has discovered in the British Museum several similar swords, found in England, with inscriptions in Roman or chiefly Roman letters, *steel-wire inlay*. One, fished up from the river Witham, Lincolnshire, he reads as LEUTIWIT, a well-known Scando-Gothic mansname, foregone by a cross-mark. Another blade, from Kanwick Common in Lincolnshire, has apparently TANAWITN, several times repeated in a long line, *silver inlay*. — July 1883. See the excellent remarks on this Sword-type — the Wiking-make — in Dr. Jos. Anderson's just publisht "Scotland in Pagan Times, Iron Age", 8vo, Edinburgh 1883, p. 17, 33, 45, 48.

Vol. 3, p. 411. — In Mr. J. Ashton's "Chap-books of the Eighteenth Century, with Facsimiles, Notes and Illustrations", (8vo, London 1882, p. 79), is "The Old Egyptian Fortune-Teller's Last Legacy", date about A. D. 1700. On this title-page is a Troy-town, maze or Labyrinth, with sentences. Here the Cross (+) has every where its sound-power, spelling CROSS. Thus:

"A double + begins this Knot  
Without +es Merits not  
This Knot and Love are both Alike.  
whose first & last are both to Seek.  
No + can stay true Loves intent  
it still goes on to What it ment" &c.

I need not here refer to the small "Hieroglyphic" books, once so popular, in which pictures of all sorts of things were used with their phonetic power.

On the autient Sarcophagus in the Crypt of S. Encrazia, Saragossa, is the Saviour comforting our first parents. He stands draped, between Adam and Eve naked, and holds on Adam's side a Sheaf of Corn (= tilling the ground) in the one hand, his other on Eve's side holding a Lamb (= Wool, spinning). Over the man is carved ADAN, over the woman EVVA, over Christ X, this monogram being sounded CHRISTUS. See R. Garrucci, Storia dell' Arte Cristiana, Vol. 5, pl. 381, fig. 1). — I should have added that this same sign, X, was formerly much used, tho now nearly laid aside, for its *Latin* equivalent DECEM. Thus December used to be often written Xber or Xbris.

Vol. 3, p. 414. THORNHILL. — This paper, by means of advanced leaves, appeared in "The Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Journal" (Part XXIX, London 1883, 8vo, p. 49—58).

Vol. 3, p. 420, l. 24. — So in E. E. Alliterative Poems (ed. by R. Morris, E. E. Text Society, 1864, text B, p. 73, l. 1259):

Boþe to CAYRE (drag) at þe kart & þe kuy (cows) mylke.

Vol. 3, p. 424. DEARHAM. — June 18, 1883. I have just received "Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Ant. & Archæol. Soc.", Vol. 6, Part 2. It contains, pp. 358—366, my paper and engravings of the Dearham Slab, communicated by me to the Rev. W. S. Calverley by means of onsent sheets. To my text the distinguisht Editor, R. S. Ferguson, Esq. M. A., LL.M., F.S.A., has appended (p. 366, 7) the following valuable "Note on Discovery of Hazel Wands in Tombs":

"Many instances of such are on record. In the Handbook to the York Museum by Wellbeloved, seventh edition, p. 151, is mention of two coffins of wood of the Anglian, or Anglo-Saxon period, formed by splitting the trunks of oaks longitudinally. These were found in 1876 in the Church Hill, Selby, near the Ouse. In both of these coffins rods and branches of hazel were discovered, and some fragments, together with the coffins, are now in York Museum.

"A slender hazel wand and some shells were found in the grave of Richard Mayo, Bishop of Hereford, 1504 to 1516, Archæologia Vol. xxxi, p. 25. Dean Merewether in the Archæologia states that

other instances have occurred at Hereford, and Mr. Albert Way conjectures "that the hazel wand is the thin wand, which is not unfrequently seen in representations of pilgrims in XV<sup>th</sup> century art, tied up with the bourdon, or pilgrim's staff, properly so called. I had always taken this thin wand for a consecrated taper; but it seems not unlikely that as the pilgrim picked up a few shells on the shore of Galicia, as found by you in the grave, so the usage obtained that he should cut a stick, as he went along, and bring it away with him as a token, tied up with his bourdon, and that, with the shells, this wand was preserved, to be finally placed in the grave. I have made inquiries in France, and elsewhere, and can hear of no similar instance of interment." *Ibid* p. 253.

"In this connection it may be noted that on a sepulchral slab in the tower of Brigham Church in Cumberland is a long wand of cane or bamboo, and it has been conjectured that this slab commemorated a pilgrim.<sup>1</sup>

"On the examination of the tomb of St. Richard, Bishop of Chichester, A. D. 1245—1253, it was observed that "on the surface lay fragments of hazel wands, or branches, such probably, as pilgrims were accustomed to cut by the way." *Archæological Journal*, Vol. iii., p. 263. The "probably &c.", is merely Mr. Way's conjecture. But in the *Archæologia*, Vol. xxxvi., p. 129 (The graves of the Alemanni at Oberflacht in Suabia by W. M. Wylie) several instances are given of hazel wands found with interments in *totten-bäume* or hollowed trees. In one instance the wand is described as a "white, barked, hazel rod." Hazel nuts occurred in many of the coffins, and hazel nuts also occurred in connection with the interments in *totten-bäume* found near Haltwhistle. *Archæologia*, Vol. 44, p. 9.

"The Abbe Cochet found a hazel wand in a stone coffin, which he assigned to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, at Etran near Dieppe. He says "Quel pouvait être le sens de cette verge ou le motif de ce dépôt. Je l'ignore: mais ce que je puis assurer, c'est que le fait n'est pas sans exemple dans les sépultures chrétiennes de cette époque, et même dans les sépultures de la période franque." *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 128. And he gives several examples.

"The Oberflacht graves are beyond doubt heathen interments, and carry the practice back to very remote times. But whatever may have been its original significance, it was continued in Christian times. Dearham is the only instance I can find of the crossed wands: and at Dearham we have both peeled and unpeeled wands.

"Hazel staves had some mystic import. In the Egil Saga we find the judges at a solemn trial fenced in from the crowd by a circle of hazel rods, or staves. A white crowned snake, dwelling beneath a hazel bush, plays its part in German superstition, under the name of the hazel worm. But it elsewhere appears under the same tree in human form clothed in white, and the pagan fairy afterwards becomes the Madonna."

Among the stones used as building-stuff in the old Church, Mr. Calverley has since found fragments of a second Runic grave-slab, bearing the later runes, apparently from the eleventh century. But the staves left are very few.

Vol. 1, p. 59. — At p. 247 and following of his excellent "Scotland in Early Christian Times", 2nd Series, Edinburgh 1881, 8vo, Mr. Jos. Anderson learnedly handles this Cat stone. He brings fresh information, and shows that it was a *Christian grave-minne*. I therefore at once abandon my argument, that it was the grave-pillar of a heathen chieftain.

Vol. 1, p. 176, l. 7 from below, *read* Hølebro, *not* Hølebo.

Vol. 2, p. 724, KÄLFVESTEN, also called Stenby. — Oct. 1882. Adjunkt K. A. Hagson has cleared this valuable stone from its whitewash, and favored me with a lightbild of his careful drawing. All is now clear. The first rune in SIKUR is 4, not 1, all the other S's being 1, and the last word is AUSTR, as usual. Thus: SIKUR KARDI KUBL DA AFT AUNT, SUNU SIN. SA FIAL AUSTR.

Vol. 3, p. 24. — SKÅNG. The Swedish rune-smith Sten Boije examined this stone in the summer of 1882. His only remark is (*Svenska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift* 1882, p. 143) that the first rune in the word SUAIN has the shape h, which agrees with the copy by the Rev. J. E. Ljung in his Ms. (Upsala Univ. Libr.) p. 115.

Vol. 3, p. 26. SKÄRKIND. — Nov. 1882. Adjunkt K. A. Hagson, of Linköping, who has several times visited this stone, kindly informs me that it was raised in the churchyard in the autumn of

<sup>1</sup> "Another suggestion is that the wand is a cloth measure, but the divisions are at irregular intervals."



1877. He thinks that the shallowness of the runes and the smoothness of the surface must chiefly have been caused by long tramp. — After long examinations, his final copy shows an additional letter,  $\Psi$ , after the last  $\mathfrak{F}$ . But this was not on the drawing and the paper squeeze kindly communicated to me by Director Nordenskjöld. At my request, therefore, that gentleman was so good as *again* to visit the stone, and he several times carefully scanned it with eye and finger, but could find *no trace* of this additional stave. — To me personally it is indifferent, as it would merely give LEUWÆA, nom. sing., instead of LEUWÆ, nom. sing. But as, in my opinion, it is really *not there*, I cannot *add* it in the engraving. — The reader can judge for himself, and can put in the  $\Psi$ , should he follow the authority of the experienced runesmith Adjunkt Hagson. I have never seen the block, and therefore cannot give my own opinion. But, here as so often,

“Who shall decide, when doctors disagree?”

In their letters to me, my excellent friends Director Nordenskjöld and Adjunkt Hagson are equally positive. The one is *sure* the  $\Psi$  is there, the other is *certain* it is not, while I can testify that it is *invisible* in the paper squeeze. So I leave it. This is a specimen of the many difficulties connected with epigraphy, especially where we ourselves have not been able to examine the object. And even then, “we ourselves” may be mistaken! *Humanum est errare*. — Meantime, the stone being now easily accessible in the church-yard, we will hope that this vexed question will soon be settled. Happily, it is not of vital importance either way.

Vol. 3, p. 33—36. — For new versions of the LINDHOLM, STENTOFTE, BJÖRKETORP and VARNUM pieces see F. Sanders, *Eddastudier*, Stockholm 1882, p. 142—150.

## RUNIC LITERATURE.

Continuation from Vol. 3, p. 3—5.

- Notice sur les Antiquités de la Roumanie. 8vo, Paris 1868. (BUZEU RING, &c.)
- R. HEINZEL. Über die Endsilben der Altnordischen Sprache. 8vo. Wien 1877. (Based on the readings of Prof. S. Bugge and Dr. L. Wimmer).
- Det Arnemagønske Haandskrift No. 28, 8vo, Codex Runicus. (Photolithographic facsimile). — Om Runernes Brug til Skrift udenfor det monumentale. Af P. G. THORSEN. 8vo. Kjøbenhavn 1877.
- GEORGE STEPHENS. "Om Rök-stenen". Written Sept. 1874. Appeared (March 1878) in "Antiquarisk Tidskrift för Sverige", Vol. 5, Pars 2. Stockholm 1878, 8vo.
- Docent Dr. LUDV. F. A. WIMMER. "Sproglige iagttagelser fra en runologisk rejse i Skåne i sommeren 1876." Pp. 12—19 in "Kort Udsigt over det philologisk-historiske Samfunds Virksomhed i Aarene 1876—1878." 8vo. Kjøbenhavn 1878. At p. 17 he handles the Einang stone.
- KARL FAULMANN. Illustrierte Geschichte der Schrift. 8vo. Wien, Pest, Leipzig, 1879. (Has a chapter on the origin of the Runes).
- P. KØBKE. Om Runerne i Norden. 8vo. Kjøbenhavn 1879. With Illustrations.
- GEORGE STEPHENS. "The Forsa Ring in Helsingland, Sweden." Appendix to "Some Runic Stones in Northern Sweden. From the papers of the late Prof. Dr. CARL SAVE. Edited by Prof. Dr. GEORGE STEPHENS." Pp. 50, 4to. In "Nova Acta Reg. Soc. Upsaliensis. Ser. III." Vol. 10, Pars 2. Upsala 1879.
- De Danske Runemindesmærker, beskrevne og forklarede af P. G. THORSEN. Imp. 8vo. Kjøbenhavn 1879. Vol. 2, Part 1. Plates only. — Vol. 2, Part 2, the Text, appeared in Jan. 1881.
- R. R. BRASH. The Ogam Inscribed Monuments of the Gaedhil in the British Islands. With Plates. 4to. Ed. by G. M. ATKINSON. London 1879.
- EIRÍKUR MAGNÚSSON. (On the Forsa Ring). In Kirkjutiðindi fyrir Ísland, Árg. II 1879, Heft. 2—3, Reykjavík 1879—80, pp. 57 foll.
- Docent L. F. LEFFLER. Om Rökstenen. (Antiqv. Tidskr. f. Sverige, Vol. 6, p. 2, Stockholm 1880).
- Dr. HARALD HJÄRNE. Runinskriften på Forsaringen. (Pp. 177—183 of Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi, Vol. 5, Part 3, København 1880, 8vo.)
- Myntfundet fra Græslid i Thydalen, beskrevet af Dr. L. B. STENERSSEN, Bestyrer af Universitetets Myntsamlng. Christiania 1881. 4to. With 7 autotype Plates (containing 225 Coins).
- STEN BOJE. Runforskningar i Södermanland sommaren 1882, (pp. 136—162 of Svenska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift, 1882. Stockholm, 1883 8vo).
- Runerne i den Oldislandske Literatur. Af BJÖRN MAGNÚSSON ÓLSEN. København 1883. 8vo.

LAST FINDS.

## KROGSTAD, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400—500.

*Old-N. R. Mon. Vol. 1, p. 184, Vol. 2, p. 967.*



I have to thank the Swedish rune-smith Adjunct K. A. Hagson, of Linköping, for the fresh and careful drawings of this stone, *as it now stands*, here engraved by Herr J. F. Rosenstand. They were made, under the careful supervision of Adjunct Hagson, by his artist, Herr Ph. Löfgren, in 1878, and were communicated to me in October 1882. At the same time that gentleman has kindly favored me with the following valuable details: — This Krogstad (locally pronounced Kroksta) block is south of the Regimental Drummer's homestead, on a rising ground now partly ploughed up. It is in Tuna Parish, Öland Härad, and (having fallen) was eft-raised about 1868 by the farmer of the land, Karl Erik Jern. A very ancient stone rampart stretches about 430 feet, north and south, not far from the east side, from 2 to 3 feet high and 5 feet broad where least ruined. South of the rune-bearer is a stone-setting, and southwest was once a high grave-mound, now nearly leveled but not yet opened. Still further west is another barrow 25 feet in diameter, nearly 2½ feet high; south of this is a third how. — On its figure-side the monolith now stands over 5 feet above ground, and is 3 feet where broadest, 2 feet 3 inches at the base; on the figureless side it is 5 f. 7 high, 2 f. 8 where broadest. — The bild is perhaps that of a man *praying to the Gods or thanking them*. The block is slightly pitted, partly from weathering.



but *there never have been any dots* (as of chain-mail) on the body, and the figure looks as if it had been knackt-in with a stone rather than cut with an iron tool. — Adjunct Hagson also reminds me that there are several places called *MYSINGE* in Sweden, including the village in East-Gotland, not far from the Krogstad stone.

Very interesting and original is my learned friend's idea, as above, that *the figure is that of a man praying to the Gods*. I for my own part accept his ingenious suggestion with one limit; I would say TO GOD, rather than TO THE GODS. For, helped by this valuable hint, I would now take the bild to represent an ORANS, the Happy Departed Soul worshipping Christ in Paradise, or in the attitude of prayer while yet on earth. Such ORANTES, carved figures in prayer, *standing* and with *outstretcht hands* as was then the custom, are not uncommon in the Catacombs and elsewhere in the oldest Christian West, and always indicate a buried Christian. I think, therefore, that this is another instance of a local Christian family in very ancient days in Scandinavia, hundreds of years before the historical Missions to the heathen North.

Should I be right in this, it will be an additional proof that the date approximately suggested here cannot be much too early. In the West, *folded hands* afterwards became the attitude of prayer. But we cannot trace this further back than the 9th century. See Ferd. Becker, *Das Spott-Crucifix der römischen Kaiserpaläste*, 2 Ausg. 8vo, Gera 1876, p. 22.

## STRAND, RYFYLKE, STAVANGER, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 200—300.

*From Lightbild, paper Squeezes, a Plaster Cast, &c., kindly furnisht by Prof. OLAF RYGH, Keeper of the University Museum, Christiania. Drawn and Chemityped by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN, to a scale of about  $\frac{1}{15}$ <sup>th</sup>.*

This precious grave-block was first made known to me in 1882 by Prof. Olaf Rygh, the accomplit Keeper of the Christiania Museum. As it was then not yet "dug out" I decided to wait. I neither could nor would lose a piece containing so considerable an inscription. So I stopt my printing. My 6 months' patience has been rewarded with a prize indeed. It turns out to be one of the oldest and longest O. N. ristings yet found. Whether I have succeeded in reading it aright, I cannot say, I leave it to better hands. Meantime we must all thank the sharp eye of the intelligent and careful discoverer, Herr J. ANDA, without whom this costly stone would have been lost to science, and thereafter the gifted Prof. Ol. Rygh of Christiania, my guardian angel and mighty helper on this as on other occasions. He has supplied me with all my materials, and allows me to print his sketch as to the details:

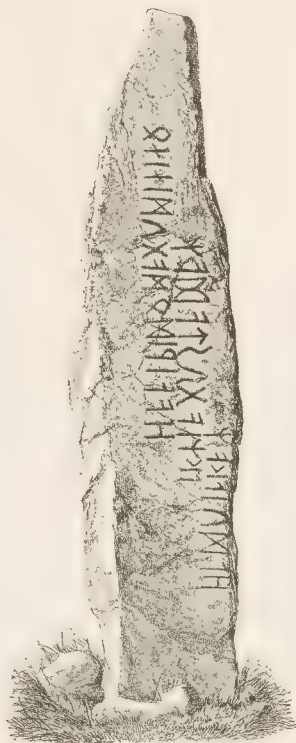
"This block was accidentally observed by the County Agricultural Officer HERR J. ANDA, in the autumn of 1882, on the homested Kjølevik or Kylevik, high north in Strand Parish, Stavanger County, about 20 kilometers right N. E. of Stavanger town. It was lying as roof-stone in an outbuilding, written surface downwards, so that Herr Anda got sight of the staves, and recognized them as Old-Northern. The stone had long been in that position, and the farm-people said that it had once stood on a small rasse or cairn of cobbles near the farm; and that another runestone with a short inscription had once been nearby, but had disappeared.

"Hr. Anda straight made known his find to the Norwegian Society for the protection of Olden Monuments, and afterwards succeeded in buying it for the University Forn-hall, which it reacht in July 1883. It is now raised in the garden behind the University, near the Tune stone.

"It is 2.20 meters (about 7 feet 7) above ground and 0.23 meters (ab. 9 inches) thick; greatest breadth, about in the middle, 0.53 m. (nearly 21 inches). Coarse-grained gray granite. Hence, even before the staves were cut, the flat writing-side was rough and uneven from peeling away and weathering.

Since then, the lapse of so many centuries has damaged it yet more. The marks are therefore not always plain, tho, on the whole, they can be fairly made out. Even from the first they have not been very regularly and elegantly carved, and cannot be compared for instance with the one side of the Tune stone.

"As to the runes, the H at the bottom of the left line has certainly a little hook on the one side". (This I admit. But I look on it as *a false cut*, clearly *not continued* by the stone-smith. It is *much too short* to the arm of an  $\mathfrak{h}$  (=  $\mathfrak{f}$ , L), and to make the H into the bind H and L. In this long carving there is *no other tie*. One here, and that so doubtfully made, is therefore most unlikely. I reject it, and take the plain H as H and no more. Should the L be added, it would give the word HLEÆTVIDO. *LOWED*, raised a *LOW*, *cairn* or *barrow* over the departed. But, as I suppose, this verb has never been



found in any Scando-Gothic tung. I dare not bring it in here without any reasonable ground. In any case, whether we read HLEÆTVIDO or HLEÆTVIDO, the practical meaning will be the same.) — "In the right row the tops of the staves want or are injured, partly because they are at the edge of the side which has gradually seriously weathered here, partly because a crack — in parts very deep — runs along at the top of the first 6 letters. Mark 5 from below has lost a good deal of its top, and may have been originally a revert  $\mathfrak{f}$ , L or  $\mathfrak{t}$  or  $\mathfrak{y}$ ". (Quite true. It was most likely L, which gives an excellent meaning). — "Rune 6 from beneath would almost seem to have been a wend  $\mathfrak{f}$ ,  $\mathfrak{e}$ " (I and Dr. Undset accept it as such). — "Between the last but one and the topmost letter is a flaw in the stone. We might at first take it to be an I, very near the  $\mathfrak{y}$ . But the scathe was there before the runes were carved, and accordingly this space has been past over by the rune-cutter."

After all this friendly help from Prof. Olaf Rygh, we can now handle the monument itself. The reader sees that the script is in wend-runes, the letters *turned round*, and that they read from

right to left (here from below upward). When the cast arrived, Dr. Ingwald Undset, the Norse rune-smith and oldlorist, happened to be in the Danish Museum. He kindly examined it with me, and we compared Prof. Ol. Rygh's facsimile drawing with the cast. The result was, that we both *fully accepted all his letters*. So far, therefore, I am on safe ground, and can proceed, however timidly, to the meaning of the hoary epigraph. Generally speaking, the execution reminds us of the one side of the Tune stone, and I think the date is more or less the same.

I begin with the righthand line, continue with the middle, and end with the left row. As far as I can see, there are no deal-marks; but each file begins and ends with a full word. The whole is *very hard* to make out, as it is a *new formula*, and we shall never be able to say that this or any other reasonable version is absolutely *correct*, till we are holpen by parallel finds. That is, if 4 or 5 of our best runemen were each to make his own translation (which would doubtless be all different), all equally plausible, I think we could not fix on one as *sure*, till new finds came of a like word-fall. — My great search, as usual, has been for the *nominative* and the *verb*. Meseems that here the nom. can only be INO, the verb only HÆÆIWIDO.

Taking the staves as fixt by Prof. Ol. Rygh, Dr. Undset and myself, I propose to divide and read as follows. — The whole right line, HEDU(L)EICÆA, mansname, dative, thus to HEDU(L)EICÆ. The dative ending here, -ÆA, is an orthodox old Scando-Gothic form. We have seen above that the top of the 5th stave is gone, and the L is therefore not sure. But this will make no difference practically, for the name is clearly one of the many compounds beginning with HEDU. Many such antique Scando-Gothic names whose first link is HEDU or HED, HADU or HAP, are known, and others have existed which have not come down to us. If HEDULEICÆA was the word, which is most likely, it is very rare, and here found for the first time in runics. There is only one instance of it in Forstemann, who gives it as HADALEIH. What the local nom. of this name would have been on this very old stone, whether HEDULEICÆS or HEDULEICÆ or what, we do not know. On the five centuries *later* overgang Dansk Freerslev block, the last link is (ÆSLA)KIR, with the more modern -IR as nom. mark.

Passing now to the 2nd or middle line, I would first take the letter-group ECAL, which I take to mean *EVER*, shortened from EWICAI, as the O. E. ECE is shortened from EWICE. It answers to the IAUKA of the Gotlandish Pilgårds stone, the IWKA of the Danish Freerslev block, the ÆIU of the Swedish Stentofte pillar, &c. — Next I would propose ÆGSI. I am persuaded that the 2 last staves are SI, jammed, and not an exceptional R. The general shape of the s here is very similar, tho not quite so, to the s in the following STEDÆA, and the R in the next row is quite different from this SI. In fact we have an exactly answering closed or jammed SI on the Tune stone. There are several other such quite or nearly tied letters on O. N. stones in Norway and elsewhere, and the AI in ECAL in *this same line* almost touch. — Then ÆGSI seems to me regular enough, d. s. m. (or f.), the *awe, fear, fright*, answering to the O. E. ÆGSA, EGESA, EGSA. Ohg. AGISO, EGISO, EKISO, O. Sax. EGISO. In this case, should ÆGSI be in apposition to HEDU(L)EICÆA, the N (ÆGSIN) has fallen away, as usual in O. Scand. and O. N. Engl. If I am right in my readings we have already ÆCO, *awe, Terror*, on the English Chessel Down sword-fitting, and ÆGESTIA, *to-the-awe-st, most-dread*, on the Danish Gallehus Horn. — Only one word left, STEDÆA, apparently gen. pl. neut. *of-the-STEADS, coasts, harbors*. Still used in Kent as STADE, and in common English in ROADSTEAD (an anchorage), while it is also the modern German GESTADE. The O. E. STED is neut. So is the Ohg. STEDI, while O. Sax. STATH is masc., N. I. STÖÐ fem. There is a Church-parish called STEDJA, now STEDNE, in Sygnafylke, S. Norway, and we might possibly translate STEDÆA by *of-STEDE*, or *of-the-STEDE-MEN*. But this seems to me too petty and local a meaning.

We have now reacht the last or left line. I begin with HÆÆIWIDO, 3 s. p. *HOWED, how-set, laid in his barrow or grave-mound, buried*. If so, another proof of the characteristic Old-Scandian 3 s. p. in o or u. And this is the oldest yet known example of this verb, so rare in the Scando-Anglic lands, only known to me in the scarce N. I. HEYGJA, *to bury in a HAUG*. But should all this be admitted, we see here how the guttural (c) has already locally past into w. For this overgang to w, f, v see I. Aasen's Norske Folkesprogs Grammatik, Krist. 1848, p. 59, and Rydqvist's Svenska Spr. Lagar, Vol. 4, p. 249. But I must repeat that such things are very old in the Scando-Anglic lands. The "lingua vulgaris" has deep roots. We find its traces everywhere, so long as we do not normalize and falsify the writs. — MÆGUM, d. pl. *with-his-MAUGS, kindred*. It is true that in M. G. MAGUS, N. I. MÖGR, O. E., O. Sax. and Ohg. MAGU, MEG, and so the later Scandian MÅG, this word could signify son or son-in-law or

something such. But it was also used still more loosely for *kinsman in general*, and there can be no doubt that this is its meaning here. — IN, *HIM*, ac. s. As we know, the pronoun for HE has various shapes in the oldest Scando-Gothic talks, with and without tip-H, and more or less defective in the particular paradigms. Taking only the usual bookforms for the ac. s. (M. G. INA, O. E. HINE, INA, HINÆ, Ohg. INAN, O. S. INA, N. I. HANN, O. Sw. HAN, Scand. Runic AN, HAN, O. Fris. HINE, HINI), and remembering the many local variants which have existed, as well as the various slurrings (FIRIN = FIRI HAN, ÆRUAN = ÆRUA HAN, LAGDRIN = LAGDHE HAN, &c., like the IN, 'N also in older and folkly English), it will be reasonable to look on this IN as = the usual HINE or HAN. — Only 3 letters more, INO. But this is a very common olden Scando-Gothic mansname. Here evidently the nom. to the verb HÆÆWIDO. In this volume we have the Visby Ring, bearing the mansname INOFAST. — Taking the lines as they stand, we thus get:

HÆDU(L)ÆICEÆ, ECAI ÆGSI STEDÆA. HÆÆWIDO MÆGUM IN INO.

To-HÆDU(L)ÆICEÆ, AYE the-AWE of-the-STEADS (coasts, = ever bravely harrying the foemen's harbors). HOWED (buried in his grave-mound) with-his-MAUGS (kinsfolk) HIM INO (= Ino laid him in his barrow, to rest with his kindred).

It appears to me that there is no serious grammatical or general objection to this attempt. I fancy I am certainly right in the 1st and 3rd line. It is the 2nd which is exceptionally difficult. But still we are not without something like parallelisms, so that the strangeness of the *dead warrior having been the horror or scourge of the sea-coasts* disappears. The Rök stone, for instance, is a whole long Lay of Victory, of the forthfare's exploits by land and sea. On the Björketorp stone we read: FÆLE HELHEDA ÆG, *fela (many) of-heroes he woog (slew)*; on the Stentofte: MUCNU HELÆHEDDUE (W)UGO, *a-micken (many) of-hells they-woog*. On the Scandinavian-runic Tirsted block, Låland, stands: IAN HAN UAS ÆÆ FÆINK UAIRA, *in (but) he was the foeing of-the-wers (the victorious subduer of men)*. On the Seddinge pillar, Låland, (much damaged, provisional translation): KARMATR AUAR-SUTR SUIA, AUK SUPRLANNA KRAULATR UFRID(ar-matr), *a CARLMAN OVER-SWEE (darling captain) of-the-SWEDES, EKE (and) of-the-SOUTH-LANDS a-GRAYLETE UNFRITH-(man) (= the ash-colored, fierce, fury-pale, enemy of the Southrons)*. — We have even something like the MÆGUM of this grave-minne on the Saleby pillar, West Gotland, Sweden, which ends:

ATAR KASI		In-thy-KIN'S GRAVEMOUND
A-KIT MID ALTUM.		GATHER-thee to-thy-ELDERS.
KRUS (HA)BI		GRUSE (the horrors) BLAST
(is huk) UF-BRIUTI.		(WHO-thy-how) would-UP-BREAK.

Thus HÆDULEICE was an olden Stavanger Sea-king, and his rune-carved minne-stone is still left to us!

## TORVIK, HARDANGER, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 200-300.

*From a lighbild, drawings, and a cast of the runes kindly furnisht by A. LORANGE, Keeper of the Museum, Bergen. Drawn and Chemityped (stone <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> inch, runes sairly <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>) by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN*

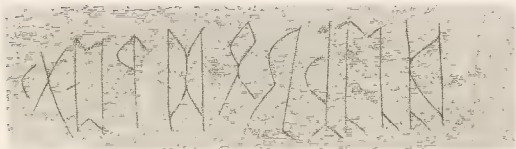
We must all congratulate the Norse oldlorist Lorange on his great goodluck. During a visit to Torvik last June, on narrowly examining the stone blocks used to build up the stonekist, as already described at p. 405 above, he found that yet another of the largest slabs was a rune-bearer. He informed me without delay, and obligingly forwarded all the materials and particulars here employed. I heartily thank him for this his friendly courtesy.

He states, in a letter dated July 26, 1883, that this slab — which measures 8 feet 10 inches in length by 2 feet 2 in breadth, with a thickness of from 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> inches to 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> — is of clay-slate. The



runes are rubbed in, like those on the Einang stone, each streak being narrow and shallow but with a smooth half-round ground, thus scraped with a tool neither broad nor sharp. This grave-pillar was found in removing the second long side of the olden funeral kist, and doubtless had its long side inwards along the tomb. Happily, Hr. Lorange was able to buy it, and it is now safe in the Bergen Museum.

As far as I can see, the staves are plain enough for all practical purposes, and the whole inscription is complete. But there are some uncommon characteristics. All the letters are wend, as usual, and read therefore from right to left, but they are also of an ornamental kind. First we have



Þ and ʀ, these letters jammed, the ʀ touching the bow of the TH. — Then Ʒ followed by another Þ, the TH here differing much in shape from the one opening the resting. — The ʀOD offer nothing particular. — Thereafter comes w, with an ornamental stroke on the top side. — E comes next, here W, as on the Brough stone in England, the Ʒ in ƷIE being M. So much for these variations on *the same monument*, as I have often had occasion to point out. — Last we have N (to take it as a is possible but most unlikely) and c. But what strikes us here is, that several of the letters have decorative feet or foot-strokes. — I must add that there are a couple of very slight slanting *dints* (not cut lines) beneath the ʀ; and at the beginning, before the Þ, are 3 faint straight *lines* (|||), really cut, not dints. I take

them to have been made as an *opening-mark*. We have a similar line-group (III) commencing the epigraph on the Forsa Ring (see p. 298) and also on the Valsfjord Rock (see p. 75). The dints or marks under the R are so weak, that they could not be given in the engraving. The only *runes* carved on this slab are — the name of the sleeper:

DIEDRODWENC.

Interesting here is the dialectic o for a in *DIEDROD*, the last link being usually *RAD* (*RAD*) sometimes *RED* or *RID*. But *the sound* of this *RAD* may have here locally very near to *ROD*, as the O. E. *STÁN* is now and has long been usually *STONE*, with hundreds of similar instances. This *DIEDROD* (*DIUDRAD*) is a common old Scando-Gothic mansname in many local-talk spellings, meaning *FOLK-REDE*, *FOLK-COUNSELOR*, with its fellow the womans-name *THEUDERADA* (in many spellings). But it has not before turned-up in runes, as far as I know. Here we have the patronymic *DIEDRODWENC*, equal to *DIEDRODING*, *THIETHRODSON*. This name also must of course have been usual enough in far-off days, but I have never seen it before, still less in runes.

## SEALAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1200—1300.

*From the original, now in the Husaby Museum, Småland, Sweden. Drawn and Chemityped, full size.  
by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN.*



Found in June 1879 by a man digging in a field in Sealand, and sold by him to a dealer in the capital, who put it away with some other things of little consequence, and lost sight of it. In August 1883, rummaging in his shop, I found it, with other forgotten lumber, in an out-of-the-way drawer. The seller had no idea that it bore letters, and I bought it for a mere trifle.

What it actually is or was meant for, I do not know. The material is copper. In my eyes the runes are old and genuine, as much so as any such metallic inscription I have ever seen. But they are not *dug* in, as is usual in a common stamp. They are only vigorously *risted* with a knife-point, or some such needly instrument. The top is hammer-worn, and has often been struck to give an impression, whether on soft lead, wax or terra sigillata — or what, I cannot say. I therefore look upon it as a punch. Such tools were common for many centuries, from Roman times downwards all thro the middle age, for stamping small flans or blanks for "Custom-house", "Shop" and other purposes.

The difficulty is, the certainly old and genuine runes on the one hand, and the modern look of the object on which they stand. How can these things go together, and what are we to do? Are we all to echo that the piece is "a forgery"? Who should forge it, and for what purpose? Certainly no money was earned by it. And would not a fabricator have carved the *later common* runes, the only ones known to him, and not the Old-Northern staves, which were never heard of by "the people" till quite lately? We may indeed pronounce the plain and boldly-cut inscription "accidental scratches", or "joke-marks". But this, in my eyes, is merely *cutting* the Gordian knot, and is the intolerance of scepticism.

Hence I do not see why I should *suppress* this piece, any more than other things which seem to be all right. In fact I have *no right* so to do. I leave my reader to do this, should he find good grounds for it. To me personally it is all the same, and the 2 harmless letters cannot be used for

any polemical purpose. So I give this little bit as I find it. Even if suspected or condemned it can do no harm, and takes very little room. My own opinion is, that we should stick to *facts*, and that we shall know more a hundred years hence than we do now.

This stamp then, or whatever it was, and whether old or new, bears 2 reverst Old-Northern runes, *UH*. The impression — perhaps the beginning of a name — would be:

*HU.*

## CHESSELL DOWN, ILE OF WIGHT, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500—600.

*From a full-sized drawing and a cast of the runes, for which I have to thank AUG. W. FRANKS, Esq., Director of the British Museum. The former is Heliotyped half-size by PACHT and CRONE; the latter is drawn on wood by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN, full bigness, and engraved by J. F. ROSENSTAND*

*The Fitting is chemityped full size by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN*



Mr. Franks obligingly drew my attention to this Iron Sword when I visited the British Museum, where it now is, in July 1882. It was found about the middle of this century in an Old-English grave-stead at Chessell Down, and was shortly after engraved in Hillier's "History and Antiquities of the Isle of Wight", Part 1, London, no date. The present length of the blade, from the guard, is 2 feet 6½ inches. From the guard to the tip of the pommel it measures 6½ inches. The runes are on the *inner* side of the scabbard-mount, and were therefore only seen when the piece was lately taken to pieces at the Museum to be cleaned:



FIG. 10. — A. 10.

Thus the staves, which are clearly but not deeply incised with a sharp instrument on the elegant silver mount, were formerly *invisible*. None but the bearer of the sword was aware of their existence. This is of great weight as to the meaning of the 2 runish words, which are divided by a double point. For, under such circumstances, we cannot expect them to be the names of the Giver and Receiver, which would not be hidden in this way. Nor can they well be a mere mark of *make* or *ownership*, as so often elsewhere. Nor do they offer any other common formula known to us. They are obscure; what can they signify? Before we answer, let us sharply fix what they are.

Besides a couple of unimportant scratches, they are as follows. — The first staff is a clear  $\mathfrak{F}$  ( $\mathfrak{X}$ ). — The second is as plain a  $\mathfrak{H}$  ( $\mathfrak{C}$ ), but the lower part bent a little to the left. — No. 3 is the English  $\mathfrak{O}$  ( $\mathfrak{E}$ ). Across the middle is a slight nearly horizontal scratch. Then the 2 small divisional bars. — Thus the *first* word is *ÆCO*.

The next vocable begins with  $\mathfrak{V}$ , here, as often elsewhere, in my opinion, *s*. (See Vol. 1, p. 153; Vol. 2, p. 830; Vol. 3, p. 158—160). — Then comes  $\mathfrak{X}$ , *æ*. — Thereafter  $\mathfrak{K}$ , a slip of the graver from the former letter touching the left center. — So a sharp *l*, (perhaps followed by a point-dig). At all events there is nothing more. Thus the group *SÆRL*. — That this light risting is so certain and so well-preserved, is very pleasant. The *reason* is not far to seek. It has been heled, covered, kept safe from accident and friction, for 1800 years!

What, now, is the meaning of these two short words, *ÆCO SÆRL*? It is a dark utterance, as I have said. I give my reading, diffidently, till a better can be found. — As we know, in our *oldest* English we *often* have a local dialectic *c* where we expect a *g*, and thus I think that the first group is equivalent to *ÆGO*. Then, in our *oldest* English we have many feminines with an older nominative-ending in *-o* (or *-u*), instead of the later *-e*. If so here, our assumed *ÆGO*, would be = the usual *O. Eng.* *ÆGE*, *EGE*. *M. Goth.* *AGEI*, *lcel*, *AGI*, *ÆWE*, *dread*, *fright*, *fear*, *terror*. This is *masc.* in most of the form *Scando-Gothic* talks; but in *M. Goth.* and in *M. H. G.* (*AGI*, *EGE*) it is *fem.* There is no reason why it should not here and there have been *fem.* in England also.

As to *SÆRL*. In the *oldest* English we have *often* *æ*, *oe*, for *ea*, *eo*, and other such vowel-combinations. I therefore think that *SÆRL* may be the dative singular of the wellknown *Scando-Gothic* usually neuter noun, in *O. Engl.* spelt *SEARO*, *SEARA*, the *Ohg.* *SARO*, *M. Goth.* nom. pl. *SARWA*, *Mid. Engl.* *SERE*, *armor*, *weapons*, but also with curious by-meanings in *O. Engl.* and other tungs, in all of which it is now dead. The only objection of any weight to this is, that we had expected *SÆRWI*, not *SÆRL*. But in several olden Scandian and English dialects there are many examples of the *w*-sound falling away, and this in every part of a word, before both vowels and consonants.

Till new finds throw further light hereon, I would therefore suggest:

*ÆCO SÆRL!*

*ÆWE (terror, death and destruction) to-the-SERE (bryníe, armor, weapons, of the foe)!*

Should this be so, we have here an instance of what was so strictly forbidden in olden days, the use of galdor, spells, witchcraft, secret signs and formulas and amulets, and the like, in duels or feuds or fighting generally. The above words, if such an imprecation, were cut privately and hidden away in the sheath, accompanied by some chaunt of supernatural power. Had they been discovered, the owner would have paid the penalty with his life! — At all events this is, I believe, the first time such a secret runish risting has been discovered. — As to the three-cornered pommel type, see p. 167 above and the note hereon at page 447 in this volume.



## CHESTER-LE-STREET, N. DURHAM, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700—800.

*From materials kindly furnished by ROB. BLAIR, Esq., and the Rev. G. F. BROWNE, B. D. Drawn and Chemityped, about '17th, by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN.*



FRONT.



RIGHT SIDE PATTERN.



LEFT SIDE.

In June 1883 the Chancel of the formerly Collegiate Church in Chester-le-Street, dedicated to St. Mary and S. Cuthbert, was undergoing repair in connection with the 1000th anniversary of the founding of the See. For this small place has a long history, and we must not be surprised at finding antiquities here. Its O. English name was Cunceaster or Cuneacester, &c. It lies in a valley only 5 English miles north of Durham, on the line of the Roman way called Ermin Street, and was the seat of the Episcopal See of Durham till its removal to that city in 995.

When such restorations take place in our old Churches, Roman or Anglie stones are frequently met with, used as building-stuff. So here. Several Anglie carved blocks, portions of the shafts and bases of Grave-crosses, &c., were taken out of the walls. The Vicar, Mr. Blunt, will publish a description of these. But among them was the lowest piece of a funeral pillar, bearing the dead man's name in mixt Roman and Runic staves.

In our days such things are seldom destroyed. This one excited great attention. Robert Blair, Esq., of South Shields, one of the Secretaries of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, at once favored me with a sketch, and afterwards with a lightbild of the front, a squeeze of the same, a pen-and-ink outline of the interlaced work on the sides, and all the information he could supply. I was also assisted by the Rev. G. F. Browne, of Cambridge, with a squeeze and excellent outline (full size) of the front. I heartily thank these distinguisht old-lorists for all their kindness.

The square block before us, of a closish-grained sandstone, is 2 feet 11 inches high by 8 inches broad below, 7 above. The lowest 5 inches are not sculptured, as they went into the socket of the Rood. The front, at the top, has the name of the forthfaren, cut in,

EADMUND

the M and N being Old-Northern runes, the EADUD Roman letters. They stand on and above a double Wolf or Dragon in relief, as is all the other ornamentation. Beneath is a warrior on horseback, his sword at his left side and his round shield on his left arm. Still lower are 2 endless knots, the one under the other. — The back has knot-winds almost identical. — The patterns of the right and left sides are given above. — All these motives remind us at once of the similar decoration on the 3rd Thornhill stone and on the Bewcastle Cross.

Now what is the date of this stone? We have no direct evidence. Mr. Blair tells me that he does not think the Chancel is older than the 13th or 14th century<sup>1</sup>. The Shield is round, not Kite-shaped, and takes us very far back. The chief is bare-headed, or has a kettle-helm. The inter-twined work is also very antique. The runes point in the same direction. It has been suggested that "EADMUND" was that English King, who followed his brother Athelstan in 940 and died in 946. And this chiefly on the ground that on his march to Brunanburgh Eadmund gave large gifts to the Church at Chester-le-Street. But King Eadmund was murdered at Pucklechurch in West Gloucestershire, and Florence of Worcester distinctly tells us that he was buried by St. Dunstan at Glastonbury in Somerset<sup>2</sup>. If entombed in Somerset, he could not lie in Durham. The grave-cross here would therefore be a cenotaph, a thing *most unlikely*. And the style is, in my opinion, a couple of year-hundreds *earlier*. I therefore think that the Eadmund here commemorated is some unknown local magnate.

With regard to the wind-work on this stone, I may add that future finds may help us to a nearer date. Thus Mr. Blair informs me that my learned helper Canon Greenwell, now Librarian of Durham, has just had an Anglie block from a stone grave-cross taken out from Durham Cathedral, where it had been used to build with. It is sculptured on all the 4 sides, very much in the same general style as on the 3rd Thornhill stone and here. Mr. Blair adds, that the Cross on one of the bases found in the Durham Cathedral is exactly the same as that in the Anglian Church (built of Roman stones from the neighboring castrum of Binchester) at Escomb near Bishop Auckland, described in the Brit. Archæol. Journal for 1880 or 1881.

What is characteristic in this inscription is, the intermingling of Runic and Roman letters. It may be well to cast a glance here on how it fared with such things in the Scando-Anglic lands — for only these ever had Runes. Confining ourselves to the first great Scandinavian colony, England, we see that here as elsewhere the oldest risings are in RUNES ONLY (first the older or Old-Northern, then the later or Scandian characters). In England these epigraphs begin in the 5th century. — Thereafter come-in TWAY-STAVED CARVINGS, the same words *in the folk-tung* being given in two alphabets, Runish and Roman. The object was, that both classes of the population, the "lewd and learned", the Latin-taught (chiefly ecclesiastics) and the Latin-bare (chiefly lay-folk), might be able to read what was written. In England only 1 such minne has come down to us, the Falstone stone, date about A. D. 700. — Then, as the Latin civilization marches on, we have RUNE-WORDS AND ROMAN WORDS. Some words or sentences are *in the folk-speech, in Runes*, others *in Latin with Roman letters*. To this group belong, in England, the Ruthwell Cross (680), the Franks Casket (700—800), Dearham (850—950) and Hackness (850—950). — But the Latin A. B. C. continues to advance, and we get MINGLED Runic AND ROMAN LETTERS. Apart from Manuscripts and Coins in England, this work has made public the pieces handled under Lindisfarne (698), Alnmouth (705), Æthred's Finger-ring (700—800) and Chester-le-Street (700—800). — But the Runes cannot stand against the Roman letters, the Alphabet of the whole Western Church and Western Civilization. The fight is too unequal. They fall away altogether, in some localities very early. We have ROMAN LETTERS ONLY, WRITING ENGLISH WORDS — we do not speak of such used for Latin inscriptions — at Yarm (684—700), Dewsbury (700—800), Wycliffe (700—800) and Thornhill (867).

<sup>1</sup> "The original wooden church was taken down, and a stone one was erected in its stead by Egelric, fourth Bishop of Durham, about the year 1050; and the present church was built about 1260. By way of celebrating its millenium, it has been restored under the care of Mr. R. J. Johnson, of Newcastle, and the three old bells, two of which were cracked, have been replaced by a fine peal of six." I take this from "The Guardian" for Aug. 1, 1883, p. 1136, where is a long description of this year-thousandth highday.

<sup>2</sup> "et Gleanstoniam delatus, a B. Dunstano abbate sepelitur." *Florentii Wigorn. Chron. s. a. 946*.

As some of these things can be distinctly year-set, others approximately dated, we have here very costly epigraphic and palæographic material, the variants in *the shapes of the letters*, whether Runish or Roman. As to the Roman, we thus get a fresh clue to dating the development of Roman Uncial and Minuscule staves in England, in addition to those many stones in Great Britain and Ireland which bear risings in Latin only or in Latin and Ogham characters

And as to the carved figures and such. Here, as often, we must not forget that we are handling only a fragment. On the higher block or blocks much may have stood, perhaps even additional writing, which would have more clearly identified the sleeping Christian. All this is lost to us, and we therefore can hardly grasp the meaning of the front. What stood *above* the tway-wolf or double-dragon? If a figure or symbol of Christ, then it would mean the Hell-monster overcome by our Redeemer. In that case (allowing for the dim intermixture of Heathendom and Christendom on our oldest stones) the Horseman would be on his triumphant way Heavenward (to a Christian Walhall), there to enjoy perpetual bliss, as shown by the Endless Knots of Life Everlasting beneath him. — Should all this be disallowed, what is left can only have a hard *secular* signification. The foul beast and the knot-winds are only ornamental, while the warrior will be more or less only a conventional portrait of the decessat, as he went out to hunt or foray. So uncertain are all these things. But every fresh find helps us onward in this difficult study. When all our sculptured memorials are carefully drawn and publisht, we shall be able to understand much which is now more or less hidden to us<sup>1</sup>.

## SELSEY, SUSSEX, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700—800.

*From the original in the British Museum.*

For the communication of this also I have to thank the goodness of Mr. Franks. It is a fragmentary GOLDEN FINGER-RING, only 2 bits left, and these much worn by sea-water &c. They were pickt up a few years ago, along with 280 small British golden Coins, but also with things much later, down to the middle age — the like being thrown on the coast from time to time —, on the beach at Selsey. The coins are described by Ernest H Willett in the Numismatic Chronicle, New Series, Vol. 17. London 1877, p. 309—333.

These ring-morsels are so much injured and the runes so faint, that I will not attempt any engraving. My decipherment of the staves, however, was approved by Mr. Franks and Mr. C. H. Read in the English Department of the Museum. The first fragment seems to bear BRUÐR (BRUDR), the second ƿt ƿt (ON EL). The ʀ in BRUDR is not quite perfect. The distances between ON and E and L are, from the shape of the ring, here slightly raised, past over. The N is *the beginning* of a lost mans-name — let us say *Niclas*. The whole will then be:

BRUÐR Niclas ON EL . . . .

BROTHER Niclas ON (of) EL . . . .

## BRACTEATES, &c.

No. 90. O. N. R. M. Vol. 3. p. 258.

The person who bought Nos. 90 and 91 for a trifle, and offered No. 91 to the Danish Museum at an unblushingly high figure, said they were found at *Gettorp*. Prof. H. Handelsmann, Keeper of the

<sup>1</sup> It is rumored that our great old-lorist and famous digger the Rev. Canon Greenwell will undertake the publication of all the Sculptured Stones now left to us in Durham and Northumberland. Should this be so, he will lay his country under a lasting obligation, while at the same time he will add another laurel to his own brow

Kiel Museum, who has this moment (Sept. 16, 1882) favored me with a communication hereon, states that Nos. 90 and 91 came from *Geltorf*. Whether this statement by the vigilant and grasping speculator is more correct than his former one, I cannot say. *Geltorf* is a village east of Slesvig town; *Geltorf* is a village in Haddeby Parish, south-east of Slesvig. Both hamlets are in the Danish province of South Jutland or Slesvig.

May 1883. Prof. Handelsmann kindly informs me that his official instructions forbade his sending the original to Cheapinghaven, but that he nevertheless lost no time in forwarding to the Danish Museum an *Electrotype copy*. Unhappily, in consequence of Prof. Engelhardt's sudden death, this facsimile was put aside and forgotten, became unknown to the officials and myself. Thus I could not make use of it. But this was not Prof. Handelsmann's fault. I therefore frankly apologize for my unwitting mistake, and my text must be bettered accordingly.

No. 91 O. N. R. M. Vol. 3. p. 258.



Prof. Handelsmann writes me that the Kiel Forn-hall has now secured this second *Geltorf* (or *Geltorf*) piece also, but "at an enormous price indeed". He has most courteously forwarded me a Galvano-plastic double, which has been delicately chemityped by Prof. M. Petersen. This blink is, as I said, "very beautiful". I have no further information to add.

No. 96.

ÅSUM, SKÅNE. SWEDEN.

*Drawn and Chemityped full size by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN.*

Another grand golden blink from the formerly Danish folkland Skåne, and this time the very largest anywhere found. It is here given as near as possible full bigness, from materials kindly furnished by the Swedish Riks-antiquary Hans Hildebrand, namely, an excellent electrotype and a full-size sunbild.

The Swedish oldlorist Dr. Oscar Montelius obligingly informs me that this costly piece was ploughed-up on the 27th of November 1882 by the farmer Nils Andersson on a farm-field at No. 32 Åsum, Åsum Parish, Färs Härad, Malmöhus Län, thus in the south of this large province. Its greatest diameter is 12.2 cm., its weight 100.3 grammes.

I will not here dwell on the splendor of this jewel, whose hanging-loop has been broken away and has not yet turned up, nor on its mystic symbols, nor on its delicate filigree work above. I will only add that its date is pretty certainly the 6th century, an opinion in which Dr. Montelius fully agrees.

And now as to the runes. They front the head, running to the left of the Swastika or Felefoot, and are all *reversst*. Here and there some parts are cut rather shallow, but all are fairly plain.



As usual, there is now and then a tiny bulge in the metal (which has nothing at all to do with the writing), particularly between the s and the n, the e and the i. The 1st letter is ᚱ (that is ᚱ, s), the next ᚠ (= ᚠ, n), the third ᚱ (e) the first leg a little blundered, the 4th > (<, c), the 5th ᚠ (f, æ), next > (<, c), then ᚠ (f, æ), the 8th ᚱ (a), the 9th ᚠ (b, f), so ᚠ (f, æ), followed by ᚱ (h, h), and the last or No. 12 is i (i). As the space is here very narrow, from the animal's snout coming in, this i is much *shorter* than usual. Thus, from right to left, SNEICECEAFÆHI, without any mark of division.



But happily here also, as I think, the staves divide themselves. We are on quite safe ground in beginning with the mansname in the nominative SNEIC. The old word SNOW, found in so many tungs (sometimes with a consonantic ending) has many forms in the Scando-gothic talks, from the M. Goth. SNAIWS, O. Swed. SNIOR, SNIÖR, SNIO, Mod. Swed. SNÖ, Mod. Dan. SNE, O. E. SNAW, SNA, Mod. E. SNOW. N. I. SNÆR (gen. SNÆVAR and SNÆS), SNIAR (gen. SNIARAR and SNIAS), SNIOR (gen. SNOVAR and SNIOS), O. Sax. SNEO, SNEU, Frank. SNEO, SNIO, SNE (gen. SNEWES), &c., where we see that the -s or -r is only a dialectic nom. mark, and that the end-w often reappears before a following vowel. Scandian compounds begin with SNÆ-, SNE-, in runes SNAU-, SNI-, SNIO-, SNIA-. In N. I. we have the mansname SNI, SNJÁ, SNJÓ, SNÆ, but also SNÆR, while in England SNOW is still quite a common name. As to O. G. dialects Forstemann has the names SNEOBURG (once), fem., and SNEWARD (masc.) twice. On Scandinavian runic stones we have SNAUBIARN and SNIÖRN, SNIOLAU (fem.), and SNIUAL(ds), gen. — This is the first time the word SNOW has been seen in Old-Northern staves, and the first Scando-Gothic instance known to me of this word as patronymic in -ING, = SNAWING, SNEING, &c., tho it must have been common enough in its day. As we all are aware, the endings -IC, -IG (and -INC, -ING) are dialectic, and continually interchange in olden documents and monuments, sometimes in the same page or line. — Thus SNEIC is merely = SNEING = SNOWSON, the son of SNE.

Next comes, quite naturally, the mansname ÆCEA, in the dative, only found once before in O. N. letters, the nom. mansname OEKI of the North-English Brough stone. ÆCEA is therefore = to-ÆCEA. In O. Engl. we have ACCA, ÆCCA, ÆCCT, whose dative would usually be ACCA, ÆCCCA, in the N. Engl. moles, ACCAN, ÆCCAN in the conservative S. E. As to O. G. dialects Förstemann, under AGIO, has 41 variations in his 1st ed., running from the 4th to the 11th century. They include Prosper's AJO (an. 379), the AGGO of Saxo Grammaticus. These 41 forms are exclusive of the feminines, and of course among them c and g (as well as the a and e and o) are always passing into each other with change

of local talk. — In Scandian runics we have *AKI* and *OKI*, nom., and *AKA*, *AKAE*, *AKU*, *OKU*, accus., with several compounds beginning with *AK*. In modern Scandinavia, particularly in Denmark, this mansname is still common as *AKE*, *AGE*, *AGGE*, *ÅGE*, *OVE*.

The word left speaks for itself. It is *FÆHI*, evidently a contraction. The whole room is filled up, and the last letter so cramped as to be only half its proper height. Thus the 2 last staves (*DO* or *DE* or whatever the local ending then was), are *understood*, as is not unusual in runic risings. But this *FÆHI*(*do*) or *FÆHI*(*de*) is our old friend, already found 11 times before in these O. N. runes in various spellings, the verb in the 3 person singular past tense, for *FAWED*, *made*, *carved*, *stamp*, *struck*. See *FÆHI**DO* in the Word-list

The whole inscription, then, as far as I can see, can only be another example of the well-known formula: N. N. (name in nom.), to or for N. N. (name in dat.) *MADE* (or *GAVE* this). Here:

SNEIC ÆCÆA FÆHI(*do* or *fæhide* or *fæhidi*).

SNEIC (= SNEING — SNOWSON), to- or for-ÆCÆA (*AGE*, *ÅGE*, *OVE*), *FAWED* (*made* this).

The mere value in metal of this "gersum", this shining jewel, was 280 Swedish crowns. But the finder received from the Swedish Museum 400, about £ 22 sterling. The largest golden Bracteate hitherto known is the one engraved as No. 146 in "Atlas de l'Archéologie du Nord", fol., Copenhagen 1857, pl. 8, which also is Old-Danish, being pickt up in a field near Rønne, Bornholm. But it is only a bit (or rather 2 bits found buried in different places), about 1-fifth of the whole, the complete diameter being reckoned at 10.6 centimeters. This lafe however BEARS NO RUNES. It is now in the Danish Museum.

Vol. 3, p. 180. WHITBY COMB. — Sept. 21, 1883. Still further illustrating the Combs with O. N. characters found in Sweden, Denmark and England, and parallel with those in later staves pickt up in Sweden and England (see Vol. 1, p. 223, Vol. 3, p. 37). I have to thank Docent Sven Söderberg for a copy of the runes on a Bone Comb, about 11th century, found among midden refuse in Lund, Skåne, March 2, 1882. They say: ARNKUN GAF MÆR KAB. *The-lady-ARNKUN GAVE ME this-COMB*. The well-known formula is interesting here from the slurring of the *M* in *KAMB* (*KAB*). On the Lincoln Comb (Vol. 1, p. 223), whether we read *KAMB* or *KAUMB*, the *M* is there. — But this Lund piece is also remarkable for its shape. It is *long*, like a paper-knife, the handle-half (breadth  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch) about 4 inches long, the comb part (teeth nearly broken away, very little left) nearly 3 inches long. A bit is gone from the comb end.

Vol. 3, p. 183. NETHH'S CASKET. — The Rev. G. F. Browne, B. D., writes from Cambridge under date Sept. 28, 1883: "I have been looking into the ornamentation of the Brunswick Casket, and I think you may go further than "Northumbria" as the habitat of the workman, and may say Ripon. At Masham, 8 or 9 miles N. W. of Ripon, is a round column with scripture subjects in romanesque arcades, two tiers of them going round the stone. A year or two ago it was found that the part in the ground was sculptured, and the Vicar had it raised. It now stands about 7 foot high, I suppose, and I should think it is about 6 or 7 feet round at least. The whole of the bottom tier of arcades, now first shewn, is occupied by animals with proudly arched neck and breast, quadrupeds of the horse or deer kind, all holding up one paw and with ropes looped round their necks in a most remarkable manner, such as I have never seen."

Vol. 3, p. 221. BRIDEKIRK FONT. — The substance of this little paper first appeared in "Archæologia Æliana", Part 22, 8vo. Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1876, pp. 118—120

Vol. 3, p. 265. BUZEU RING. — Sept. 21, 1883. In the rich find at Dunegårda in Gotland, 1881, were also several golden and silver objects, and others, bearing runic inscriptions from the middle age. One of these, as just kindly communicated to me by Docent Sven Söderberg of Lund, was a Golden Neckring. Docent Söderberg thus reads its rising: BOTUDR AF ALSKU AIK. *BOTVITH OF ALSKU* (= *ALSKOG*) *OWES* (*owns*, *possesses*, *me*).

Vol. 3, p. 316. KIRKEBÖ. — Sept. 22, 1883. Yesterday, at the Danish University, the Runologist Docent Dr. Wimmer had occasion to speak of this stone, of which he exhibited a squeeze.

He advanced a new and ingenious reading, following the older critics in the view that it is only a fragment, some letters being broken away at the beginning. The last part he gave, (turning round the reverst staves), as  $\text{HFT!ANRN}\delta$ ,  $\text{UFTIR HRUO}$ , *AFTER HRU*. If so, this piece would be so far Old-Northern as to have the  $\text{H}$ . But in spite of Dr. Wimmer's acknowledged talent and sagacity, I am afraid to follow him here, much as I should prefer it, for it would give me an additional monument. — In the first place, the whole shape of this small chubby block of the hard and heavy igneous rock called *Dolerite* makes it unlikely, that a small bit should have been taken off on the right side. It appears complete, tho it may be *the top only*, the lower part torn violently away. We shall never be able to decide this. — Then, as far as I can see, there are sufficient traces of the cartouche on the right as well as above and below, in which case nothing wants at the beginning. — Next, the engraving (and still more the rune-bearer itself) shows at once how much the stone has been injured. There are very many dints and holes and scratches, some of which may be mistaken for letter-marks, unless we know what is meant, the real runes being slightly cut. We therefore cannot use strong language on the question on either side. All can see how hard it is to make out this risting. — As to the  $\text{UFTIR}$ . At first sight and as the staves really stand, we must read  $\text{URU}$  ( $\text{HFTN}$ ), and so I have taken it. But the engraving (and the original still more) shows that the last letter may be redd as  $\text{D}$ . This will be a bind for  $\text{UR}$ , or a jam of  $\text{r}$  and  $\text{r}$ . Thus  $\text{UFTIR}$  (as Dr. Wimmer prefers) or  $\text{UFTUR}$ . Now this end- $\text{r}$  ( $\text{A}$ ) is very doubtful. There is no other tie in the whole writing, and I look upon  $\text{D}$  as nearly impossible. Should we take it as 2 staves,  $\text{r}$  and  $\text{A}$  (cut  $\lambda$  on the stone) it becomes more likely. But, considering the damaged state of the surface, this end- $\text{r}$  is very far from sure. In fact the stroke next after this supposed  $\text{A}$ , has also marks at its foot which may also be taken to make it a damaged  $\text{A}$ . — Nor does the  $\text{N}$ -mark ( $\text{v}$ ) absolutely touch the next stroke. — Still it is clear that Dr. Wimmer's suggestion is *possible*. But even accepting it, I cannot see that  $\text{UFTIR HRUO}$  (redd by him as  $\text{UFTIR HRUA}$ ) is a whit more orthodox in form (look at thro Icelandic spectacles) than  $\text{UFT UNIRUO}$ , a well-known old Scando-Gothic name in many spellings, and still common in Germany ( $\text{UNRUH}$ ). See my minute description of this block in Vol. 2, p. 728—730, where are given the 3 very different readings of Fin Magnusen and Repp. Mine is a 4th, Docent Wimmer's a 5th. Should the reader prefer the last, this becomes an overgang Old-Northern minne.

Vol. 3, p. 439. RUTHWELL. — Extract of a letter from Rev. G. F. Browne, B. D., Cambridge, Sept. 28, 1883: "I do not remember that you mention in your Ruthwell Cross the ivory carving at the Church of St. Martin, Genoels Eldern, near Limburg. It is drawn in Westwood's Facsimiles. There is our Lord with one foot on a Lion's neck and the other on a basilisk, and round the panel are the words, in Roman Capitals,  $\text{UBI DOMINUS AMBULABIT SUPER ASPIDEM ET BASILISCUM; CONGULCABIT LEONEM ET DRACONEM}$ . It is impossible to help being struck with the identity of arrangement between this and the Ruthwell  $\text{BESTLE ET DRACONES \&c.}$  But when you read that the back leaf of ivory has  $\text{UBI GABRIHEL VENIT AD MARIAM}$ , and then  $\text{UBI MARIAM SALUTAVIT ELIZABETH}$ , and think of the corresponding panels of the Ruthwell Cross, it seems impossible to escape from the conclusion that there is some connection. Westwood says, it is one of the only two pieces of ivory of which he can be quite sure that they are Anglo-Saxon, and he gives the 8th century, or the 9th. The 8th, earlyish, would well suit for a workman trained in the Northumbrian School as modified by S. Wilfrid."

Vol. 3, p. 448 (to Vol. 1, p. 176). — Hölebo is *right*.

Vol. 3, p. 448. KÄLFVESTEN. — This block is *now* in the sockle of the Church at *West Stenby*. In 1812 the parishes of Kälvesten and Sten were united under the name of *Vestra Stenby*, with one church in common, which was built on the site of the old Gods-house at Kälvesten, taken down at the time. The runestone was placed in the fundament or stonefoot of this new building.

Vol. 3, p. 453, l. 3. — *For* East Gotland *read* Upland.





# HAND-LIST

## OF ALL THE OLD-NORTHERN WORDS

IN THE THREE FOLIO VOLUMES.

A, Æ, see under Agan, Æiu, On

A, *Bracteate 81; Nydam Arrow*. Doubtless first letter of a Name beginning with A.

Aa, under On. — Æa, u. Hiewan.

ÆANB, *Lindholm*. ? Voc. ? Neut. s. ? Snake.

ÆBÆ, *Björketorp; Stentofte*. Mansname, nom. See SBE and Word-lists.

ÆCœa, under OEKI.

ACEDÆN, *Belland*. Mansname, nom. The broken . . . ÆN of the Tomstad stone was probably a part of the same name.

ÆCO, *Chessell Down*. ? Nom. s. f. ? AWE, terror, death. — ÆGSI, *Strand*. ? Dat. s. m. The-AWE, fear, fright. — ÆGÆSTIA, *Gallehus*. Dat. s. m. def. superl. To-the-AWEST, most awful, most dread or venerable.

ACLIHCK, *Brough*. ? Place-name. ? dat. s. f. See ECBI.

Æædægæsli, u. Aþæ.

ADAM, *Dearham*. Mansname, nom. (In Roman letters).

AFAI, *Freerslev*. Gen. s. f. Grandmother.

AFT, *Bewcastle; Helnæs*; ÆFT, *Vordingborg*; AFTA, *Freerslev*; ÆFTAR, *Collingham*; ÆFTER, *Falstone*; AEFTAER, *Falstone*; ÆFTE, *Thornhill*; ÆFTER, *Thornhill*; TUNE; ÆFTER, *Dewsbury; Wyckliffe; Yarn*; YFÆTA, *Istabry*; IFT, *Brough*; B(EAFTER), *Crowle*. AFTER, BE-AFTER, in memory of. Prep. gov. dat. and ac., and adverb.

[AGAN]. — To OWE, OWN, possess, have, enjoy. — A, *Orstad*; AH, *Æthred's Ring; Northumbrian Brooch; Sigdal*, (perhaps imperat.), *Thorsbjerg*; Vi Plane; EH, *Upsala*; o, *Björketorp*; Fôrde; Hackness; Vi Plane; OH, *Osthofen; Sæbø*. 3 s. pres. OWNS. — AH, *Sigdal*. ? 2 s. imper. (perhaps 3 s. pr. ind.). — ÆGI, *Skå-ång*. 3 s. pr. subj. Let-him-keep, may-he-enjoy.

Ægæstia, u. Æco. — Ægi, u. Agan.

ÆGLI, *Franks Casket*. Mansname, nom. — IGILSUID, *Thornhill*. Womans-name, nom.

Agrof, under Grof. — Ægsi, u. Æco. — Ah, Æh, u. Agan. — Æheker, u. Inge. — aHot, u. Hof. — Ai, Æi, Aici, u. Æiu. — Ailic, u. Hæilæg.

ÆISE, *Thorsbjerg*. Mansname, nom.

ÆIU, *Stentofte*; A, *Tanun*; E, *Lindholm*; AI, *Skå-ång*; AO, *Sigdal*; EE, *Bracteate 63*; ECAI, *Strand*. EVER, AYE, always. — IWKA (= IWKA), *Freerslev*. For ever, for aye. — AICI, *Brough*. Aye-not, never. — ÆLEUBWINI, *Nordendorf*. Mansname, nom. — EOMÆR, EOMAER, *Falstone*. Mansname, nom. — EMUNDR, *Hackness*. Mansname, nom. — AIWOMIA, *Bracteate 65*. Womansname, dat.

ÆIWU, see LILIAÆIWU.

AL, *Jyderup*. ELE-thou, help-thou. 2 s. imper.

AL = ALL. — AL, *Ruthwell*. Ac. s. n. — ALE, *Ruthwell*. Ac. pl. m. — ALMEYOTTIG, *Ruthwell*. ALMIGHTY. Adj. n. s. m. — ALUWALDO, *Whitby*. ALL-WALD, ALL-WIELDING, almighty. Nom. s. m. def. — ALWIN, *Brough*. ALL-WINE, the friend of all, all-loving. Nom. s. m.

ÆLE, *Kragehul*. Of storms. Gen. pl. n.

Ælæwinæ, u. Ælu.

ÆLC, ALH. — ALHS, *Brough*. Mansname, gen. — ÆLCFRITH, *Northumbrian Brooch*, nom.; ALCFRIDU, *Bewcastle*, ac. Mansname.

Alhs, under Ælc. — Æli, Alla, u. Ælu.

ALTEUULÆA, *Bracteates 49, 49 b*. Mansname. nom.

Æltr, Alts, u. Wald. — Alu, u. Al.

ÆLU, *Bracteates 15, 16, 18, 68, 88; Cörin; Elgesem; ALLA, Yarm*. Mansname, nom. — ÆLI, *Northumbrian Casket*. Mansname, dat. — ÆLU, *Lindholm*. Perhaps dat. of womansname ÆLA. — ÆLUA, *Förde*. Mansname, nom. — ELWÆO, *Bracteate 94*. Probably womansname in dat. — ELWU, *Bracteate 47*. Mansname, nom. — ELTIL, *Bracteates 43, 44, 45, 85, 86, 87*. Mansname, dat. — ÆLÆWINÆ, *Bracteate 67*. Mansname, dat.

ÆELUCEA, *Bracteate 71*. Mansname, dat.

ALUER, *Holmen*. Mansname, nom.

ALUT, see OWÆALUT.

Aluwaldo. Alwin, u. Al.

ÆMLIU, *Bracteate 61*. Womansname, dat.

AN. — EAN, *Bewcastle*. AN, ONCE, formerly, late. — ? ENI, *Veile*. Mansname, nom. — ENÆHE, *Møjebo*. Mansname, nom. — ENOENÆ, *Bracteate 48*. Mansname, nom. — EANRED, *Æthred's Ring*. Mansname, nom. — ENWLL, *Bracteate 25*; ENIWULU, *Bracteate 75*. Mansname, nom.

... EN, see under Aceþæn.

AND, *Bridekirk; Franks Casket*; END, *Franks Casket*. AND, also.

Æng, u. Inge. — Æniwulu, u. An. — Ann, u. Unna. — Ænoænæ, u. An.

ANS. — ENSÆGUI, *Gjevedal*. Mansname, dat. — OSBERCHTÆ, *Thornhill*. Mansname, dat. — ÆSBOA, *Hackness*. Placename, dat. s. m., ASBO or ASBU or ASBY. — OSBIOL, *Brough*. Mansname, nom. — OSCIL, *Brough*. Mansname, nom. — ÆSLAIKIR, *Freerslev*. Mansname, nom. — ÆSMUTS, *Sølvesborg*. Mansname, gen. — ÆSUGIS, *Kragehul*. ANS-UGG'S = (W)ODEN'S. Gen. — ONSWINI, *Collingham*. Mansname, ac. — OSWIUNG, *Bewcastle*. Mansname, ac. = OSWI-SON.

Ænwill, u. An. — Ao, u. Æiu.

EOAHÆE, *Bracteate 6*. ? Dat. s. m. ? To the horseman.

... (AP)Æ, *Crowle*. Mansname, dat. or ac.

ÆRE, *Björketorp, Stentofte*. Ac. s. f. ARE, ORE, lustre, fame, honor. — ERILÆAS, *Lindholm*. Adj. nom. s. ARELESS, ORELESS, unfamed, honorless. — ÆR-RNR, *Freerslev*. Ac. pl. f. ARE-RUNES, honor-staves, respectful epitaph.

A-rærde, u. Raisa.

ÆRBINGES, *Tune*. Nom. pl. m.; ÆRBINGÆ, *Tune*. Nom. s. f. (ÆRVING), heir; heiress. — ARFIKI, *Freerslev*. Heir, son. Nom. s.

Arth, u. Heard.

ÆRÖRIUFLT, *Amulet Rings*. See text.

Æs, u. Ans.

ASPING, *Fonnås*. Mansname, nom. = ASP-SON.

ÆT, *Björketorp, Ruthwell; (? Seude)*; AT, *Thornhill*; ET, *Varnum*. AT, in, on, near. Prep. gov. dat. and ac. See ÆT-GADRE.

ADÆ, *Bracteate 59*. Ac. s. m. EAD, fortune, bliss, treasure. — AUTO, *Bracteate 72*; OTE, *Bracteates 33, 34*; OTI, *Bracteate 66*. Mansname, nom. — ADÆA, *Einang*. Mansname, dat. — ODUA, *Vånga*. Apparently mansname in dat. See SEAD. — EADBIERT, *Bingley*. Mansname, nom. — ÆEDEGES(LI), *Vi Moss Buckle*. Mansname, nom. — ÆDISL, *Vordingborg*. Same mansname in ac. — (O)DC(U), *Freilaubersheim*. Womansname, dat. — EÆPLEUA, *Bracteates 51, 52*. Mansname, dat. — ÆDODU, *Bracteate 27*. Womansname, dat. — ÆDRED, *Æthred's Ring*; EADRED, *Thornhill*. Mansname, nom. — EADVLFS, *Ablmouth*. Mansname, gen. — EDELBERHT, *Thornhill*. Mansname, nom. — EDELWINI, *Thornhill*. Mans-

name, dat. — OELE, *Franks Casket*. Dat. s. m. OTHAL, ADAL, home, country, patrimony. — EDDILÆ, *Ruthwell*. Nom. pl. m. ADEL-ones, nobles.

...ÆEU... (or ...NEU...), *Kragehul*. See text.

EUAIR, *Helnes*. Mansname, nom.

AULILOÆ, *Bracteate 8*. Mansname, dat.

ÁUSA (or ÁUSA), *Bracteate 70*. Placename, dat. or ac. ? m.

Auto, under Apæ.

ÆAWELÆ, *Björketorp*. Probably placename in d. or ac.

AUIK, *Holmen*. Steadname in d. or ac.

BA, *Ruthwell*. Ac. BOTH.

BA, see TUNBA.

BAEDA, *Wycliffe*. Mansname, nom.

BALD, see CUNIBALD.

BAN, *Franks Casket*. Ac. pl. n. BONES.

Bæræh, under Berig.

BÆRUTA, *Björketorp*. (If not steadname, then) BARRAT, BARRATRY, battle. Dat. s. ? m.

Be, under Bi.

BEAGNOR, *Thames Blade*. Mansname, nom.

Beartigo, u. Berhtæ.

BECKTO, *Brough*. 3 s. p. BIGGED, built up, raised.

BECON, *Deusbury; Falstone; Thornhill; Wycliffe*. Ac. s. n. BEACON, pillar, gravestone. See LIC-BÆGUN, SIG-BECN.

BEORNAE, *Deusbury*. Dat. s. d. BARN, BAIRN, child, son.

BERÆ, *Kragehul*. See text.

Berg, u. Berig.

BERHTÆ. — See EADBIERHT, EGBERHT, HROETHBERHTÆ, ...RHTÆ, ROETBERHTÆ. — BEARTIGO, *Bracteate 77*. Mansname, (BARTING, BRIGHTING), nom. See CUBBERE(hting). — BERHTSUIDE, *Thornhill*. Womans-name. (? Dat.). — BERCHVINI, *Wycliffe*. Mansname, ac.

BERIG (= BERG, hill). — See FERGEN-BERIG, UANÆ-BERÆH. — BERGH, *Thornhill*. Dat. s. n. *The*

*BARROW*, grave-mound, tumulus. — BIRKOHNUM, *Bracteate 92*. Dat. pl. BERGEN, in West Norway.

BI, BE. See BEAFTÆ(r), BIGOTEN, BIHEALD, BIHEALDUN, BISMÆREDU, BISTEMID.

Bi, under Bua.

gebID, *Bewcastle*; gibID, *Bingley*. 2 s. imperat. BID-thou, pray-thou. — gebIDAED, *Falstone*; gebIDÆD, *Falstone*; gibIDÆD, *Lancaster*; gebIDDAD, *Thornhill*; gebIDDÆD, *Irton*; gibIDDAD, *Deusbury*. 2 pl. imperat. BID-ye, BEDE-ye, pray-ye.

Bierht, u. Berhtæ.

BIGI, see WIHUBIGI(æ).

BIM, *Fonnås*. 1 sing. pres. I BE, I am.

Bio, under Bua. — Biol, u. Bul.

BIRLNI (= BIRLINIO), *Nordendorf*. Womansname, dat.

BLODE, *Ruthwell*. BLOOD, dat. s. n.

Bo, Boa, Boæu, u. Bua. — Bære(hting), u. Berhtæ. — Bonte, u. Bua.

BOSO, *Freilaubersheim*. Mansname, nom.

BRUDR, *Selsey*. Nom. s. BROTHER. — BREODERA, *Yarm*. Dat. s. BROTHER. — gibRODERA, *Franks Casket*. N. pl. BROTHERS. — BRUDR-SUNU, *Helnes*. Ac. s. BROTHER-SON, nephew.

BROK, *Brough*. Ac. s. n. BROKE, sorrow, death.

BROKTE, *Bridekirk*. 3 s. p. BROUGHT.

BUA, *Thames fitting*. Inf. To BOO, BO, bide, dwell. — See ÆSBOA, UNNO, UNBOÆU. — BONTE,

*Holmen*. Nom. s.; B(US)æ, *Varnum*. Ac. s. BONDE, husband. — See CUOMBILBIO, ECBI.

BUCIAEHOM, *Brough*. Placename, ? dat. s. m.

(B)UG(A), *Ruthwell*. Inf. To BOW, bend.

BUL, see OSBIOL, REHÆBUL. — BURÆ, see HURNBURÆ. — BURG, see KUNNBURUG.

K . . . ., u. CUMBEL.

CADMON, *Ruthwell*. Mansname, nom.

- CALLU, see GÆCALLU. — KAR, see GAR.  
 Kærpi, Karpi, u. G.  
 CÆSTRI, see ROMECÆSTRI.  
 CEARUNGIA, *Brough*. Gen. s. f. CARING's, sorrow's.  
 Kearstin, u. Krist.  
 KER, see ÆHFER, and GAR.  
 CLEGO, *Charnay*. Ac. s. f. (KEENG), brooch, fibula.  
 CIL, see OSCIL.  
 CIMOKOMS, *Brough*. Womansname, gen.  
 CLÆO, *Cleobury*. ? f. Nom. s. A CLAW (pointer, sundial-gnomon).  
 KLOKO, *Holmen*. Ac. s. f. CLOCK, bell.  
 COECAS, *Brough*. 3 s. pr. QUETCHES, shall move, shall afflict.  
 COINU, *Brough*. QUENE, wife, gen. s.  
 KOMS, see CIMOKOMS.  
 CORNILIO, *Bracteate 75*. Mansname, nom.  
 Korpe, under G.  
 KRIST, *Brough; Ruthwell*; KRISTTUS, *Bewcastle*. Nom. CHRIST. — KEARSTIN, *Mörbylånga*. Womansname (CHRISTINA), nom.  
 Ku, under Cūnūg.  
 CUHL, *Brough*. Mansname, nom.  
 CUMBEL. — K . . . , *Mörbylånga*. Ac. s. or pl. neut. CUMBEL, gravemark. — CUOMBL-BIO, *Brough*.  
 CUMBEL-BOO, grave-kist. Ac. s. n.  
 CUN, see SEHS-CUNÆ.  
 CUN, CUD. — CUNIBALD, *Lancaster*. Mansname, ac. — CUDBØRE(hting), *Lancaster*. Mansname, ac. = CUTHBERTSON. — KUNNBURUG, *Bewcastle*. Womansname, nom. — CUNIMUDI, *Bracteate 25*. Womansname, dat. — KUDUMUT, *Helnæs*. Mansname, ac. = GUDMUND. — GONRAT, *Osthofen*; GUDRID, *Northumbrian Brooch*. Mansname, nom. — KUNESWIDA, *Bewcastle*. Womansname, nom. — KUNUELTS, *Snoldelev*. Mansname, gen.  
 CUNUNG, *Bingley*; KUNG, *Bewcastle*; CUN, *Bracteate 75*; nom. — KUNINGES, *Bewcastle*, gen. — KUNING, *Bewcastle*; CUNINGC, *Ruthwell*; CUN(unc), *Leeds*; CU . . . , *Collingham*. Accus. KING.  
 CUN(niæs), *Whitby*. Gen. s. n. KIN, family.  
 Cuombil, u. Cumbel.  
 CURNE, see HECURNE.  
 Cufbære(hting), u. Cun. — Kuþi, u. God. — Kuþumut, u. Cun.  
 KWOMU, *Ruthwell*. 3 pl. p. CAME.  
 DEBS, *Thames fitting*. Gen. s. n. The DEEP, sea, ocean.  
 Daer, under De.  
 DEGE, *Einang*; DAH, *Osthofen*. Mansname, nom. See GODÆGES. — DÆGMUND, *Gilton Sword*. Mansname, voc. — DÆITUHÆ, *Bracteate 79*. Mansname, nom.  
 DÆLIDUN, *Tune*. 3 pl. p. DEALD, shared, took part in.  
 DÆRING(e), *Thornhill*. Mansname, dat.  
 DARSTÆ, DARSTE, *Ruthwell*. 1 s. p. DURST, dared.  
 DEDYONÆ, *Freilaubersheim*. Gen. pl. Of the DÆTHE clan or family.  
 DÆUDE, *Björketorp*. 3 s. p. DIED, fell.  
 Der, under De.  
 DIK, *Ingelstad*. Dat. s. To-THREE.  
 DOHTR, *Tune*. Nom. s. DAUGHTER.  
 DOM, *Franks Casket*. Nom. s. m. DOOM, Court, Judgment. DOMGISL may possibly be the artist's name.  
 DEP-STAN, *Bingley*. Ac. s. m. DIP-STONE, Font.  
 DRYGYD, *Franks Casket*. 3 s. pr. DREETH, suffers; or, does, performs.  
 gedreæfed, *Ruthwell*. Pp. DROVED, harrowed, grieved.  
 DROMDH, see SUNEDROMDH.  
 E, Eæ, under Æiu.



EAC, *Bewcastle*; EC, *Brough*; OK, *Holmen*; UK, *Holmen*. EKE, and. — YCE, *Gilton Sword*. 1 s. pr.  
I EKE, EIK, increase, add to.

EAN, u. AN.

EATEYONNE, *Thornhill*. Womansname (? EATEYA), dat.

Eæplæua, u. Apæ.

Ec, u. Eac and Ic. — Ecai, u. Æiu.

ECBI, *Brough*. Placename, ? dat. s. m. See ACLIHCK.

ECG, ECH, EC. — ECGBERT, *Bracteate 70*. Mansname, nom. — ECGFRIDU, *Bewcastle*. Mansname,

gen. — ECHLEW, *Gallehus*. Mansname, nom. — ECMU, *Bracteate 5*. Mansname, nom. — ECWIWEA, *Tune*. Womansname, nom.

EL . . . , *Selsey*.

ELS, *Nordendorf*. Mansname, nom.

Eltil, Elwu, u. Ælu. — End, u. And.

ENRUK, *Mörbylånga*. Mansname, HENRIK, HENRY, nom.

EOMÆ, EOMAE, *Falstone*. Dat. s. m. EME, uncle.

Eomær, under Æiu.

ERHA, *Thames fitting*. Dat. s. m. ARG, wave-rush, trough of the sea.

ERILEA, *Kragehul*; *Lindholm*. Mansname, nom.

Et, under Æt.

F, *Konghell*. Probably for FUR or FORÆ, FOR, over. See FORÆ.

FÆHI (no room for more), *Bracteate 96*; FÆIHIDO, *Einang*; FÆEDE, *Bracteate 89*; FAADO, *Flem-löse*; FADI, *Helnes*; FAUGEDO, *Ruthwell*; FEG(de), *Alnmouth*; FIEHEDU, *Bracteates 49, 49 b*; FYIDI, *Bracteate 92*; FYDEI, *Charnay*; FUDE, *Osthofen*. 3 s. p. — FAIDU, *Brough*. 3 pl. p. — FAWED, FAYED, made, carved, stamp, wrote, built up, raised.

FELÆ, *Björketorp*. Ac. s. m. FELE, multitude, much, many.

FASTS, see RULFASTS. — FASTI, see INOFASTI.

Fapi, u. Fæihido.

FADUR, *Vordingborg*; FADR, *Ösby*. Ac. s. FATHER.

FÆUE, *Bracteate 57*. Mansname, voc.

FEARRAN, *Ruthwell*. Adv. FAR-FROM.

Feg(de), under Fæihido.

FEGTAD, *Franks Casket*. 3 pl. pr. FIGHT.

FERGEN-BERIG, *Franks Casket*. Ac. s. m. Steadname in Northumbria.

FH, *Konghell*. Probably = FUR HARI, for the army.

Fihædu, Fyidi, u. Fæihido.

FINO, *Berga*. Mansname, nom.

Firth, under Frith.

FISC-FLODU, *Franks Casket*. Nom. s. m. FISH-FLOOD, sea, ocean.

Fypæi, u. Fæihido.

FLODU, see FISC-FLODU.

FÆDDE, *Franks Casket*. 3 s. p. FED, nourisht.

FORÆ, *Irton, Lancaster*; FORE, *Ruthwell*; FÜR, *Bingley*. FOR (dat.); FORE, before (ac.). See F.

FOSLEU, *Bracteate 14*. Mansname, nom.

FRÆWÆREDEA, *Möjebro*. Mansname, dat.

FRID, see ÆLCFRITH, ALCFRIDU, ECGFRIDU, TIOFRID.

FRUMAN, *Bewcastle*. Abl. s. n. def. In the FROM, first.

FUNDR, see NIWBYO-FUNDR.

Für, under Foræ.

FUSÆ, *Ruthwell*. N. pl. m. FUSSY, eager, hurrying.

Fuþe, under Fæihido.

FUWU, *Bracteate 26*. Mansname, nom.

G (= GARDI), *Eidsberg*; KÆRDI, *Vordingborg*; KARDI, *Ingelstad*; KORBE, *Mörbylånga*. 3 s. p. GARED, made, set up, built up, raised (the grave, grave-stone). — ONGEREDÆ, *Ruthwell*. 3 s. p. A-GARED, prepared.

- GÆ, *Kragehul*; GÆA, *Lindholm*. 2 s. imperat. GO! — GÆGIN, *Kragehul*. Prep. GAIN, AGAIN, against.  
 GÆECALLU, *Bracteate 19*. Mansname, nom.  
 ætGADRE, *Ruthwell*. AT(-to)GETHER.  
 GÆFING, *Stentofte*. Nom. = GÆF'S-SON; or = of the Gæf family.  
 Gægin, u. Gæ. — Gæhælæibæn, u. Hælæibæn.  
 GAL, *Bracteate 7*. Mansname, nom.  
 GALGU, *Ruthwell*. Ac. s. m. GALLOW(S), rood, cross.  
 GÆLICA, *Northumbrian Casket*. ? Gen. s. f. Of GAUL, in GALLIA.  
 GAR, see ÆHEKER, IALIGR, OMINKAR, WODGAR.  
 Gæslī, under Gisli.  
 GASRIC, *Franks Casket*. Nom. s. m. GAS-RICH, gambol-rich, playful, tossing.  
 GÆSTIA, see SÆLIGÆSTIA.  
 GEAR, *Bewcastle*. Abl. s. n. YEAR.  
 Gebid, &c. u. gebid. — On-geredæ, u. G.  
 ǰERNR, *Bridekirk*. Nom. s. m. YERN, GERN, willing, glad.  
 GESSUS, *Bewcastle*. Nom. JESUS.  
 GEU, *Björketorp*; GEUW, *Stentofte*. Adv. YO, YAY, YEA, truly, indeed.  
 Giauyou, under Gib.  
 GIB, *Bracteate 57*. 2 s. imperat. GIVE, lend, send! — GIAUYOU, see GLYOEU-GIAUYOU.  
 Gibid, u. Bid. — Gibropera, u. Bruþr. — Gileu, u. Hlæiwæ. — Gileugæ, u. Hlæiwæ  
 and Licgan.  
 GINÆ-RUNÆA, *Björketorp*. Nom. pl. f.; GINO-RONOA, *Stentofte*. Ac. pl. f. GIN- (= begin, origin,  
 essence, power) RUNES, Mighty Letters.  
 GINIA, *Mjöebro*. Womansname, nom.  
 Giniæra, u. Niæra. — Gino, u. Ginæ.  
 GYOSLHEARD, *Dover*. Mansname, nom.  
 GISL, *Franks Casket*. Nom. s. m. Hostage. See ÆEDEGÆSLI, ÆDSL, DOM. — GISLIONG-WILL, *Vi  
 Plane*. Mansname, nom.  
 GIUDEASU, *Franks Casket*. Nom. pl. The JEWS.  
 GLÆ, *Bracteate 21*. Mansname, nom. — GLYOEU-GIAUYOU, *Bracteate 7*. Womansname, dat.  
 GLESTÆPONTOL, see *Amulet Rings*.  
 GOD, *Ruthwell*; *Whitby*. Nom. The Lord GOD. — KUNI, *Helnes*. Nom. s. m. GUTHI, (hereditary)  
 Priest-and-Judge. — GOUU, *Freilaufersheim*. Gen. s. f. Priestess. See HILDDIGUD.  
 GODGÆS, *Valsfjord*. Mansname (GOODDAY), nom.  
 Goiþu, u. God. — Gonrat, u. Kuni.  
 BIGOTEN, *Ruthwell*. Pp. n. s. f. BE-YOTEN, besprinkled, bathed.  
 GREUT, *Franks Casket*. Ac. s. m. GRIT, gravel, sand, shingles, coast.  
 AGROF, *Æthred's Ring*. 3 s. p. A-GHOOF, A-GRAVED, engraved, cut, made.  
 GRORN, *Franks Casket*. Pp. GRUSEN, crusht, dasht in pieces, killed.  
 GUTÆ, *Buseu*. Gen. pl. Of the GOTHs.  
 GUD, see HILDDIGUD and GOD.  
 Gudrd, under Kun.  
 H, *Konghell*. Probably for HARI, dat. s. m., the HÆR, HERE, army, fleet. See HÆRISO.  
 Hæ, under Hao.  
 HÆBO, *Stentofte*. 3 pl. pr. They HAVE, shall have.  
 HEDULEICEA, *Strand*. Dat. s. Mansname. To-HEDULFICE. — HEDUWOLÆFA, *Stentofte*, nom.;  
 HÆFUWOLÆFE, *Gommar*, HYDUWOLÆFA, *Istaby*, dat. — Mansname.  
 Hære, u. Heræ. — Hæg, u. Hieawan.  
 HEGÆLE, *Kragehul*. Probably ac. Mansname.  
 HEGUSTELDA, *Valsfjord*. Dat. s. m. To the HAGUSTALD, chief, lord, captain.  
 Hæi-tinæ, under Hao.  
 HÆIDAR, masc. (HADOR), brightness, honor, fame. — HÆIDAR-RUNO, *Björketorp*. Nom. s. (HADOR-  
 RUNA), that honor's friend. — HIDEAR-RUNGNO, *Stentofte*. Nom. pl. neut. (HADOR-REGEN), those honor's lords.

HÆILÆG, *Buzzeu*. ? Nom. s. f.; AILIC, *Brough*. Nom. s. f.; HELG . . ., *Bakewell*. HOLY, sacred; dedicated. — HÆLHI, *Maeshowe*, nom.; HILIGÆA, *Orstad*, dat. — Mansname (HELGI, HELGE).

HÆISLÆ, *Møjebro*. Mansname, nom.

Hæite, Hæiticæ, u. Hætec. — Hæi-tinæ, u. Hao. — Hælæa, u. Hlæiwæ. — Hæwiwido, u. Hæges. gØHÆLEIBÆN, *Tune*. Dat. s. m. LOAF-fellow, com-panion, mate, husband. — HlAFARD, *Ruthwell*.

Ac. s. m. LORD.

Hældæa. Hældæo, Hælhæda, u. Heldæa. — Hælhi, u. Hæilæg.

HALSTUN, *Osby*. Mansname, nom.

HAMA, *Bracteate 56*. Mansname, nom.

HAO. — HÆ, *Bracteate 57*; HE, *Kragehul*. 2 s. imperat. HIGH, lift up, raise, carry on, wage, cause, make, let. — HAO, *Vinang*. Mansname, nom. — HÆ-CURNE, *Bracteate 25*. Nom. s. m. def. The HIGH-CHOSEN. — HEO-SINNA, *Bewcastle*. Dat. s. f. The HIGH-SIN, or HIGH-SINFUL. — HÆI-TINÆ, *Tanum*. Nom. s. m. HIGH-TINE, high token, grave-pillar — HÆUC, *Vånga*. Mansname, nom. — See HEGES.

Hær, Hæeræ, Hæeræ, under Heræ.

HÆRINGÆ, *Vi Moss*; HÆRING, *Skå-ång*. Mansname, nom. (But HÆRINGÆ, if we divide HÆRINGÆ GLEUGÆ). — HÆRENGU, *Bracteate 78*. Womansname, dat.

HÆRISO, *Himlingöie*. (? Mans)-name, nom. — HÆRIWOLÆFA, *Stentofte*, nom.; HARIWULFS, *Räfsal* gen.; HYRIWULÆFÆ, *Istaby*, dat. — Mansname. — See WULFHERE and H.

HÆTEC (= HETE EC), *Lindholm*; HÆITE, *Kragehul*; 1 s. pr. I HIGHT, bid, command. — HET, *Bingley*. 3 s. p. HOTE. ordered, let. — HÆITICÆ, *Bracteate 57*. Ac. pl. f. HETINGs, imprecations, threats, the war-ban.

Hæ|uwolæfa, &c., under Hædulæicæa. — Hæuc, u. Hao. — Hauf|uukū, u. Heafdum.

HÆURI, *Hoga*. Mansname, nom.

HE, *Bridekirk*; *Franks Casket*; *Ruthwell*. Nom. s. m. HE. — HIS, *Ruthwell*; *Yarm*. Gen. Of him, HIS. — HIM, *Ruthwell*. Dat. To HIM. — HINÆ, *Ruthwell*. Ac. HIM. — HILÆ, *Ruthwell*. N. pl. m.; HLE, *Franks Casket*. Ac. pl. m. They; them. — See IS.

He, under Hao.

HEAFDUM, *Ruthwell*. Dat. pl. n. HEAD(s), temples, head. — HAUFÐUCKU, *Konghell*. Nom. s. m. (As if HEADING), Headman, Leader, Commander, Chief.

HEAFUNÆS, *Ruthwell*. Gen. s. m. HEAVEN'S.

BIHEALD, *Ruthwell*. 1 s. p.; BIHEALDUN, *Ruthwell*. 3 pl. p. BEHELD.

HEARD, see GYOSLHEARD, RIKARTH.

HELDEA, *Bracteate 25*; HÆLHÆDA, *Björketorp*; HÆLDÆO, *Sigdal*; HELÆHDDUÆ, *Stentofte*. Gen. pl. m.

Of HELTS, kemps, heroes.

Helg . . ., under Hæilæg.

HELIFÆ, *Whitby*. 3 s. pr. subj. May-HELP.

Heo-sinna, under Hao.

HERÆ, *Stentofte*; HÆR, ? *Skå-ång*; HÆR(Æ), *Orstad*; *Thisted*; HER, *Franks Casket*; HÆERE, *Björketorp*. HERE, in this place.

Here, u. Hæriso. — Het, u. Hætec. — Hiæ, u. He. — Hidear, u. Hæidar.

HYERUWULÆFA, *Istaby*. Womansname, nom.

HIEWAN, *Bingley*. Inf. To HEW, carve, cut; stamp, strike. — HÆA, *Hoga*; HÆG, *Bracteate 68*; HIUK, *West Thorp*; HO, *Bracteate 62*; HU, *Bracteate 78*; HUUG, *Bracteate 61*; UK, *Freerslev*. 3 s. p. HEWED, made. inscribed.

HILDDIGUÐ, *Hartlepool*. Womansname, nom. — HILDIRUÐ, *Hartlepool*. Womansname, nom.

Hiligæa, u. Hæilæg. — Him, Hine, u. He. — Hyriwulæfæ, u. Hæriso. — His, u. He. — Hyþuwulæfa, u. Hædulæicæa. — Hiuk, u. Hiewan.

HHLÆEDU-UIGÆ, *Bracteates 49, 49 b*. Mansname, nom.

Hlafard, under Hælæibæn.

HLÆIWÆ, *B*: HÆLÆA, *Stenstad*; LAU, *West Tanem*; LEUWÆ, *Skirvkind*. Nom. s. m. or n. — LÆEWE (or LÆIWÆI), *Sigdal*. Ac. s. — LOW (LOWE, LOE, LAW), grave-mound, barrow, tumulus. The LEUGÆ of the Skå-ång stone is probably the same word; and we might possibly divide: HÆRINGÆ GLEUGÆ AI, or HÆRINGÆ GILEU GØAI. Fresh finds may help us. See Vol. 2, p. 890.

- HLEUNG, *Ví Plane*. Mansname, nom., = HLESON, (LEESON, LEASON).  
 HLVDWYG, *Alnmouth*. Mansname, nom.  
 HNEBMÆS (or HNEBDEŚ), *Bð*. Mansname, gen.  
 Hnag, under Niyæ. — Ho, u. Hiewan.  
 aHOF, *Ruthwell*, 1 s. p.; *Franks Casket*, 3 s. p. A-HOVE, lifted up, raised.  
 HEGES, *Stenlofte*. Gen. s. m.; HOUH, *Brough*. Ac. s. m. HOW, grave-mound, tumulus. See  
 SAL-HAUKUM. — HÆÆWIDO, *Strand*. 3 pl. p. HOWED, set in the grave-how, buried. — See HAO.  
 HOLTINGÆA, *Gallehus*. Dat. s. m. HOLT-INGE, Wood-god (= FREA, FROE, FREY).  
 HOM, see BUCIAEHOM.  
 HORNÆ, *Gallehus*. Ac. pl. neut. These-HORNS. (Perhaps ac. s. masc. This-HORN). — HURNBURÆ,  
*Kallerup*. Mansname, gen.  
 HOUEA, *Bracteate 24* (? and 55). Mansname, dat.  
 Houh, u. Høges. — Hroetberhtæ, u. Hroþor.  
 HRONÆS, *Franks Casket*. Gen. s. m. Of the HRONE (whale).  
 HROÐOR. — HROETBERHTÆ, ROETBERHTÆ, *Falstone*. Mansname, dat. — RHOEL(T)R, *Vatn*, nom.;  
 RUHALTS, *Snoldelev*, gen. Mansname, = HROÐWALD, ROALD. — RHUULFR, *Helnes*, nom.; ROAUL, *Hoga*, dat  
 Mansname. = HRODWULF, ROLF. — RUULFASTS, *Voldtofte*, nom. Mansname, = HRODWULF-FASTS.  
 HU, *Fonnäs*. (HO), she. — *Sealand*. Probably the beginning of a Mansname.  
 Hu, under Hiewan. — Hurnburæ, u. Hornæ. — Hūug, u. Hiewan.  
 HUTHU, *Bracteate 4*. Mansname, nom.  
 HW, *Båræ*, *Vordingborg*. Probably H... (a name beginning with H) and WRAIT, wrote.  
 HWÆTRED, *Bewcastle*. Mansname, nom.  
 HWEÐRÆ, *Ruthwell*. Adv. WHETHER-or-no, yet, lo!  
 HUTLER, *Thisted*. 3 s. pr. WHILES, rests, reposes.  
 I, under In. — Ia, u. Is. — Yia, u. Inge.  
 IAM, see LAICIAM.  
 IAUIGR, *Bracteate 92*. Mansname, nom.  
 Iaupini, under Ap.  
 IC, *Ruthwell*; IK, *Gilton*; IH, *Fonnäs*; EC, *Kragehul*, *Lindholm*. The pronoun I. — MIK, *Gilton*;  
 MIC, *Osthofen*; MC, *Etelhem*; MEC, *Æthred's Ring*, *Northumbrian Brooch*; MEH, *Alnmouth*; ME, *Bridekirk*;  
 MÆ, *Ruthwell*. ME. — UNGET, *Ruthwell*. Acc. dual. US-TWO. — US, *Bingley*, dat. pl.; Whitby, ac. pl. US. —  
 USA, *Björketorp*. Nom. pl. fem. OUR.  
 Icæa, Ycæa, Ykæa, u. Inge. — Yce, u. Eac. — Ichiay, Ikr, Ikkalacge, Iewæsuna, u. Inge.  
 IDDEN, *Charnay*. Mansname, dat.  
 Yfæta, Ift, u. AFT. — Ygæa, Ihææ, u. Inge. — Igilsuiþ, under Ægili.  
 IGINON, *Stenstad*. Man's (? Woman's) name, gen. = IGIN'S.  
 IGLEUGÆ (if we divide HÆRINGÆ IGLEUGÆ), *Skå-ting*. Nom. sing. def., the GLEG, bright,  
 prudent, wise.  
 Ih, u. Ic. — Ihae, u. Inge.  
 ILÆURI, *Hoga*. Mansname, nom.  
 ILÆ, *Lindholm*. Nom. s. m. defn. The ILL, fierce, destructive to his foes.  
 Imæ, under Is  
 IN, *Franks Casket*, *Northumbrian Casket*; I, *Björketorp*, *Bracteate 92*, *Brough*, *Holmen*. *Thames*  
*Fitting*, *Varnum*. IN.  
 IN, *Freerslev*. Adv. (IN, EN, AN), but.  
 In, under Is.  
 INGE, INGWE, (and WINGS, &c.). — UNGÆ, *Bracteate 67*. Dat. s. m. def. The YOUNG. — IUKC,  
*Brough*. Ac. s. m. or n. YOUNG, renewed. — YÆCA, *Bracteate 84*; ICÆA, *Bracteate 35*; YCÆA, *Bracteates*  
*36, 39*; YKÆA, *Bracteate 41*; YGÆA, *Bracteate 41, b*; YIA, *Bracteate 37*; Womansname, nom. — IKR  
 (= INKUR), *Freerslev*. Womansname, gen. — INKI, *Bracteate 83*; ICHIAY, *Bracteate 38*, nom.; IHÆ, *Varnum*,  
 dat. Mansname. — See ÆALÆUCÆA, ÆRBINGÆ, ÆRBINGÆS, ASPING, BEARTIGO, DÆRING(e), ELÆUINGS, GÆFING,  
 GISLIONG, HAUFPUKŪ, HÆTICE, HÆRING, HÆRINGÆ, HÆUC, HLEUNG, IGINON, HOLTINGÆA, ? ISINGLÆA, IUBINGÆA,  
 LAING LÆESÆUWINGÆ, LÆUCÆA, LEWULOUÇÆA, MWSYOUNGI, NÆDUYENG, ? NIWÆNG, NOPUINGOA, OSWIUNG,



- (O)PC(U), RANINGÆ, SÆMÆNG, SNEIC, SUIDIKS, TÆLING, TISÆGG, DIEDRODWENO, DRÆWINGÆN, WÆRINGÆA. — INGOA, fem. See NOPUINGOA, TÆLINGWU. — ÆHECER (= INGEKER), *Varnum*. Womansname, nom. — IKKALACGC, *Brough*. Mansname, nom. — INGOST, *Tune*. Mansname, nom. — ICWÆSUNA, *Reidstad*. Mansname, dat. INGLSK, *Fonnås*. Nom. s. fem. ENGLISH, an Englishwoman. INO, *Strand*, n. Mansname. — INOFASTI, *Visby*, nom. Mansname. IOD, *Freilaubersheim*. Nom. s. neut. A YOUTH, child, son, daughter. IOHN, *Bracteate 62*. Mansname, nom. Yoigæ, u. Is. IS. — IMÆ, *Bracteate 67*. Dat. s. masc. To the. — IN, *Strand*. Ac. s. m. Him. — YOIE, *Charnay*. Ac. s. f. The, this. — IA, *Tune*, (HIA), they, nom. pl. — See HE. Is, under Wæs. ISAH, *St. Andrews*. Mansname, nom. Ysetæ, u. (Set)a. ? ISINGDÆA, *Veile*. Mansname, dat. Isl, under Gisl. IIT, *West Thorp*; ITO, *Bracteate 42*. Mansname, nom. Ito, u. Iit. — Iukc, u. Inge. — (I)ugo, u. Oæg. IULIENI, *Bracteate 61*. Mansname, nom. YUIR, *Osby*. OVER, in memory of. Prep. gov. acc. IUDINGÆA, *Reidstad*. Mansname, dat. IWI, *Cleobury*. EYE, give eye to, show, point out; 3 s. pr. subj. Iwka, u. Æiu. — iWrokte, u. Woræhto. K, under C. L, *Nydan Arrow*. A contraction, (beginning of a name). -LA, -LÆ, see MIRILÆ, NIUWILÆ. Læ, under Læwu. LÆA, *Varnum*. Dat. or ac. s. Placename. LÆ-ORB(Æ), *Vi Plane*. Acc. s. or gen. pl. LÆA-staff, sithe-shaft. LACGC, see IKKALACGC. LÆDÆ (perhaps LEMÆ), *Torvik*. Mansname, nom. Læewe, under Hlæiwæ. LÆF, see OLUF, ONLAF, DRÆF. LAIC, see ÆSLAIKIR, HÆDULÆICEA. Laiciam, under Licæs. LAING, *Fonnås*. Nom. — LA-ING. = LA'S-child. LEMÆ (perhaps LÆDÆ), *Torvik*. Mansname, nom. LANUM, *Ruthwell*. Dat. s. m. (LEAN), worn, death-weary. Laoku, under Læucæa. LÆESÆUWINGÆ, *Vi Moss Buckle*. Mansname, nom. Lau, u. Hlæiwæ. — Læu, u. Læwu. LÆUCEA, *Bracteate 18*. Dat; LAOKU, *Bracteate 54*. Nom. Mansname. See ÆELÆUCEA, LÆWULOUEA. Læuwæ, under Hlæiwæ. LÆWU. — LÆ, *Bracteate 21*. Mansname, nom. — LÆWULOUEA, *Bracteate 19*. Mansname, dat. — See ÆEDLÆUA, ECHLEW, FOSLÆU. aLegdun, under Lice. LETO, *Holmen*. 3 pl. p. LET. caused, ordered. LEPRO (perhaps LUDRO), *Dalby*. ? Woman's (? Man's) name, nom. LEUBWINI, see ÆLEUBWINI. Leugæ, u. Lice. — Leuwæ, u. Hlæiwæ. — Lew, u. Læwu. LIA, *Tune*. Mansname, nom. LICÆS, *Ruthwell*. Gen. s. neut. Of a LICH, LIX, corpse. — LIC-BÆCUN, *Crowle*. Ac. s. n. LIK-BEACON, corpse-pillar, grave-stone. — LAICIAM, *Brough*. Ac. s. m. LICH-HOME, fleshy-cover, body, soul-robe.

- LICE, *Bewcastle*. 3 s. pr. subj. Let-him-LIE, sleep, rest. — ALEDUN, *Ruthwell*. 3 pl. p. A-LAID, laid down. — LEUGÆ, *Skå-ång*. ? Ac. s. n. LEY, couch, bed, grave. See u. HLÆWÆ. But also see IGLEUGÆ.
- LIHCK, see ACLIHC.
- LILIAEWU, *Bracteate* 79. Womansname, dat.
- LIM-WÆRIGNE, *Ruthwell*. Ac. s. m. LIMB-WEARY.
- LIN, see BIRLINT.
- LONÆWORE, *Nordendorf*. Mansname, nom.
- Loucæa, under Læucæa.
- LON, *Bracteate* 80. Perhaps a contraction of LINN, p. part. nom. s. LITHE, gone; de ceased.
- LUE, *Nydam*. Mansname, nom.
- Luf, under Læf.
- LUL, *Bracteate* 70. Mansname, nom.
- LUDÆ, *Bracteate* 22. Gen. pl. m. LEDES, men, people.
- Lufro, under Lefro.
- M (? = MARKAE), *Sigdal*. 3 s. p. MARKET, carved, inscribed. — M (= MOT), *Bracteate* 75. N. s. f. (or neut.). MOT, stamp, die, mint, coin, minthouse.
- MÆ, see HÆBMÆS, and under Ik, Magan.
- [MAGAN]. — MÆ, *Stentofte*. Nom. s. m. MO, great, mighty. — alMEYOTTIG, u. AL. — MUCNU, *Stentofte*. Ac. s. f. A MUCKLE, MICKLE, multitude.
- MÆGI, *Franks Casket*. Latin. N. pl. m. MAGI, Wise Men.
- MÆGUM, *Strand*. Dat. pl. With his MAUGS, kinsfolk.
- MÆLE, *Björketorp, Stentofte*. 3 pl. pr. MELE, MELL, say, tell.
- MENIS, *West Tanem*. Mansname, gen.
- MÆR, see EOMÆR. — MÆRIA, see NIWÆNG-MÆRIA.
- MARIU, *Ingelstad*. Womansname (MARIA, MARY), dat.
- Mc. Mee, Meh, u. Ic. — Men, u. Mon.
- MERGE, *Gilton*. Adv. MERRILY. — MERTHE, *Bridekirk*. Dat. s. f. MIRTH, beauty.
- MIA, see AIVOMIA. — Mic, Mik, u. Ic.
- ... (M)INGH(O)..., *Bakewell*. See text.
- MYRCNA, *Bewcastle*. Gen. pl. Of-the-MERCIA, of Mercia.
- MYREDAH, *Aldmuth*. Mansname, nom.
- MIRILÆ, *Sigdal*, nom. or voc.; MIRILÆ, *Ellehem*, nom. — MIRILÆA, *Væblungnæs*, dat. Mansname.
- MID, *Ruthwell*. Prep. (MITH), WITH.
- MODIG, *Ruthwell*. Nom. s. m. MOODY, bold.
- MODU, see MUD.
- MON, see CADMON. — MEN, *Ruthwell*. Ac. pl. MEN.
- Mrlæ, u. Mirilæ. — MU, see ECMU. — Mucnu, u. Magan.
- MUND, MUND, see ÆSMUTS, KUDUMUT, DÆGMUND, EMUND, SIHWYNT. — MUNDIA, see CUNMUDI.
- MUNGPELYO, *Northumbrian Casket*. Placename, probably dat. s. Now MONTPELLIER.
- MWSYOUNGI, *Krogstad*. Mansname, nom.
- MUT, *Lindholm*. Prep. Against.
- Muts, u. Mund. — MUD, see SCANOMODU, DURMUD.
- N..., *Selsey*, rest of the word gone.
- NADÆ, *Bracteate* 73. Mansname, nom. — NÆDUYÆNG, *Bracteate* 24. Mansname, nom.
- ... NÆU... (or ... ÆEU...), *Kragehul*. See text.
- UNNEG, *Franks Casket*. Prep. gov. dat. UN-NIGH, far from.
- NEEL, *Northumbrian Casket*. Mansname, nom.
- NI, *Lindholm, Ruthwell*. Adv. (NE), NAY, NO, NOT.
- gINLERA, *Dearham*. NÆRE, save, bless, 3 s. pr. subj.
- NIT, NID, see UNITH.
- NIU, *Stentofte*; NIO, *Buzen*. Dat. s. n. defin. The-NEW, fresh. — NIUWILÆ, *Bracteate* 80. Mansname, nom.
- NIYÆ, *Kragehul*. Prob. inf. To (NEEG), bow, bend, fall. — HNAG, *Ruthwell*. 1 s. p. I inclined.

- NIWÆNG-MÆRLA, *Thorshjerg Sword*. Womansname, nom.  
 NOD, see BEAGNOD. — NODUNGOA, *Tune*. Womansname, nom.  
 NU, *Björketorp, Bracteate 59*. Adv. now.  
 NURA, *Helnes*. Of the NUR clan or land.  
 O, under Agan, On.  
 OEG, *Björketorp*. 3 s. p.; (i)UGO, or perhaps (w)UGO, *Stentofte*. 3 pl. p. (woog), slew, hunted, routed.  
 OC, *Brough*. Adv. (ac, oc), but, but indeed  
 OK, u. Eac. — Od, u. Wod. — ODU, see ÆPODU.  
 OEKI, *Brough*. Mansname, nom. — ÆCEA, *Bracteate 96*. Mansname, dat., To-ÆCE.  
 OF, *Ruthwell*. Prep. OF, out of, from.  
 OH, u. Agan. — OINUM, see BIRKOHNUM, and u. WINI.  
 OLPA, *Upsala*. Name, probably fem., nom.  
 Olufr, Olwf, u. Onlaf.  
 ON, *Bracteate 70; Franks Casket; Hackness; Ruthwell; Selsey; AA, Holmen; o, Brough; Snoldelev*.  
 Prep. gov. d. and ac. ON, upon, in, at. See AGROF, AHOF, ALEGDUN, USMÆ.  
 ONLAF, *Leeds*, ac. s.; OLUF, *Maglekilde*, n. s. Mansname. — OLWFOLDU, *Bewcastle*. Mansname, nom.  
 (On)gerede, u. Kærþi. — Ons, u. Ans.  
 ORB(Æ). see LÆ-ORB(Æ).  
 OS, u. Ans. — Otæ, Oti, (O)þc(u), Oþlæ, Oþua, u. Aþæ.  
 OWI, *England*. Mansname, nom. — OWÆ-ALUT, *Bracteates 51, 52*. Mansname, nom.  
 Owlþu, under Wulþu.  
 PRESTR, *Holmen*. Nom. s. m. PRIEST.  
 PRO, *Yarm*. Latin. For.  
 R, R . . ., under Runæ.  
 RÆD, see ÆDRED, EADRED, EANRED, FRÆWERÆDEA, HWÆTRED, DIEÐRODWENC.  
 Ræw, u. Roaæ.  
 RAHÆBUL, *Sandwich*. Mansname, nom.  
 RAIRA, *Brough*. ? Dat. s. m. (HRYRE), ruin, death.  
 RAISA. — . . . TI, *Varnum*; RAISTI, *Freerslev*; RISTI, *Ösby*. 3 s. p. RAISED, placed. — A-RÆRDE, *Thornhill*. 3 s. p. A-REARED, ARAISED, lifted up, set up (the stone).  
 Ræisto, u. Rista.  
 RANINGÆ, *Müncheberg*. Mansname, nom.  
 RECS, *Brough*. 3 s. pr. REACHES, brings again.  
 Red, under Ræd.  
 REUMWALUS, *Franks Casket*. Nom. The Roman king REMUS.  
 Rhœlþr, Rhuulfr, u. Hroþor.  
 RICES, *Bewcastle*. Gen. s. n. RIKE, REEK, kingdom. — RHCNÆ, *Ruthwell*. Ac. s. m. RICH, mighty, strong. See ÆIRIKIS, GASRIC. — RIKARTH, *Bridekirk*. Nom. RICHARD, mansname.  
 RIDE, see WODURIDE.  
 RIIGU, *Vi Plane*. Womansname, gen.  
 RINGS, see TILERINGS.  
 RISTA. — RÆISTO, *Maeshowe*; 3 s. p. RISTED, carved, cut (runes).  
 Risti, u. Raisa.  
 RIUSI, *Sölvesborg*. Nom. s. n. (HRUSE), RASSE, RAISE, cairn, stone-heapt grave.  
 Riuti, u. Writan. — Rur, u. Runæ.  
 ROAÆ, ROAE, *Sigdal*; RO, *Björketorp*; RÆW, *Orstad*. Ac. s. f. ROO, rest, repose.  
 Roaul, u. Hroþor. — Rod, see Ræd.  
 RODI (or RODÆ), *Ruthwell*. Dat. s. f. ROOD, cross.  
 Roetberhtæ, u. Hroþor.  
 ROMÆCÆSTRI, *Franks Casket*. Dat. s. f. (ROME-CASTER, ROME-CHESTER), Rome-city, Rome.  
 ROMWALUS, *Franks Casket*. Nom. The Roman king ROMULUS.

- Ronoa, under Runæ.
- RUNÆ, *Freilaubersheim*; RUNYA, *Istaby*; RUNO, *Einang*; RUNOA, *Bracteate 25, Varnum*; R....
- Tune*; R. *Sigdal*. Ac. pl. f. RUNES, runic letters. See ÆR-RNR, GINÆ-RUNÆA, GINO-RONOA.
- RUTI, *Solvestborg*. Mansname, nom.
- Ruhalts, Ruulfasts, u. Hropor.
- RUMA, *Stentofte*. Ac. s. m. (ROME, REME), lustre, praise, glory.
- RUNGNO, see HIDEAR-RUNGNO.
- RUNO, *Björketorp*. Nom. s. m. (RUNA, BOWNER), fellow-talker, comrade, friend. See HÆIDAR-RUNO.
- SÆ, *Lindholm*. Nom. s. m. — SÆA, *Stentofte*; SÆ, *Gjevedal*. Nom. pl. f. (SÆ), the, these, you.
- SÆAD, *Björketorp*. Mansname, nom.
- SÁC = SACERDOTI, *Yarm*. Latin. Bishop.
- Sæg(a), under Sigi.
- SÆLÆW, *Bracteate 67*; SÆLU, *Bracteate 20*. Nom. s. f. SEEL, joy, luck, success.
- SALHAUKUM, *Snoldelev*. Dat. pl. m. The SAL-HOWS, now SALLOW, in Snoldelev parish, Sealand,
- Denmark. See HEGES.
- SÆLIGÆSTIA, *Berga*. Womansname, nom.
- Sælu, under Sælæw.
- ? SÆMÆNG, *Seude*. Mansname, nom. or ac.
- SAMSI, *Ingelstad*. Mansname, nom.
- SÆRÆLU, *Orstad*. Mansname, nom.
- SÆRP, *Maeshove*. 3 s. pr. SORETH, wounds. — SORGUM, *Ruthwell*. Dat. pl. f. SORROWS. — SARE,
- Ruthwell*. Adv. SORE, sorely.
- Sæte, Sati, under (Set)a.
- SAULE, *Bingley*; *Dewsbury*; *Falstone*; *Thornhill*; SAU .., *Alnmouth*; SOWBULA, *Bewcastle*. Dat. s. f.
- SOUL, ond, spirit.
- SBE, *Björketorp*. (ÆBÆ SBE). Nom. s. m. defin. The SPAE, wise, counselor.
- SBERÆDH, *Thames fitting*. 3 s. pr. SPEIRETH, asks, requests.
- SCANOMODU, *Bracteate 74*. Mansname, nom.
- SKÆR, *Søding*. Mansname, nom.
- SCIDÆ, *Skärkind*. Mansname, gen. Of-SKITH.
- Skwlfs, under Sigi.
- SEHS-CUXÆ, *Bracteate 6*. Dat. s. m. def. To the SAX-KEEN, sword-bold.
- (SET)a, *Tune*, infia.; ÿSETÆ, *Yarm*; SETE, *Gomnor*; SATI, *Helnes*; SETE, *Thornhill*; SETTAL, *Falstone*; SETTE, *Thornhill*; SETTE, *Falstone*; 3 s. p. — SETTON, *Bewcastle*; 3 pl. p. To SET, set up, raise, place.
- Sisæ, under Sæ.
- SIAÆLUH, *Kinneved*. Apparently mansname, nom.
- SIKKTALÆ, *Holmen*. Dat. s. f. Place-name. SIGDAL in Aggershus, Norway.
- SIGI, *Gilton*. Ac. s. m. SIGE, victory. — *Ösby*. Mansname, acc. — Sæg(a), *Frøhaug*. Mansname,
- or (dat.) for-SIGE, for-victory. — SIGBECK, *Bewcastle*. Ac. s. n. SIGE-BEACON, victory-pillar, funeral cross.
- See BECUN. — SIHMYWNT, *Bracteate 55*. Mansname, dat. — SIGHYOR, *Northumbrian Casket*. Dat. s. m.
- To the SIGORA, Lord, Captain. — SIKKTALÆ, *Holmen*. Dat. s. f. SIGDAL, in Aggershus, Norway. — SIUARD,
- Maglekilde*. Mansname, nom. — SKWLFS (= SIKWLFS), *Freerslev*. Mansname, gen.
- SIGNUM, *Yarm*. Latin. Ac. s. n. This SIGN, pillar, grave-cross.
- SIMI, *Bracteate 92*. Dat. s. ? SEM in N. Jutland, near Ribe.
- SIN, *Helnes*, *Ösby*. Ac. s. m. (SIN), his. — SINÆR, *Freerslev*. Gen. s. f. (SINRE). his.
- SINNA, see HEO-INNA.
- SYOEINÆA, *Krogstad*. SWAIN, mansname, dat.
- (SI)DC(U), *Freilaubersheim*. Perhaps to be redd (o)DC(U). which see.
- Siuarþ, under Sigi.
- SIULFUR(X), *Coquet Island*. Nom. s. SILVERN, of silver.
- Skwlfs, under Sigi.
- USMÆ. *Whitby*. 3 s. pr. subj. May- he- (ON-SMEE), look on, watch over, bless!
- bismÆRÆDU, *Ruthwell*. 3 pl. p. (BE-SMEARED), mockt, insulted.



- SMUHÆ, *Kragehul*. Ac. s. m. (SMOOGER), thro-flier, darter thro, penetrater.
- SNEIC, *Bracteate 96*. Mansname, nom., = SNEING, = SNEING, *SNOW-SON*.
- SOL, *Thisted*. Nom. s. f. (SOL), sun, darling.
- SOR(r), u. Sun. — Sorgum, u. Særþ.
- SERJ, *Chessell Down*. ? Dat. s. n. ? To the SERE, armor, weapons (of the foe).
- Sowhula, under Saule.
- STÆDEA, *Strand*. Gen. pl. of-the-STEADS, road-STEADS, harbors, coasts.
- STAIN, *STONE*, masc. — STAIN, *Freerslev*; STÆIN, *Kallerup*, *Snoldelev*. Nom. s.; STAIN, *Helnes*;
- STEINÆ, *Time*; STÆ(N)Æ, *Gommer*. Ac. s. — STAINAR, *Røfsal*. Nom. pl. — (STAN). *Truro*. Absolute,
- as mansname. — STUN, *Osby*. Mansname, acc. See DGE-PTAN, HALSTUN.
- STÆLDIA, see HÆGUSTÆLDIA.
- Stan, Stønæ, u. Stain.
- bISTEMD, *Ruthwell*. P. p. (BE-STEAMED), bedabbled.
- gISTIGA, *Ruthwell*. Inf. To (STEEG), step, mount.
- STYÓPA, *Holmen*. Inf.; — STYÓPTE, *Holmen*. 3 s. p. To (STEEP), yote, cast, found.
- gISTODDUN, *Ruthwell*. 3 pl. p. STOOD.
- STRELUM, *Ruthwell*. Dat. pl. m. With STRELES, missiles, darts.
- Stun, under Stain.
- SUL, *Ingelstad*. Ac. s. m. (or pl. n.). SILL, ground-frame, timber-frame.
- SUN. — SUNAR, *Snoldelev*. Gen. s. — SUNGE, *Sparlösa*. Dat. s. SON. See BRUDURSUNU, ICWÆSUNA, DORRSON(R).
- SUNEDROMDH, *Bracteate 64*. Mansname, nom.
- SWI(R), *Franks Casket*. Ac. s. n. (SWIKE), treachery.
- SWID, SWIDA. See BERHTSWIDE, KUNESWIDA, IGILSUID. — SUIDKS, *Kallerup*. Mansname, gen. (SWID-INGS), = SWITHE-SON.
- gisWOM, *Franks Casket*. 3 s. p. SWAM.
- TÆÆ, *Bracteate 94*. Mansname, nom.
- TADIS, *Thisted*. Mansname, gen.
- Tœnu, under Tinæ.
- TAL, see SIKKTALÆ.
- TALLWE, *Bracteate 9*. Mansname, nom. — TÆLING, *Vi Plane*. Mansname, nom. = TELL's-son. —
- TÆLINGWU, *Gettorf*. Womansname, dat. = TELL's-daughter. See TIL.
- TAN. — TENAES, TENES, *Bracteate 75*. Mansname, gen. — TÆNULU, *Bracteate 71*. Mansname, nom.
- TÆWIDO, *Gallehus*. 3 s. p. (TAWED), shaped, made.
- TÆWON, *Bracteate 27*. Mansname, nom.
- TE, *Bracteates 25. 59*. 3 s. pr. subj. May he (TEE), give, grant, show, bless, guard.
- Tenaes, Tenes, under Tan.
- TI, *Ruthwell*: tyo, *Thames fitting*; TO, *Bracteate 8*: *Bridekirk*. Prep. to.
- ... ti, under Raisa.
- Tidfirþ, u. Tifas.
- TIL, *Bracteate 46*. Mansname, nom. — TILÆRINGS, *Kovel*. Mansname, nom. — TILLE, *Bracteate 8*.
- Dat. s. m. defin. To the (TILL), good, excellent. See ELTIL. — See TALLWE.
- TIMD, *Brough*. P. p. n. s. f. TEEMED, brought forth, begotten, born.
- TINÆ. — TÆEN, *Hoga*. Ac. s. m. TINE, grave-pillar, funeral stone. See HÆI-TINÆ.
- Tyo, under Ti and Dewæ. — Tisæcg, u. Tu.
- TITUS, *Franks Casket*. Nom. The Roman Emperor.
- TIDAS, *Vi Plane*. Mansname, nom. — TIDFIR, *Monk Wearmouth*. Mansname, nom.
- Tyw, under Tu.
- TIWITÆ, *Bracteate 32*. Mansname, dat.
- TODE, *Holmen*. Mansname, nom.
- TRÖBU, *Vordingborg*. Mansname, nom.
- TRUKNADU, *Helnes*. 3 pl. p. DROWNED, were drowned.
- (tru)MBEREHCT, *Yarm*. Mansname, dat.
- TU, *Glostrup*; TYW, *Jyderup*. Apparently the God of TUE'sday. — TISÆCG, *Bracteate 78*.
- Mansname, nom.

- TUHÆ, see DÆITUHÆ.  
TUMA, *Stentofte*. Dat. s. n. (TUME, TOME, TOOM), open space or time, chamber, free time, leisure, rest.  
TUNBA, *Balkemark*. Mansname, nom.  
TVTO, *Bracteate 65*. Mansname, nom.  
TUWÆ, *Bracteate 22*. Nom. s. ? f. A (TOG), row, line, here a series of letters, *an alphabet*.  
TWED, *Bracteate 32*. Mansname, nom.  
TWEGEN, *Franks Casket*. Nom. pl. m. TWAIN, two.  
D (? a name beginning with D), *Sigdal*.  
DA, *Ruthwell*. Adv. THO, THEN, then-when, when.  
Dæa, u. Dewæ. — Dæes, u. De.  
DÆICT, see UDÆICT.  
DÆLIA, *Bratsberg*. Womansname, nom.  
Dam, u. De. — DÆN, see ACEDÆN. — Dansi, Dær, u. De. — Dær, u. De.  
DASCO (or DUSCO), *Bracteate 3*. Mansname, nom.  
Dæt, Dætæa, under De.  
DE. — DIS, *Coquet Island*. Nom. s. m. THIS. — DÆES, *Bewcastle*. Gen. s. n. Of THIS. — DAM, *Bracteate 9*. Dat. s. m. To THE. — DAER, *Deusbury*; DER, *Bridekirk, Falstone*; DÆR, *Thornhill*; dat. s. f. For THE. — DANSI, *Osby*; DÆ, THE, *Falstone*; DÖNLE, *Hoga*. Ac. s. m. — DÆU, *Vordingborg*; DISSA, *Holmen*. Ac. s. f. THE. THIS. — DÆT, *Ruthwell*; DÆTÆA, *Sigdal*; DIS, *Bewcastle*. Ac. s. n. THAT, THIS. — DERÆ, *Stentofte*. Gen. pl. THEIR. — DYIA, *Istaby*; DISI, *Freerslev*. Ac. pl. f. (THEY, THO), THESE. — DÆR, *Franks Casket*; DER, *Ruthwell*. Adv. THERE.  
. . . DES(?i), *Bårse*. Probably THIS or THESE, ac. s. or pl. of DE.  
DEWÆ. — DE, *Vi Plane*. Nom. s. m. A THEOW, thrall, slave, servant. — DEWÆA, *Valsfjord*. Mansname, dat. See ISING-DÆA, OWLDU-DEWÆA. As fem. see ULTYO.  
Diæu, Dyia, Disi, Dissa, under De.  
DEEDROWENC, *Torvik*. N. s. mansname, equal to DEODRADING or DEODRADSON.  
DIWBYO-FUNDR, *Frederiksberg*. Nom. s. m. THIEF-FIND, finding out the thief.  
Dönæ, u. De. — DORÆ, DORRSON(r), u. Dur.  
DORNB, *Maeshowe*. Nom. s. m. THORN; (or javelin, dart).  
DORR-SON(r), Port, under Dur.  
DREWINGÆN, *Tanum*. Mansname, gen.  
Drlæf, u. Dur.  
DUL, *Vordingborg*; D . . . ., *Alnmouth*. Ac. s. f. THRUCH, THROH, stone-kist, stone-coffin, grave.  
DUL(R), a (THYLE), Speaker, Chanter, Priest. — DULAR, *Snoldelev*. Gen. sing.  
DUR. — DORÆ, *Thisted*. Womansname, nom. — DRLÆF, *Gommor*. Mansname, nom. — DURMUD, *Sæbø*. Mansname, nom. — DORRSON(R), *Holmen*. Mansname, nom. — DORT, *Holmen*. Mansname, nom.  
Uk, under Eak, Hiewan.  
ÜKISI, *Upsala*. Ac. s. f. AXE.  
Ugæ, u. Ugis.  
UGIS, *Kragehul*. Gen. s. UGG'S (= WODEN'S, ODIN'S). See ÆS-UGIS. — UGU, *Sparlösa*. Ac. s.  
Mansname. — UGÆ, *Kragehul*. Ac. s. m. defin. The (UGG), fierce.  
ULTYO, *Fonnås*. Womansname, gen.  
. . . . UME, *Kragehul*. See text.  
UNBO, *Reidstad*. Mansname, nom. — UNBOÆU, *West Thorp*. Womansname, dat.  
UNDA, *Bracteate 82*. As this piece is broken, we do not know whether more letters belonged to this word.  
Ung, Ungæ, u. Inge. — Ungcet, u. Ik.  
UNTR, *Freerslev*. Mansname, nom.  
UNNA(N). To (UN), give, grant. — ÆNN, *Bracteates 24, 25*. 3 s. pr. (UNS), gives.  
Un-Neg, under Neg.  
UNU, *Mörbylångå*. Womansname, gen. UNA'S (daughter).  
ÖRIURIDON, *Amulet Rings*. See text.

- Us, Usa, u. Ik. — U Smæ, u. Smæ.  
 UT (or UTI), *Björketorp*; UTE, *Sigdal*. OUT, out in.  
 UD, *Charnay*. Mansname, nom. — UDÆR, *Björketorp*. Mansname, nom.  
 UDÆICT, *Sealand*. Nom. s. f. Unluck, disfavor, a bad throw.  
 Upær, under Up. — UA, see ÆLUA.  
 WÆIGÆ, *Bracteate 29*. Mansname, nom.  
 WALD. See ALUWALDO, KUNUÆLTS, OLWFWOLDU, RHOÆL(T)R.  
 WALDE, *Ruthwell*. 3 s. p. WOULD.  
 UÆLYÆ, *Bracteate 57*. Ac. s. m. WEAL, success, victory. See ÆAWELÆ.  
 Uælt, Waludo, under Wald.  
 UANÆBÆREH, *Varnum*. Mansname, acc.  
 Wæryit, Wæritæ, under Writan.  
 WARD, *Franks Casket*. 3 s. p. WARTH, WORTH, became, was. — WARD, see SIUARD.  
 WÆRUA, *Tomstad*. Mansname, dat. See ALUER. — WÆRINGÆA, *Torvik*. Mansname, dat.  
 WÆS. — IS, *Coquet Island*. 3 s. pr. IS. — WÆS, *Ruthwell*; WAS, *Fonnås*. 1 and 3 s. p. WAS. —  
 WÆS, *Tanum*. 2 s. imperat. Be-thou! Stand-thou!  
 ? WÆTTÆT (? WÆTTE ÆT), *Seude*. Mansname, nom.  
 Wele, u. Uælyæ.  
 UENA, *Ingelstad*. Dat. s. f. (WENE), fair.  
 WENC, see INGE. — Uer, u. Wærua. See Aluer.  
 WI, *Buzœu*. Dat. s. n. (WIE), temple, fane.  
 UYÆYLIL, *Bracteate 24*. Mansname, nom. — UIK, see AUIK.  
 UIGÆ, see HLYDWYG, HHLÆDUIGÆ. — UIU, *Bracteate 57*. Ac. s. n. (WIGG), battle, war. — WIYU-  
 BIGI(æ), *Kragehul*. Dat. s. m. In his WIG-BING, war-bed, camp.  
 WILL, see GISLONGWILL. — Win, u. Wini. — Wings, u. Inge.  
 WINI, friend. See ÆLEWINE, ALWIN, ÆLEUBWINI, BERCHTWINI, EDELWINI, IAUDINI. — WINIWONÆWYO,  
*Nordendorf*. Womansname, dat.  
 WINI, pleasant mead. See BIRKOINUM.  
 WIIS(A), *Vallby*. Mansname, nom. — WISÆ, *Bracteate 57*. Nom. s. (WISA), leader, captain. —  
 WISÆ, *Gilton*. 2 s. imperat. (WEISC, WISF, WISS), lead out, show, draw, brandish.  
 WITÆ, see TIVITÆ.  
 WITEL, *Tune*. Dat. s. m. defin. The (WITTY), wise, mighty, illustrious.  
 Uiu, Wiyu, u. UIGÆ. — WIWÆA, see ECWIWÆA.  
 WIWILN, *Væblungsnes*. Mansname, nom.  
 WOD. — WODÆN, *Nordendorf*; OD, *Bracteate 59*. Mansname, nom., and name of the God of  
 WEDENS-day; WODEN, ODIN. — ODINKAR, *Eidsberg*; WODGAR, *Bewcastle*. Mansname, nom. — WODURIDE, *Tune*.  
 Mansname, dat.  
 WOLK, *Brough*. 3 s. p. WALKT, went  
 Wolpu, u. Wald. — VOMIA, see AIVOMIA. — WONÆWYO, see WINIWONÆWYO.  
 WOP, *Brough*. Nom. s. m. WHOOP, cry, WEeping, tears.  
 WORÆHTO, *Tune*; WORH(T)E, *Northumbrian Brooch*; WRÆITO, *Bracteate 65*; IWROKTE, *Bridekirk*:  
 WORTÆ, *Etelhem*; wo . . . ., *Alnmouth*. 3 s. p. WROUGHT, WORKT, made, carved.  
 WORE, see LOXÆWORE. — WÆRIG, see LIMWÆRIGNE.  
 WRITAN — RIUTI, *Stentofte*; WÆRYIT, *Istaby*; WÆRITÆ, *Varnum*; WRÆET, *Freilaubersheim*; WRÆITÆ,  
*Reidstad*; URIT, *Northumbrian Casket*; WTI (= WRÆITI), *Sølvesborg*. 3 s. p. WROTE, cut, inscribed (the runes).  
 iWrokte, Writæ, Wreito, u. Woræhto. — Wti, u. Writan. — (W)ugo, u. Oæg.  
 WULF, nom. s. m. See EGGHULS, ÆNIWULU, ÆNWLL, CADVLFS, HÆRIWOLÆFA, HARIWULFS, HÆDUWOLÆFA,  
 HYDUWOLÆFA, ROAUL, SKWLFS, TÆNULU. — WULFIA, nom. s. f. See HYERUWOLÆFIA. — WULIF, *Franks Casket*.  
 Nom. s. f. (WYLF), she-wolf. — WULFHÆRE, *Bewcastle*. Mansname, nom.  
 WULDU. — OWLDU-DEWÆA, *Thorsbjerg Sword*. Mansname, dat.  
 giWUNDAD, *Ruthwell*. P. p. WOUNDED.  
 Y, see I.

BETTERINGS.

Vol. 3, p. 216. ALNMOUTH. — Nov. 27, 1883. I have this moment received, as a gift from His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, a copy of his two lately printed magnificent Quarto volumes, describing his famous Museum at Alnwick Castle. The "Chiefly British" tome, (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1880, p. 69) contains engravings of both sides of this broken Cross-fragment.

Vol. 3, p. 231, Bracteates 49, 49 b, I have spoken of the *Rebus*. — At p. 407, 411, *ΣΕΒ*, of *Phonetic marks*. — The Swedish Runologist Adjunkt Karl Torin, of Skara in West Gotland, has just communicated to me, with permission to use it here, the discovery of a new rune-stone. It was found early this year in the church-wall of Tång Church, West Gotland, is about 7 feet high, thick and heavy. Quite perfect. Bears 2 lines of runes. The first, on the left of the front, reads from below upwards. The other, on the right, goes from above downwards. Adjunkt Torin will publish an engraving in the 3rd part of his "Runic Stones of West Gotland", to appear in Part 4 of "Westergötlands Fornminnesförenings Tidskrift".

The first line reads:

:: h↑n|t|n|/y| : R|q| : h↑t| : x|t|q| : /↑|d| :

A little higher up begins the second line, thus:

OT : ԿՈՒՐ : ԿԻ : ԳԻՆԿ : ԿՈՒԿԻ : ԲԻՎԻ :

Now all this is plain enough. A child can read it. Large staves, sound wind and limb, and divided into words by stops. What more can we desire? But we are hampered by two things. The name of the dead father is *not* given, while *instead* thereof we have two strange figures.

I believe that Bracteates 49 and 49 b and the Sæbø Sword will guide us, like as *this* inscription will be a proof that the readings *there* hazarded *are correct*. In this way we creep on, in spite of the paucity of our materials. I take the first figure to be STIN = a STONE (a common mansname), and the next to be THUR'S HAMMER-MAKK, the well-known symbol of that God, and therefore standing for and *sounded* as DUR, like as the other famous Thunor-mark, the ⚡ of the Sæbø blade clearly is cut for and *redd* as the word DUR.

So holpen, let us now translate:

STULNUFDI RISDI STIN DONSI IFTIA STINPUR, FUPUR, MIUK KUPAN PIKN.

STULNUF<sub>PI</sub> RAISED STONE THIS AFTER STINTHUR. his-FATHER, a-MUCH (mickle, very) GOOD THANE  
(soldier, captain).

STULNUFI I have not seen before, while STINDUR is a Northern name, as well as in the longer form STINDRI. The end-words, MIUK KUDAN DIKN, are common enough, especially in West Gotland. The dialectic FUDUR for FADUR, is one of the many variants in the local talks on the stones, and occurs several times elsewhere. Mind the first s, differing in type from all the others on the block.

If I am right in all this, we have here another proof of what FRESH FINDS may bring us!

In a later letter Adjunkt Torin remarks: "The inscription is cut on the *smooth edge* of the block. The *front or broad side* is so rough, that the carver probably thought it unsuitable for his purpose". This explanation is sufficient. It is certain that the stone is perfect. Nothing wants.

Vol. 3. p. 462. — Mr. Blair kindly informs me that I have misunderstood his information. He says (Nov. 22, 1883): "The block secured by Canon Greenwell is from the Tower of the *Church of St. Oswald's* in Durham, and was removed thence to the Durham Chapter Library by Mr. Greenwell's orders. It formed one of the building stones of the Tower, about half way up and is well known, as one of its sides has always been in sight and much weathered in consequence. The *base stones*, on one of which is a cross almost similar in form to a cross on a *grave cover* from Escomb, are from Chester le Street."

Vol. 3, p. 466. — Docent Sven Söderberg writes me that the ring in question is an arm-ring, *not* a neck-ring.

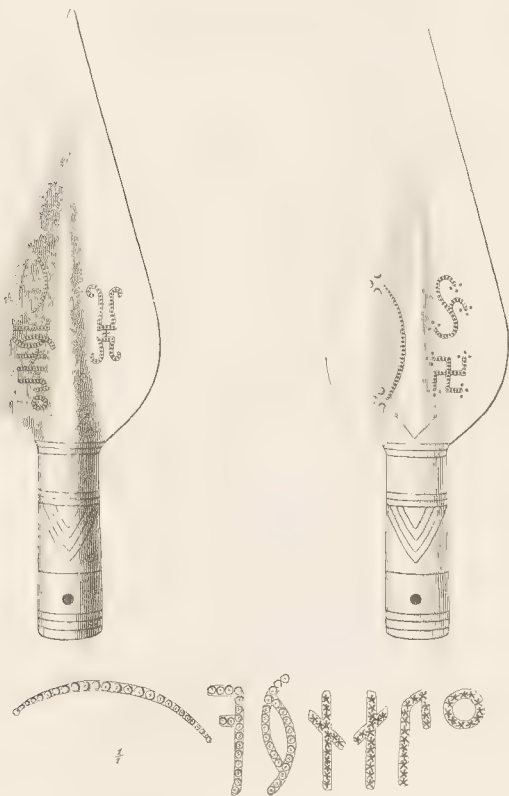


## THE GOTHIC MARCH.

TORCELLO, VENEZIA, ITALY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300—400.

*From Drawings kindly furnished by the Danish Artist J. T. HANSEN, Phototypograph by J. F. ROSENSTAND.  
each side  $\frac{1}{2}$ rd, the runes apart full size.*



Every reader will understand the shout with which I greeted the following (here English):

"Venezia, Oct. 21, 1883.

"With great joy I send you a new runic inscription. It is long, long ago since you got an Old-Northern piece from me, but I have been wandering about in un-runish lands. I only hope this will reach you before your Vol. 3 is out.

"I found it a couple of days ago in the small Museum at Torcello, a hamlet on an island in the lagunes, about 2 hours' row from Venezia. Going thro the collection there, I saw a *Bronze Spear-head* of an uncommon shape. The Custode said it bore "Etruscan Writing", so I let him take it out of the case for my inspection. The Holy Marks and the Letters themselves showed me at once that

it was not Etruscan but Runic, with the genuine O. N. staves, the whole evidently from the "Folk-wandering" age. Its being of *bronze* is uncommon, and points to holy or a chieftain's use.

"Happily the Danish Architectural Designer J. T. Hansen was with me, from whose hand the enclosed drawings are forwarded to you. It is 41.5 cm. long and 10.8 broad. The socket is ornamented with incised lines. On the fields, between delicately cut lines, the symbols and letters are punched in, and show rings and broad stars deeply and boldly stamp'd. The whole is well kept, so that there is no doubt about anything.

"On returning home, I at once went to the Cavaliere and Consul *Nicolo Battaglini*, the real founder of the Torcello farn-hall and who acts as its Keeper. He told me he had found the object in February this year, quite accidentally, in the house of a farmer at Torcello. A wooden haft having been fitted to it, it was in daily use as a *Poker*! So had it been, as long as the family could remember. Probably it had been dug from the earth early in this century. I judge from the patina it had lain in boggy ground. The peasants in the village are continually going over to the main seeking work, and we cannot say whether it came from the lagune-ile or from the opposite coast. I need not add, how like this spear-head is to the pieces from Kovel and Müncheberg. I only hope it may come in time!

INGVALD UNDET.

Luckily it *did* come in time. Till my *very last* page is printed, *everything* comes in time.

All see that this Runic Darling is a WANDERER, but I call its real home THE GOTHIC MARCH. How it came to the desert swampy islands *afterwards* peopled and called Venetia, we shall never ken. We will not discuss the clans and hordes yclept Goths, Mæso-Goths, Ostro-Goths, Visi-Goths, Gepidæ, Walamirs, Herules, Lombards, Vandals, and bearing scores of other names, as they roamed along playing their part in the world's stony. One thing we know; Venice never was a "Gothic" settlement or the site of a "Gothic" battle. The Gothic strenes begin their warlike career in Italy by the 4th yearhundred, become mighty there in the 5th and later. But bodies of free-lances and adventurers went west far earlier, some to catch what they could, some in the Imperial service. Whether the man to whom this weapon belonged had strolled-in from Scandinavia or "Scythia" or Dacia or Lombardy or elsewhere, or whether it was taken as war-booty or was stolen or bought, lost or hidden, it must have been in *very old* days. This is proved by the material, the symbols, the whole make. The realm of Theodoric was close by, but is I think a century too late. At all events he was never in Venetia.

The spear-head is clearly of the same excellent school as the precious laves from Kovel and Müncheberg (see this band p. 266 and band 2 p. 880), and is so like the Müncheberg piece that it might have been smithied in the same shop from the same pattern, only it is much richer and larger (16½ inches long). It also agrees with the latter in having a tiny circle as a beginning-mark. The peculiar and beautiful working of the characters has never, I think, been remark'd before.

Let us now look at the wend-runes. Turning them round, we are struck by the 1st letter, a one-armed τ (1) with a bent top and a straight down-arm (7); it is the oldest short-typed τ I have seen. — Then we have † (for ‡), E, a common variant for this sound in the later runes, but as far as I remember not found before on so antique an object. — Next comes † for ‡ (N), as so often, particularly in O. N. runes. — No. 4 is a variant of the well-known character for ING. — Last is the usual O. N. ƿ (æ), but here with *straight* arms, the one shorter than the other, thus F.

Should my transliteration be correct, the risting therefore gives

TENINGÆ

the patronymic of the owner or troop-commander. This is the rare TENING, = DENING or DANE-ING, = DAN'S or DANE'S SON. We have before, on Bracteate 75, the simplex, the mansname TENAES, TENES, in the genitive singular.

Now what could this exceptionally large and costly weapon have been intended for? My learned brother Dr. Undset suggests "holy or a chieftain's use", and it may well so be. But possibly we may look upon it as a kind of war-mark, hæf-token or standard, carried by or before the hundred-man or other officer who led his cohort to battle.

In any case this is a most costly relic, and is a glaring proof both how such things may wander, and how wonderfully they may turn up when least expected. We have to thank the skill and care of the Norse old-lorist Dr. Undset, and the faithful pencil of the Danish artist Hr. J. T. Hansen, for this new gift to science. May their shadows never grow less!

## SPARLÖSA, WEST-GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700—800.

*From Drawing and Paper Squeezes kindly forwarded by Adjunkt KARL TORIN, Skara, Sweden.  
Here given <sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub>th.*



The base of this granite boulder is largely broken away. What is left is about 5 feet 4 inches high by nearly 2 feet greatest breadth. It lies on its side in the outer wall of Sparlösa Church, Wiste Härad (Hundred). Whether the unseen parts bear runes or carvings, we do not know. If possible, it should be taken out and examined. I saw it in August 1873, in company with my friend Adjunkt Torin, who has already published 2 parts of his "Runic Monuments of West-Gotland", and is

engaged on the 3rd. But my time was very short, the weather most unfavorable, the block not cleaned, I could not understand it, and I had no idea that it would appear here. This only became possible a couple of days ago (Nov. 3, 1883), when Adjunkt Torin obligingly sent me his drawing, followed by magnificent paper casts, taken after he had carefully cleaned the surface from lime and hard moss. Things now became plain which had not been so before, and I think I have been able to master the runes. In that case it is an overgang monolith, bearing 3 times the O. N. letter for  $\sigma$  (X). It has also the old \* for  $\mathfrak{A}$ , and traces of great antiquity in the local dialect, sairly the nominative-mark -s in  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{L}$  (=  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{S}$ ) and -U and - $\mathfrak{A}$  as a dative-sing.-ending in  $\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{U}$  and  $\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{E}$ .

The stone has been split at an early period, but has taken no harm to speak of. A narrow unwritten border on the right has been utilized a couple of centuries later, so that a fresh death-minne has been carved there, in the common later staves. Lowest of all is a barbarous head and half-bust of  $\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{U}(\mathfrak{N})\mathfrak{A}$ , the mighty Thunderer and Grave-warder, shielding the forthfare from all evil Trolls. Part of this is torn away, but straight above this rudely cut helt of Walhall we see a striking decoration, a line of Holy  $\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{R}$ -HAMMERS. Thus we have here what is equal to the wordfall found on several heathen stones in Scandinavia —  $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{I}$ , *may-THUR WIH* (*bless = these runes and this tomb!*)

The pillar before us is mentioned only by Liljegren in his Run-Urkunder (Stockholm 1833), No. 1379, where he gives nothing but the later risting, and this faultily. In his Run-lära, however (Stockholm 1832), plate I, No. 24, he engraves both epitaphs, omitting the figure and Hammers, and with so many mistakes that the whole is worthless. It follows, that this noble monument is in fact now made public here for the first time, thanks to the pains and enthusiasm of the Swedish rune-smith Karl Torin.

What surprises us is, the enormous size of the letters, far exceeding what has ever been seen elsewhere. The longest are nearly 2 feet high! Even the tiny ones, those cut small as an elegant contrast, are from 3 to 4 inches. There are no dividing points, the lines are not quite straight being so tall, and the last figure is an end-mark here seen for the first time. Let us now take the words as they stand:

$\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{L}$ , the 2 c's Old-Northern. This is a mansname in the nominative, first found here in runes, the last link, -ULS, reminding us of the M. Gothic WULFS, the  $\mathfrak{F}$  slurred as so often. Besides the 6 examples of this slur given in my Vol. 1, p. 38, I add:  $\mathfrak{A}$ , East-Gotland,  $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{L}$ , ac.;  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{y}$ , Södermanland,  $\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{L}$ , ac.; Brunnby, Upland,  $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{R}$ , nom.; Näs, W. Gotland,  $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{L}$ , nom. The name is good Scando-Gothic, O. Engl.  $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{F}$ ,  $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{F}$ , &c.; Ohg.  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{F}$ ,  $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{F}$ , &c. The meaning is doubtless = sword-EDGE-WOLF, = SWORD-WOLF

$\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{F}$ , 3 s. p. *GAVE*, raised the stone and grave-mound. This formula with  $\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{E}$  is rare.

$\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{U}$ , mansname, dat. sing. If not dialectic for  $\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{U}$ , the runic  $\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{I}$ ,  $\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{K}$ ,  $\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{I}$ ,  $\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{R}$ , reminding us of  $\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{R}$ , one of Oden's names, = the-terrible.

$\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{S}$ , mansname, gen. The common  $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{K}$ .

$\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{E}$ , dat. sing. Compare the M. Goth. dat. s.  $\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{U}$ .

$\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{N}$ - $\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{I}$ , in apposition to  $\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{U}$  and  $\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{E}$ . The difficulty is with the first link in this compound, for it is written short, and may be variously expanded. We may think of  $\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{N}$ , *KIN*, kindred;  $\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{I}$ , *CYNE*, high-born, royal;  $\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{E}$ , *KEEN*, bold, and so on. Perhaps the simplest and safest is  $\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{N}$ , *KIN*,  $\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{D}$ , *KUND*, &c., *GUN*, war, battle. —  $\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{I}$ , dat. s. is *FELLOW*, comrade, as so often on runic stones. —  $\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{N}$ - $\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{I}$  would then answer to the O. Engl.  $\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{D}$ -WINE, war-friend. — The  $\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}$  has here maybe the power of  $\mathfrak{E}$ , as frequently. — Compare the  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{T}$   $\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{A}$ ,  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{H}$   $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{K}$   $\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{A}$   $\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{N}$ , *AT* (in minne of)  $\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{D}$ ,  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{G}$  (kinsman) *EKE FELLOW* (comrade) *SIN* (his) of the Bröta stone. Södermanland, under  $\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{N}$  in the Marker. — Thus we get the plain and simple and "grammatical"

$\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{I}$ .

$\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{S}$  (= sword-EDGE-WOLF, = SWORD-WOLF) *GAVE*-this-minne to- $\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{G}$ ,  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{S}$ - $\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{N}$ , his- $\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{N}$ -FELLOW (war-mate, brother-in-arms).

The later carving is easy enough, tho part of the last letter is worn away:

$\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{D}(\mathfrak{R})$ .

$\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{D}$  (wrote this) *AFTER KUNAR*, his-BROTHER.



## MARKER.

- A**-type **Y**, **A**, 151, 246—7, 249, 388—391.  
 „ „ **A**, 4, 172, 261, 429.  
**A**, **A** MK, **AN**, **OH**, &c., the formula, 278, 390, 391, 411.  
 „ prefix, 278.  
**A** stone, 488.  
**-A**, **-æ**, **-e**, inf. in 388, 389, 392.  
 „ „ falls away, 389, 392.  
 „ „ interchange of, 389, 390.  
 „ „ **3** s. pres. subj. 424.  
**Abercromby**, **J.** 426.  
**ABUL**, wom. name, 125.  
**ABKA**, ? = **ARBINGA**, 281.  
**Abrahamson**, **W. H. F.** 409.  
**Abrahamstorp** stone, 279.  
**Abzalón's** (Archb.) **Chalica**, 149.  
**Abby** stone, 41, 279, 340.  
**ac. oc.** but, 174.  
**Acland-Hood**, **Sir A. G.**  
**ADALINDA**, **ADALROT**, female names, 322.  
**Adam** and **Eve** in **Crowle**, 188. See **Fall**.  
**Adjectives** and **Participles** in **O. N.** 394, 398, 400.  
**Adolf Fredrik**, king, 320.  
**Adverbs** in **O. N.** 398, 401.  
**Ædwin**, king, 162.  
**Ætius**, 238.  
**AGARDES**, name, 384.  
**Ågedal** **Bracteate**, 261.  
**Ågerstad** stone, 356.  
**Ågerup** **Barbaric Gem**, 251.  
**Åggeby** stone, 282.  
**ÆGGILS**, mansname, nom. 488.  
**Agila**, king, 202.  
**Ægili**, 201—3, 440, 1.  
**ah.** see **a**.  
**-ai**, **3** s. pr. subj. ending, 55, 278.  
**aiCI** = **Aye-not**, 173, 177; see **NE**.  
**Aikiböi** stone, 68.  
**AIRIX**, **ÆIRIX**, mansname, 311, 488.  
**Aix-la-Chapelle** **Barbaric Gem**, 254.  
**Aker** stone, 322.  
**Åkerby** stone, 41.  
**Akerman**, **J. Y.** 163, 167, 8.  
**Akirkeby** **Font**, 208.  
**Al Church**, 385, 445.  
**Alander**, rector, 22.  
**Alban**, **St.** 178.  
**Alborg** stone, 290.  
**Alcfrith** of **Deira**, 432, 3.  
**Alcuin** of **England**, 486.  
**ALDATES**, name, 384.  
**Aldbrough Roundel**, 166, 425.  
**Aldhelm**, **St.** 14.  
**Aldred**, the **Glossator**, 92.  
**Alea**, 140.  
**Alexander** **Saga**, 382, 386.  
**Alfred**, king, 237, 380—2.  
**Alfred's Orosius**, 410, 412.  
**Ælfric**, archbishop, 380.  
**Alfvelösa** stone, 279.  
**Ælfwini**, 379.  
**ALL-WALD**, almighty, 181.  
**Allen**, **J. R.** 200.  
**Allmunge** **Bracteate**, 256.  
**Alnmouth** stone, 41, 50, 98, 216, 301, 431, 441, 462, 484.  
**Alnwick Castle Museum**, 484.  
**Alphabets**, 229.  
 „ **runie**, 9—15, 97, 148, 442.  
 „ „ **metallic**, &c. 229.  
**Alphabet** **Bells**, 229.  
 „ **Bowls**, 443.  
 „ **Fonts**, 229.  
 „ **Gambling-board**, 229.  
 „ **Horns**, 229.  
 „ (**pocket**), 442.  
 „ **Shrine-chest**, 442.  
 „ **Tiles**, 229.  
 „ **Urns**, 229.  
**Alsike** stone, 279.  
**Alsted** stone, 41.  
**Alstorp** stone, 354.  
**AlHars**, 170, 427, 429.  
**Altenkirchen** stone, 132, 428.  
**ALCRA**, of-all, 347.  
**ALM**, **AM**, 394.  
**Amber** **Die**, 140, 267, 269.  
**Amianthus**, 221.  
**Amiens** stone, 160.  
**Amulets**, 33, 138, 221, 460.  
**Amulet**, **bronze**, 147.  
 „ **Rings**, 106, 216.  
 „ **stone**, 141, 146.  
**AN** (**ON**), see **Bind-runes**.  
**AN**, **OH**, 346.  
**-AN**, **infin.** ending, 278, 389.  
**An** the **Bowbender**, see **Ægili**.  
**AN**, **AN(n)**, driven out by **IF**, 2.  
**ANASCIPI** (**O. E.** **OSSWIF**), mansname, 325.  
**AND**, **English** mark for (**ŋ**), 24, 25, 371.  
**AND**, **OND**, **sohl**, 392.  
**Anda**, **J.** 453.  
**Anda** stone, 118.  
**Anderson**, **J.** 107, 141, 207, 215, 315, 319, 430, 436, 447, 448.

- Anderson, N. 464.  
 ANDR. ANDI. GSD. 347, 392.  
 Andreas, dean, 284.  
 Andrew, St. 410. — His Cross, 422, 3. — His Ring, 169.  
 Andvare the Dwarf, 201.  
 Angarn stone, 280, 374.  
 Angby stone, 136, 280.  
 Anglo-Keltic missionaries, 24.  
 .. Scandian dialects, 173.  
 Angvreta stone, 280.  
 Anlaf, coin of, 313.  
 ANS. AS. ÆS. God, 133, 278.  
 Antiquariske Annaler, 140.  
 Antony & Paul in the desert, 188.  
 Anwulf, king, 238, foll.  
 AOSULF = ANSWULF. 352.  
 AOT = ANLUD. 352.  
 Aprus et Libertinus, 82.  
 AR. ARE. ARE. ARIN. ARME. ARIL. 420.  
 AR-GEHLOND, ocean, 368.  
 ÆRA. honor, 145, 363, 420.  
 Aran Mór stone, 23.  
 A-RÆRDE. ÆRIERAN, in England, 378, 416, 425.  
 Archa-ologia Cambrensis, 161.  
 .. Cantiana, 164.  
 .. Lond. 160.  
 .. Scot. 54.  
 Ardmore stone, 7.  
 Arendt, M. F. 174, 294, 297.  
 ARF. inheritance, 309.  
 ARFA. heiress; ARFI. heir, 88, 363.  
 ARG. fierce, 58, 352, 367, 445.  
 Årja stones, 280, and Vol. 2 p. 634, and see under SAN  
 Arkona temple, 428.  
 Arnesen, M. 57, 98, 412.  
 Arrows, 135.  
 Års stone, 356.  
 ARC-BECUN. 420.  
 ARV-laws, 88.  
 ARVING. 363.  
 Aruini, 192.  
 AS. ES. IS. ER. &c. 376.  
 Asadrisa, prince, 440.  
 Aasen, J. 325, 455.  
 Åsby stone, 280, 281, 375, 488.  
 Ashton, J. 447.  
 ASK. mansname, 311.  
 ASL. mansname, 323.  
 Asmild Idol, 426.  
 Aspa stone, 355.  
 Aspelin, J. R. 444.  
 Aspö stone, 281.  
 Assyria & Scandinavia, 266, 444.  
 Assyrian Sabres, 165, 266.  
 Asum Bracteate, 464.  
 ÅPÅN. ere, 349.  
 Athanagild, king, 202.  
 Æthelberht of Kent, 435.  
 Æthelburg, queen, 182.  
 Æthelred, king, 379.  
 Æthelstan, 167, 402.  
 Ætheric's Will, 167.  
 Æthred's Finger-ring, 199, 390, 412.  
 ATI TIVP. lost his life, 347.  
 Atkinson, G. M. 10, 11, 157.  
 .. J. C. 182.  
 APTSL. ÆPISL. 139.  
 ATARP. mansname, 370.  
 AUSTR-DIKL. AUSTR-DIKL. out east, in Russia, &c. 343, 345, 9  
 AUFING. name, 378.  
 Auzon Casket, 200.  
 ÆWL. 446.  
 AXES. 36, 426.  
 Axe of bronze, 307.  
 Axlanda stone, 282.  
 ÆYINR = EYVIND. 355.  
  
**B**-rune **Þ**, 426.  
 B and M rune, 103  
 Bæda, 192, 193, 197, 201, 379, 380, 417.  
 BADORICES HEAR, 176.  
 Baduilla, coin of, 109.  
 Baffa in Cyprus, 284.  
 Bågby stone, 282.  
 Bagge, N. 305.  
 Bakewell stone, 184.  
 BALDOR-CHRIST on the Ruthwell Cross, 179, 430  
 Baldor's death, 427, 438, 9.  
 Balingstad stone, 361.  
 Balkemark stone, 122, 3.  
 Ball-stones, see LINGA.  
 Ballaugh stone, 56.  
 Ballestad stone, 41, 282, 371.  
 Ballydoolough stone, 23.  
 Ballyspellan Ringbrooch, 157.  
 Balundsås stone, 41.  
 Bands on Horns, 130.  
 Baptism-formula, 392.  
 Barates the Palmyrene, 429.  
 Barbaric Gems, 16, 443.  
 Barbaricarii, 270.  
 Baring-Gould, S. 440.  
 Barming tomb, 172.  
 Barnack sculpture, 438.  
 Barnspike rock, 77, 283, 310.  
 BARROW (grave), 175, 416—18, 429.  
 Bårse stone, 146.  
 Bartels, M. 254, 443.  
 Bartholin, T. 225, 230.  
 BARUA, place-name, 346.  
 Battle, kenning for, 134.  
 .. -piercer = Lance, 184.  
 Bandot, Mons, 97.  
 Bayeux Tapestry, 54.  
 Bazas town, 201.  
 BE. (IH HIM, I am), 103.  
 BE. in Upland, 321.  
 BEACON, grave-pillar, 188, 376, 418.  
 Bendohild, 201.  
 Beauvois, E. 97.  
 Becker, F. 453.  
 Beginning-marks, 111, 457, 486.  
 Begu or Hein, St. 180, 201.  
 Behm, F. 43.  
 Bell, W. 204.  
 Bolland stone, 100.  
 Bells, alphabet, 229.  
 .. oldest, 117, 259, 413  
 .. word-dated, 152.  
 Bendixen, B. E. 1, 9, 90—3, 110, 122, 159, 338, 340,  
 342, 405—7.  
 Benedict Biscop, 435, 6.  
 BEO-HATA, war-herald, 383.  
 BEOWA, 385.  
 BEOWULF, 123, 263, 383.  
 Berchtwine, St. 192.  
 BERG, barrow, tumulus, 416—18, 429.  
 Berga stone, 29—30, 285, 420.  
 BERGEN in Norway, 259, 338, 340, 361.

- Bærgier. N. 270.  
 Bærgsøe, S. A. 266, 404.  
 BERTHSWITE. 417.  
 Berlin Barbaric Gams, 254.  
 BERN, chief. 200.  
 Berneville, G. 445.  
 BERT, in names, 191, 2.  
 BERTISINDIS, the lady, 172.  
 BERWE, to save, 364.  
 BETA, to hunt, 305.  
 BETAR. 420.  
 Bøtterings, 1, 425, 440, 466, 484.  
 Beverley-church pillar, 176.  
 Bewcastle Cross, 161, 189, 390, 429, 431—2, 486, 489, 462.  
 Beyrich, Hr. 15, 250.  
 Bezel-ring, 404.  
 Bharhut Stūpa, 440.  
 Bible words loosely translated, 208.  
 BID, verb, 60.  
 BIG = BUILD. 174.  
 Billsta stone, 6.  
 BIN, BIN, I am, 394.  
 BIN, BING, 364.  
 Bind-runes, 135.  
 " " for AN (ON), 277, 356.  
 Bingley Font, 194.  
 Birch, S. 108.  
 " W. de Gray, 293.  
 BIRGA, to bless, save, 278.  
 BIRTH, behoveth, 181.  
 Bisdomini Bell, 117.  
 Bjälbo stone, 286.  
 Björketorp stone, 32, 35, 145, 390, 449, 456.  
 Björkö stones, 60, 286, 7.  
 Björnun stone, 288.  
 Bladinge Font, 367.  
 Blair, R. 461, 2, 484.  
 BLANDMEN, Wallachians, 287.  
 Blessing-formulas, see Prayer.  
 Blomberg, O. G. 323.  
 Blumenberg, R. 368.  
 Bø stone, 27, 40, 78, 392, 426.  
 Boberg, 36.  
 Bodhisat, 440.  
 Bødvar, 34.  
 Bogesund stone, 288.  
 Boije, S. 448.  
 BOKAREIS, Scribe, Lawyer's Clerk, 1.  
 Bonaparte, Prince L. L. 2.  
 Bond, A. 293.  
 Boniface, pope, 182.  
 Bouifacius of Montserrat, 284.  
 Bonneville, B. L. E. 127.  
 BOO, dwelling, 174.  
 " mark, 442.  
 Book of Kells, 207.  
 Bornholm Arv-law, 88.  
 " stones, 123.  
 Borough-English, 88.  
 Boscawen, Mr. 165.  
 Bosio, A. 207.  
 BOSE TWO, BORO, 364.  
 Bow-man, see Ægili.  
 Bowls, 105.  
 " with alphabets, 443.  
 Boxlids, 133.  
 Boye, V. 146.  
 Bracclens, 104.  
 Bräckestad stone, 60, 317.  
 Bracteate 1, 2, p. 227.  
 Bracteate 3, p. 227, 237, 270.  
 " 4, 5, p. 227.  
 " 6, 1, 227, 362.  
 " 7—9, p. 227.  
 " 10, p. 227, 252.  
 " 11, p. 227, 252, 3.  
 " 12, 13, p. 227.  
 " 14, p. 228.  
 " 15, 16, p. 228, 362.  
 " 17, p. 228.  
 " 18, p. 228, 362.  
 " 19—21, p. 228.  
 " 22, 23, p. 229.  
 " 24—28, p. 230.  
 " 29, p. 230, 269, 270.  
 " 30, p. 230.  
 " 31—45, p. 231.  
 " 45, b, p. 231, 256.  
 " 46, 47, p. 231.  
 " 48, p. 231, 362.  
 " 49, 49 b, p. 98, 231, 232, 301, 362, 431, 484.  
 " 50—56, p. 233.  
 " 57, p. 135, 233.  
 " 58, p. 234.  
 " 59, p. 284, 448.  
 " 60, p. 234.  
 " 61, p. 234, 362.  
 " 62, p. 234.  
 " 63—72, p. 235.  
 " 65, p. 235, 362.  
 " 67, 68, 71, p. 362.  
 " 73, 74, p. 236.  
 " 75, p. 236, 245, 362, 443, 486.  
 " 76, p. 245.  
 " 77, p. 246.  
 " 78, p. 230, 247, 8.  
 " 79, 80, p. 248.  
 " 81, p. 249, 270, 361.  
 " 82, p. 249, 443.  
 " 83, 84, p. 255.  
 " 85—87, p. 256.  
 " 88, p. 256, 362.  
 " 89, p. 98, 257, 301, 391, 431.  
 " 90—92, p. 258, 431, 463, 4.  
 " 93, p. 259, 270.  
 " 94, p. 260, 362.  
 " 95, p. 261.  
 " 96, p. 464.  
 Branch-runes, see Twig-runes.  
 Brandt, Hr. 79.  
 Brash, R. R. 7, 8, 127, 157, 426.  
 Brass, funeral, 150.  
 Bratsberg stone, 100, 426, 7.  
 Breitinger, J. J. 203.  
 Brenner, E. 314.  
 Brenner rock, 288.  
 Brent, J. 140.  
 Bridekirk Font, 221, 466.  
 Bridge-building, 281, 318, 352, 419, 445.  
 Brigham slab, 448.  
 Bring, Sv. 64.  
 Bro stone, 311.  
 Broby stone, 290.  
 BROKE, sorrow, death, 177.  
 Brooches, 97, 101, 102, 104, 109, 114, 124, 157, 158, 184, 260, 273, 4.  
 " various types at same time, 157.  
 Brooke, J. J. 210, 415.  
 Bröta stone, p. 488, and under *san*.  
 BROTHA in dat. sing., p. 192, 193; in nom. pl. p. 203.

- Brough castle, 171.  
   " stone, 169, 361, 362, 390, 391, 465.  
   " Roman Altar, 170, 429.  
 Brougham-castle stone, 176.  
 Browne, G. F. 439, 461, 466, 7.  
 BRO (M. Goth. BRUF), 143.  
 Brunanburgh, 462.  
 Brunichild, queen, 202.  
 Brunnby stone, 488.  
 Brunsård stone, 426.  
 Brunswick Casket, 183, 273.  
 Brusewitz, G. 39, 40, 65, 314.  
 Bruzelius, N. G. 205, 353.  
 Brynderslev stone, 290, 346.  
 Buckles, 125, 6.  
 Buddha, 440.  
 Bugge, S. 4, 5, 23, 25, 27, 31—5, 39, 40, 42—4, 47, 48.  
   50, 59, 60, 64, 65, 73, 74, 77, 80, 82, 84, 89, 91,  
   94, 96, 99, 105, 107, 117, 118, 121, 164, 201, 202,  
   209, 228, 230, 233, 235, 248, 284, 296, 297, 309,  
   314, 332, 334, 339, 341, 342, 344, 349, 358, 361,  
   369, 372, 373, 375, 378, 381, 382, 384, 388, 391,  
   396, 417, 430, 445.  
 Bukowski, H. 152, 220.  
 Burchardi Bell, 443.  
 Bure, J. 282, 288, 321, 324, 351.  
 Bureus, L. 326.  
 Burge Bracteate, 231, 256.  
 Burgundians, 239.  
 Burials, Early Iron Age, in Norway, 81.  
 Burseryd Bell, 259.  
   " Font, 84, 356.  
 Burton, R. F. 14, 15.  
 Bozeu Ring, 265, 273, 391, 466.  
 Bygga Virgo, = St. Bugga, 215.  
  
 C-rune, type  $\downarrow$ , 442.  
   " "  $\Upsilon$ , 442.  
   " often omitted in runic futhorks, 442.  
 C = S, rune-types for, 442.  
 C and G, 460.  
 Cache = secret pit, 127.  
 Cædmon, Cadmon, 179, 189, 365, 383, 393, 430.  
 CADMON MÆ FAUGO, 430, 431, 431, 438, 9.  
 Cahier, C. 425.  
 CARM, CARM, 175.  
 Calendar, runic, 219, 441.  
 Calverley, W. S. 420, 421, 448.  
 Camden, W. 121, 139.  
 Caprice of language, 198.  
 Cardonnel, A. 134, 439.  
 CARING, anguish, 177.  
 Carlberga stone, 374.  
 Carolingian style, 188, 432, 436.  
 Carmichael, A. A. 315.  
   " M. F. 315.  
 Carr, R. 206.  
 Carrawburgh, 427.  
 Cartailhac, E. 126.  
 Carthage weight, 16.  
 Caskets, 183, 200, 273.  
 Caspari, Prof. 381.  
 Cast metal-work, 129.  
 Cat stone, 448.  
 Catacombs, Roman, 172, 193.  
 Caulfield, R. 381.  
 Cavela, runic, 294.  
 CAYRE, drag, 447.  
 Cederschöld, G. 335, 353, 356.  
 Celibacy of the Clergy, 186.  
 Celsius, A. 346.  
   " O. 321, 324, 351.  
 Centaur, 428.  
 Ceolwulf, king, 197.  
 Ceorl's Wain, 162.  
 Cesnola, L. P. di. 108.  
 Chain-ring-work, 98.  
 Chalice, brass, 149.  
   " glass, 150.  
   " cut on grave-stones, 150.  
   " mark of a priest, 149.  
   " silver, bearing O. N. runic alphabet, 148.  
 Chalon, M. R. 241.  
 Chapelle-saint-Éloi finds, 16.  
 Charlemagne, 432, 436.  
 Charms, 379, 460.  
 Charnay Brooch, 97, 98, 151, 273, 301, 369, 431.  
 Chatze = Pilgrim, 213.  
 Cheapinghaven Danish, 1.  
 Chertsey Dish, 213.  
 Chessmen, 130.  
 Chessell-down grave, 157.  
   " sitting, 455, 459.  
 Chester-le-Street stone, 461, 2, 484.  
 Chijs, Prof. v. d. 235.  
 Chilperic, king, 202.  
 Christ, how symbolized, 345.  
   " Cross, 410, 411.  
   " " row, 112.  
 Christendom, early, 453.  
 Christian-Northern Art, 435.  
 Chronicle (O. Engl.), 192, 197, 237, 244, 371.  
 Church, how symbolized, 345.  
   " builders, 335, 346.  
   " wardens, 302.  
 Cimbris stone, 354.  
 CIPHER, see Twig-runes.  
 "Classical" = Greek, as well as Roman, 428.  
   " art in England, 435.  
 Clayton, J. 427.  
 Cleobury-Mortimer Dial, 160.  
 Clincher-nails, 116.  
 Cochet, M. 448.  
 Cockayne, O. 293, 317.  
 Coffins of oak, 193, 422, 447.  
 Coins, 365, 373, 381, 384, 386. See Baduilla, Constantinus,  
   Edmund, Erik Emune, Græslid, Harald Hardrede,  
   Irish, Runic, Scandinavian, Trial-pieces, William Rufus.  
   " of the Barbarians, 238, 245.  
 Cold, O. 288.  
 Collingham stone, 189.  
 Color in grave-letters, 8.  
 Columba, St. 172.  
 Colvin, Dr. 216.  
 Combetigues-Varennes, L. L. H. 441.  
 Combs, 36, 87, 106, 124, 180, 181, 466.  
 Compass, 161.  
 Constance, story of, 6.  
 Constantius, coin of, 172.  
 Contracted words, 292.  
 Coombs Spear-head, 270.  
 Cooper, W. D. 446.  
 Coquet-Island Ring, 213.  
 Coreyrean inscription, 429.  
 Corlin Bracteate, 280, 269, 270.  
   " Ring, 269, 270, 273.  
 CORN-REST, name, 374.  
 Corpse-removal, 351.  
 Corijn, P. J. 5, 98.



Cöstin, see Corlin.  
 Coventina, the goddess, 427.  
 Cow-bones in a How, 96.  
 Cramond Ring, 215.  
 Crete, the island, 284.  
 Croker, T. C. 232.  
 Cross-marks, 172, 410, 429, 443, 447.  
   " of Christ, 137, 8.  
   " and Legends, 437, 8.  
 Crowle stone, 185, 362.  
 Crusades, 322.  
 Cryptic writing, see Twig-runes.  
 Crystal Balls, 118.  
 Cuckoo, see Dove.  
 CUMBEL, mark, 174, 419.  
   " BOO, grave-kist, 174.  
 Cumberland, G. 217.  
 Cambria, 171.  
 Cuming, H. S. 204, 5.  
 Cumming, J. G. 139.  
 Cunceaster, 461.  
 Cunningham, A. 440.  
 CUMBUL-BOO, 417.  
 Cup-markings, &c. 7. s. 137, 146. See Chalice.  
 Cursor Mundi, 446.  
 Cuthbert, St. 192, 375.  
 Cutts, E. L. 54, 211.  
 Cynewulf, 439.  
 CYNIA, quin-name, 374.  
 Cyprus, 284.  
  
**D**-M rune, 407.  
 Dere stone, 443.  
 DAG-MÆL, sun-dial, 161.  
 Dahl, Rector, 365.  
 Dalby Diadem, 123.  
 DALLIDUN, 395.  
 Dalin, O. 320.  
 Dalem Bracteate, 245.  
 Damascening, see Swords.  
 Dance of Death, 252.  
 Danmark stone, 290.  
 Dansk Bracteate, 257.  
   " Cavel, 294.  
 Darenberg & Saglio, 425.  
 Darent, G. W. 108.  
 Dates, how given on runic pieces, 152.  
 Daughters could inherit, 87—9.  
 Daughter-in-law, words for, 143.  
 David & Goliath, 166.  
 Davis, J. B. 220.  
 DAY, the name, 83, 366.  
 De Caumont, A. 117.  
 DEAL, to share in, 366.  
 Dearham stones, 420, 447, 448, 462.  
 Declension, inward, 813.  
 DEEP, DEPTH, 366.  
 Delaunay, F. 267.  
 De Salis, J. F. W. 236 foll., 265.  
 Delsbo stone, 144, 290.  
 Deutsch, E. 243.  
 Devil, Assyrian, &c. 179.  
   " Bound, figures of, 179 foll.  
   " " unknown to the Early Church, 179. See Loke.  
   " how symbolized, 179.  
 Dewsbury stone, 200, 439, 462.  
 Diadems, 123.  
 Dialects, many olden, 85, 89, 387, 392, 396.  
 Dials, 160 foll.

Dice, 110.  
 Dickinson, F. II. 425.  
 Dickinson, W. 58.  
 Dickson, C. 38, 39, 65.  
 Dietrich, F. E. C. 3, 9, 15, 98, 204, 205, 292.  
 Dijkman, P. 348, 351.  
 DIP-STONE, font, 196.  
 Dishes, 213.  
 Divisional marks, uncommon, 103, 407, 457.  
 Djupbrunns Bracteates, 256.  
 Djurklou, G. 98, 229, 367.  
 Dobelsberg find, 127.  
 Dochonna, shrine of, 209.  
 Dodds, G. 186.  
 Dog-collars, 107, 108.  
   " names, 108.  
 DOM, might, rule, 53.  
   " sentence, doom, 203.  
 Domgiselus, the Goth, 202.  
 Domesday-book, 197.  
 Door, runic, 54, 200.  
 Dotchson, W. 180.  
 Double letters, 127.  
   " names, 210.  
 Douce, Fr. 165.  
 Dove, Cuckoo, 285.  
 Dover stone, 200, 390.  
 Dräffe stone, 201.  
 Dragon, or Serpent, as Satan, 179.  
   " ornament, 98.  
 Drawl, &c. in words, 73, 126.  
 Dream of the Holy Rood, 437, 439.  
 DRENG, soldier, 55, 312.  
 DRIHTEN, lord, 295, 317.  
 Drowning, death by, 141.  
 Drumm catha how, 307.  
 Drummond, J. 28.  
 Dryden, H. 8.  
 Du Noyer, Mr. 161.  
 Dumbel stone, 7.  
 Duncan, Dr. 433, 4.  
 Dundee, in Scotland, 312.  
 Dunegårda finds, 466.  
 Dunstan, St. 462.  
 Duplicate stones, 89.  
 Durham stone, 462.  
 Dybeck, R. 31, 60, 280, 283, 285, 288, 292, 306, 309,  
   310, 313, 314, 318, 322, 7, 330 -s, 340, 344, 5,  
   351, 352, 357.

**E** (W) type in England, 172; M and W, e, 390; †, e, 486.  
 -E (for -a), nom. s. mark, 277.  
 Eadbert Eating, king, 197, 8.  
 Eadmund, king, 462.  
 Eadulf, king, 441.  
 EALDE-MODER, 362.  
 Ear-pick, 308.  
 EARL, JARL, noun and name, 33, 133, 369.  
 Earle, J. 190.  
 EASTERWINE, 342.  
 Ear-leach-Turville Bracteate, 246.  
 Eata, bishop, 192.  
 Eatberht, 192.  
 ERA, quin-name, 342.  
 EVE, (O. Engl. = EWICK, 329.  
 Egbert, archb. 197.  
 Egfrith, king, 379.  
 Echinite, see Glostrup.  
 Eckersholm stone, 291.

- Edmonston. Th. 175, 368, 372.  
 Edmund. St. 302, 370, 411.  
 Edstone Dial. 386.  
 Edwin of Northumbria, 435.  
 Egard. P. 128.  
 Egelrie of Durham, 445.  
 Eggemo stone, 152.  
 Egil Skallagrímsson, 84.  
 Egtved stone, 369.  
 Egyptian Dogs and Dog-collars, 108.  
 " -Phoenician-Greek A, 429.  
 Eichhorn. C. 179.  
 Eidsberg slab, 412.  
 Eidsiva Law. 302.  
 EILFR, mansname, 358.  
 Einang stones, 50, 79—86, 97, 112, 301, 369, 391, 406, 431, 457.  
 EIR-TIGN, see LE-TEGN.  
 Ek stone, 41, 292.  
 EKE, also, truly, 177, 375.  
 Ekeby stone, 292.  
 Ekenames, 375, 7.  
 Ekhoft, E. 428.  
 Elfkarleby stone, 287.  
 Elgesem stone, 95, 96, 426, 7.  
 Elis, treaty of, 429.  
 ELK, name, 174, 414.  
 Ell-measures, 210.  
 Elleby, J. P. 128.  
 Ellinger, Father, 25.  
 Ems Brooch, 274.  
 -EN, verbal ending, 341.  
 Encrazia sarcophagus, 447.  
 Engeby stone, 6.  
 Engeslon, J. 353.  
 Engelhardt, C. 82, 122, 126, 133, 136, 140.  
 ENGLAND, how spelt, 6, 347.  
 " runes in a codex there, 292.  
 ENGLISH, first written example of this word, 104.  
 " settlements in Britain much earlier than is commonly said, 178, 240.  
 " dialects sprung from Scandinavia, 85, 178, 178.  
 " dialects in England, 388.  
 " Runic Coins, 236, 242, 246.  
 " Tombs in Norway, 262.  
 Ennes, Major, 325, 337.  
 ENOUGH (genos), 60.  
 Ephesian letters, 379.  
 Ercenwald, bishop, 176.  
 Erik Emune's Moneyer, 362.  
 ERKN-NESE, 414.  
 ERUM, we are, 394.  
 Escomb church slab, 484.  
 Essén, Count, 352, 361.  
 EST, thou art, 394.  
 Ethilberht, penny of, 202.  
 Etran coffin, 448.  
 Evans, J. 184, 160, 254, 386, 425.  
 "Ever-living grave-words", 145.  
 EVIG, endless, 144, 329.  
 Exeter book, 367.  
 EYR, to show, 162.  
 Eyrbyggja Saga, 238.  
 Eystein, king, 128.  
 "Fact", 1, 2, 3, 112.  
 Fairholt, F. W. 232.  
 Fairy-tale, Egyptian, 243.  
 FALA ORPI, fell, 349.  
 FÆLHRI, fellow, comrade, see Sparlösa, and FÆLAKR.  
 Fall of Man, 423, 424, 443, 447.  
 Faltstone grave-cross, 194, 362, 390, 162.  
 Fans, 220.  
 Fant, E. M. 225.  
 FAR AFLAFT, wealth got, 349.  
 Fardell stone, 8.  
 FARI-OS, mansname, 356.  
 Farlebro (or Fardabro) stone, 374.  
 Farman, the Glossator, 92.  
 FASTILIF, mansname, 352.  
 FAPER in gen. s. 392, 3.  
 FAWED, made, cut; various forms, 83—97, 159, 176, 278, 330, 369. — Afterwards GARED and MADE, 176.  
 FÆGFO, 431.  
 FÆDAN, to feed, suckle, 203.  
 Peddersen, A. 426.  
 Fenne-foss stone, 445.  
 FERGEN-HERIG, 201.  
 Ferguson, R. S. 447.  
 Fergusson, J. 178.  
 " R. 216, 218.  
 Ferslev stone, 296.  
 FETEL, baldrick, 167.  
 FEY, death-doomed; dead, 50.  
 FIET, see FAWED.  
 FÆLAKR = FÆLARI, 355. See FÆLHRI.  
 Finds and theories, 113.  
 FINHEDEN, 287, 351.  
 Finnerup Barbaric Gem, 254.  
 FISC-FLODT, 201, 2.  
 Fish-planting, 174.  
 FICPE, see FAWED.  
 Fjellerad stone, 30, 426.  
 Fjuckby stone, 87, 296.  
 Flårhing stone, 313.  
 Flatdal stone, 296.  
 Flateyjarbok, 279.  
 Flemlose stone, 98, 296, 355, 391, 431.  
 Florence of Worcester, 192, 197, 443, 162.  
 FLY, FLEE, swift boat, 55.  
 Fockstad stone, 41.  
 FOLDT, 201.  
 Fole stone, 297.  
 Fonnás Brooch, 83, 101—6, 391, 394.  
 Fontenailles Bell, 117.  
 Fonts, 84, 98, 194, 208, 221, 229.  
 " basin, 195.  
 " drain, 195.  
 " words for, 367.  
 Förde stone, 106, 108, 261, 362, 427.  
 Formulas against violating the tomb, 8.  
 FORN, old, heathen, 63.  
 FORSA Ring, 60, 297, 458.  
 " stone, 297.  
 Forsheda stone, 351.  
 Forshem tympanum, 229.  
 Förstemann, E. 244, 363, 365, 372, 373, 378, 379, 383, 145.  
 Fortuhn shrine-chest, 442.  
 Fosie stone, 303.  
 FODER, in olden Swedish, 59.  
 Fowler, J. T. 184, 185, 193, 195, 198, 200, 201, 209, 211, 414—16, 440.  
 FOX, A. L. 127.  
 FRAIN, to ask, 59.  
 Framvaren cliff, 98.

F-rune type F, 486.

F for w, 6.

.. how it melts away, 362.

.. -rune F, 442.

Franks, A. W. 159, 184, 204, 217, 270, 447, 459, 463  
" Casket, 200, 273, 390, 440, 441, 462.

Fratr. I. 441.

FRATRIK, HANDSNAME, 311.

FREA (FROE, FREY), 131.

Frederiksberg Amulet, 141, 396.

Freerslev stone, 85, 40, 142, 174, 361, 362, 391, 455.

Frei-laubersheim Brooch, 109—14, 273, 338.

Frestad stone, 303.

Friedländer, B. 249.

" M. 219.

Friederich Karl, prince, 425.

FRIEND drives out WIN, WINE, 176.

FRIPFIR, name, 370.

Fritzer, J. 363, 369.

Frøhaug figure, 96, 107, 426.

FROIA ARME! Lord have mercy! 381.

Frösö stone, 303.

Frössunda stone, 322.

Frost, R. 129.

Fuglie stone, 139, 304.

FULU-FILA, folk-feller, hero, 349.

FULMAR, name, 370

FULKS-KRIMR, folk-grim, chieftain, 349.

Furnivall, F. J. 6.

FUPE, see FAWED.

FUPOR, father, 484.

Fylfoot, 268, 409, 410, 484. See Thunor-mark.

Fyrby stone, 41.

G-type X in Scandia and England, 172, 413, 488.

" F. 442.

" P. 412.

" P. 414, 443.

" = GARPI, &c. 413.

prefix, see 1.

" stirring of, 385.

" and w, 455.

Gadd, J. A. 369.

Gailesuinth, queen, 201, 2

GAR, bless, guard, 136.

Gall, its meaning, 6, 10

Galla Placidia's Mausoleum, 439.

Gallehus Horns, 128—132, 227, 390, 427.

Gallic (oldest) grave-stones not in runes, 8.

Gällstad Font, 305, 367.

Gardehus, C. J. 124.

Garn stone, 304.

Garrucci, R. 447.

GAS-RICO, 201, 2.

Gasinge stone, 84.

GAST, 392.

GATTI E FINA! 342.

Gaulish grave-stones, 278.

Gauthem stone, 6.

Cavelkind, 88.

Celtorf, see Gettorf.

Gems, Barbaric-Classical, 250 foll.

Genealogies on ornaments, 104.

Gen. s. f. endings, 143.

" of dead man's name, 40, 41, 144, 174.

Geringius, E. 152.

" P. 152.

German grave-stones (oldest) neither in Runes nor in any German tung, 8.

" runes never existed, 288.

" " so called, 225—7.

"Germania", its meaning, 3.

Gettorf Bantates, 258, 463, 4.

GI, English mark for, 25

Giesingholm stone, 6, 136.

-GIFT, -GIVER, quin-names in, 372.

Giles, J. A. 14.

Gill, T. 217.

Gilles, St. 445.

Gilpin on Churchyard grammar, 1.

Gilton Sword, 34, 84, 163.

GIN-, KIN-, RUNES, 243.

Gislason, K. 4, 371, 385.

Gisul of Lombardy, 362, 386.

GIVE (to) a death-miune, 488.

Gjevedal grave-stem, 116.

GLAMA, to speak, GLAMUN, talkative, 347.

Glass Chalice, 150.

" Counters, 137.

" Goblets, 137, 260, 262.

" Horns, 130, 131, 137.

" Pastes, see Gems.

Glastonbury, 462.

Glavendrup stone, 305, 347, 357.

Glimminge stone, 305.

Glostrup Amulet, 138.

GO, GAE, GANG, 134, 371.

Gødeke, K. 24.

Gods, names of, 278, 357.

GOPE, g. s. priestess, 112, 338.

Golvestad stone, under SAN.

Gommor stone, 32, 33.

GOODDAY, name, 76.

Göran'son's Baitil, 409.

Gordon, Mr. 15.

Gospels, O. Engl. 383.

GOTI, Gunnar's war-steed, 54.

GOPE, GOTI, Priest-judge, 112, 338, 445.

Gothic March, 263, 485.

Goths and Scandinavians, 263 foll.

Goudie, G. 175.

Gourmas, the bird, 374.

Gow, W. 429.

Graft, E. G. 331.

Gran stone, under SAN.

Grana block, 306.

Granby stone, 306.

Grandmother, words for, 143.

Granheden stone, 56.

Græslid coin-hoard, 348, 443.

Græter, F. D. 25, 220, 226

Grau, O. 345.

Grauer, B. 128.

GRAVE, &c. 175.

" chamber, 55, 63, 406.

" formula, a second added, 63.

" imprecations, 305.

" monuments, oldest, in the West in Latin; in Scando-Anglic lands usually in the *folktung* and oftenest in runes, 191.

" " , word-dated, 152.

" " , heathen, as building-gear in a heathen tomb, 406, 457.

Graves, C. 410.

Gray, arch. 385.

Greaves, Mr. 182

Greece, 281, 349.

Greek in the West, 172, 426.

" art in the North, 183, 128.

Greenmount sword-belt, 6, 270, 307, 414

Greenwell, W. 186, 189, 221, 462, 3, 481

Gregory of Tours, 201.

Grein, C. W. M. 368.

Growingk, C. 268.  
 Griffin on rune-stones, 344.  
 Grimm, J. 285, 368, 363, 389.  
 " W. C. 25, 226, 271.  
 Gripsholm stone, 352.  
 Grödinge stone, under *sa*.  
 Gron, L. J. 378.  
 Gross, V. 425.  
 Grotefend, Dr. 204.  
 Grundtvig, N. 35, 64, 243.  
 Gryta stone, 308.  
 Guise, Duc de, 311.  
 Gulldrupa scribble, 84.  
 Gunnar the moneyer, 348.  
 Gunston, T. 205.  
 Gutacker, P. E. 129.  
 GUT-ORD, 338.  
 GUTR. see GOTE.  
 Gyldenså stone, 123.  
 GYPIA. see GOTE.

**H** prefix, see *L*.

" stave, 92.  
 HA-, HÆ-, 243.  
 Habbillingbo stone, 131, 308.  
 Hackness stone, 215, 390, 462.  
 Hadji = pilgrim, 213.  
 Hagelby stone, 309, 344.  
 Hagenow, F. 226.  
 Hageby stone, 31.  
 Hag-on, K. A. 43, 312, 313, 448, 452.  
 HAGUSTALD, youth, captain, 76, 77, 372.  
 Hahn, F. 207.  
 " K. A. 389.  
 Haigh, D. H. 4, 11, 160, 163, 180, 182—4, 186, 189, 192—7, 200, 201, 209, 212—18, 235, 236, 246, 313, 370, 386, 415, 425, 433, 434, 441.  
 Hainhem stone, 309, 352.  
 Hair-pins, 135.  
 HAITING, battle-ban, 233.  
 HAL-STUN, hill-stone, slab, 336.  
 HALAR, 391.  
 HÆLEND and NÆRIEND, 424.  
 Half-human figures in Christian art, 179.  
 Halfdan ravages Northumbria, 436.  
 Hall stone, 309.  
 Hallestad stones, 309, 356, 417.  
 Halliwell, J. O. 2.  
 Hallman, J. H. 152.  
 Halm, F. 172.  
 Halogaland whale-hunting, 412.  
 Hamilton, G. M. 8.  
 Hamlet, 294.  
 Hämlinge stone, 313.  
 Hammel stone, 40, 426.  
 Hammer of Thu(no)r, 340.  
 Hammerich, F. 438.  
 Haura stone, 343.  
 Hand of Benediction, 168.  
 " List of O. N. words, 469 foll.  
 Handelsmann, H. 463, 4.  
 Handmills, 127.  
 HÆNER, the god, 201.  
 Hangvar stone, 152.  
 Hansen, J. T. 485.  
 Hanssen, J. 260.  
 HARALDS, HARATS, HARALTR, HARALTE, HARALT, MANSNAME HARALD in ROM. 315.  
 Harald Hardrede's Coins, 348.

Hardy, S. 440.  
 Hargs-å stone, 56, 144.  
 Hargs-mo " . 309.  
 Härnacka stone, 316.  
 Harp-peg, 307.  
 Hartlepool stones, 189.  
 Hasselby stone, 310.  
 Hauberg, P. 426.  
 Hauggrün stone, 145, 352, 356, 418.  
 HAEKTA(ŷ), to drepe, kill, *hau*, 378.  
 Havelock lay, 364, 374.  
 Haverslund stone, 425.  
 Hawkins, E. 381.  
 Hazel-bough & St. Kentigern, 422.  
 " leaves in graves, 422.  
 " nuts, 448.  
 " rods, 448.  
 " wands in graves, 422, 447, 5.  
 Hazlitt, W. C. 294, 316.  
 Hearn, T. 14.  
 Heathen-Northern Art in Britain, 435.  
 Heda Sabre, 165.  
 Hedegaard, C. 149.  
 Heen in Norway, 320.  
 HEGEL, name, 134.  
 Heimdall, 379.  
 Heirloom Swords, 167.  
 Heise, A. 329.  
 Heiu, see Begu.  
 Helfferich, A. 4.  
 Helgans stone, 310.  
 Hell-mouth, 443.  
 Helle beck, 171.  
 Helms stone, 141, 391, 396, 431.  
 Hemming, see Ægili.  
 HENGIST (HANGIST — HENST — HEST), 57, 425.  
 " & Horsa, 425.  
 Henning, R. 5, 126.  
 Henszlmann, M. 265, 270.  
 Herbst, C. F. 15, 110, 125, 130, 140, 149, 217, 235 foll., 246, 249, 251, 255, 257, 259, 266.  
 Hermelin, O. 7, 281, 310, 326, 327, 345.  
 Hermits & Recluses, 211.  
 Herodias & her daughter, 201.  
 Hervarar Saga, 233.  
 HESSIL, name, 311.  
 Hesselgil Crag, 310.  
 HEVED, cut, endless forms in p. t. 67.  
 Hexham Cross, 433.  
 " Sea, 192.  
 Heyerdahl, Hr. 79.  
 HIALBI, foll. by a gen. 326.  
 Hickes, G. 14, 121, 264, 293.  
 HIL, HEL, HELL, HAL, rock, slab (MIL), 311, 336.  
 Hilda, St. 180, 182, 417.  
 Hildebrand, H. 22, 31, 42—4, 50, 165, 303, 308, 361, 404, 427, 464.  
 " B. E. 336.  
 HILDUDIR, name, 61.  
 HILL, see HIL.  
 Hillerød Bracteate, 255.  
 Hillesjö (or Hillersjö) stone, 144, 311.  
 Hillier, Mr. 157, 459.  
 HIM-PIKI, = HOME-THIGGER, one kept and answered for by another, who becomes his heir, 311.  
 Himlingöie Brooch, 124, 427.  
 Hinde, H. 7.  
 HJORTARPR, mansname, 357.  
 HJURTAP, in Helsingland, 301.  
 Hjärke, H. 303.



Hlotheri, king, 380.  
 Hoddum stone, 214.  
 Hodgson, J. F. 178.  
 Hofberg, H. 7, 146, 280, 323, 349.  
 Hofman, C. 4, 16, 109, 202.  
 Hofva stone, 312.  
 Hoga stone, 65—7.  
 Holberg, L. 383.  
 Holebo Hundred (the correction to *Holebro* is a mistake).  
 148, 467.  
 Holgård stone, 312.  
 Holgate, Mr. 197.  
 Holmberg, A. E. 39, 65.  
 Holmboe, C. A. 237, 426.  
 Holmen Bell, 117.  
 Holtzmann, Prof. 381.  
 Homily-books, Icelandic & Norse, 85.  
 Honungsby stone, 312.  
 Hoo and she, 104.  
 HORSE, 428.  
 Hörning stone, 146.  
 Horns, 227. See Gallehus, Hørsholm.  
 " on the head, 427.  
 Hørsholm Horn, 129.  
 Horstmann, C. 317.  
 Húsno Font, 84.  
 HOW, grave-mound, 175, 374, 417.  
 HRAITH-GOTHS, 53, 58.  
 " MAR, 54.  
 HRSI, mansname, 346.  
 HRITA, 3 s. p. wrote, 311.  
 HROALD, under HRTFR, 375.  
 Hübner, Aem. 370, 371, 386, 429.  
 HULMS, mansname, 322.  
 Hune stone, 41, 144.  
 Hunish Sword, 167.  
 Hunterston Brooch, 98, 320.  
 Husaby Museum, 7, 8, 129, 150, 169, 404, 442, 458.  
 Husby stones, 281, 356, and under SAN.  
 HUSK, 331, 375.  
 Huwal, king, 443.  
 HVALF, kist, grave, 288.  
 HVALTLING, in Gotland, 318.  
 HUAPR, mansname, 318.  
 Hvit-inge, Hvit-onge, Hvit-wong, 57.  
  
**I** AM, 105.  
 " (EC, IAK, IH), 33, 105, 133, 375.  
 " formula in. I. 34, 84, 431.  
 " (KI, G, H, &c. as prefix), 278.  
 " = IN, 173.  
 " and w interchange, 157.  
 " slurring of, 91, 159.  
 " sound of, 166.  
 -IA, as nom. fem. ending, 29, 243, 373.  
 IÆ-TEGN, 370, 1.  
 IAIUKA, ayo, ever, 279, 329, 455.  
 IAK, see I.  
 IÆPRI, dat. place-name, 349.  
 Ibn Ezra, 219.  
 -IG, -IG, -ING, -ING, 465.  
 Icelandic not Old-Northern, 356.  
 " runic door, 200.  
 Iditius, bishop, 238.  
 Idol figure at Alten-Kirchen, 132.  
 " Horns, 130, 131.  
 " of wood, 426.  
 IG-BIND \*, 426.  
 IGFLÆD, womansname, 375.

IOKIR, = INGIKIR, womansname, 348.  
 IGLEUGÆ, 426.  
 ILEPR, name, 370.  
 IL, 34, 375, 446.  
 Imma's story, 379.  
 IN-TIER, 420.  
 Infinitive in -AN, 60, 61.  
 ING-RUNE, see NG.  
 -ING, patronymics in, 210, 278, 376.  
 INGA's, 4 grave-stones to her husband, 311.  
 Ingelstad stone, 69.  
 Inga stone, 313.  
 Inheritance, see Daughters.  
 INITHIA, quin-name, 374.  
 Inlay on metal, 159, 160, 165, 266, 270, 307, 383.  
 Inside the grave, runic stones found, 116.  
 Instrumental case, 193.  
 INTR MATAR, 332.  
 Introduction, 1—17.  
 INUR, name, 370.  
 JOD, child, son, 112.  
 JOFT, 3 s. p. hewed, workt, 346.  
 Irish Coins, 313.  
 Iron Age in the Gothic March, 269.  
 " " in Scandinavia, 267, 8.  
 " Laws, 373.  
 Irton stone, 200.  
 Irvine, A. R. 320.  
 Irving, W. 127.  
 ISA, quin-name, 338.  
 Isabella's Sword, 165.  
 ISIN, see SAN.  
 Istaby stone, 33, 35.  
 ISTEIN = STEIN, 341.  
 IPALTRE, womansname, 322.  
 IPHA, to ih, busy, 341.  
 IE, womansname, 337.  
 IUA, mansname, 337.  
 IUFFI = IFUR, mansname, 337.  
 IUNGA, IUNGI, = UNGA, UNGI, 279.  
 IUNOR, mansname, 355.

**J**ade & Jadeite, 444.  
 Jäder stones, 313, and under SAN.  
 Jäderstad stone, 343.  
 Jacobæus, H. 296.  
 Jacobsen, Cand. 251.  
 Januarius' (St.) tomb, 439.  
 Jarrow, 433, 6.  
 JAR-TECKEN, see IÆ-TEGN.  
 Jātakas of Buddha, 440.  
 Jättendal stone, 50, 301.  
 Jerna stone, 313.  
 Jessen, E. 4.  
 Jessigård pocket alphabet, 442.  
 John Baptist, 201.  
 " St. his symbol, 410.  
 Johnson, R. J. 162.  
 Jonah, 207.  
 Jones, W. 113, 213, 227.  
 Jonson, Ben, 105.  
 Jørgensen, A. D. 146, 350.  
 Josephus, 219.  
 Julia Martina's tomb-stone, 429.  
 Jyderup amulet, 146.

**K** (Greek or Roman), 72, 3.  
 " for H, 279.

K see KIN.

KÆF, GAVE, see Sparlösa.

KAIRLAUK, womansname, 311.

Kälfvesten block, 448, 467.

KALI, name, 358.

Kallbyås stone, 314.

Kallerup stone, 40, 139.

Kälstad stones, 357.

KAN, see KIN.

Kanwick-Common Sword, 447.

Kareby font, 314.

KARIA, to CARRY, drive, 419, 420.

Karkstad stone, 314.

KARMATR, carlman, captain, 333.

Kärnbo stone, 84.

in KÄRSTOKUM, in Gårdstånga, Skåne, 351.

KAT, with inf. 420.

KEENA, brooch, 97, 98, 365.

Keltic ornament, 319.

Kelto-Northumbrian art, 183, 191.

Kemble, J. M. 121, 156, 167, 292, 293, 376, 377, 383, 430.

Kempff, H. 282.

Kenefegge stone, 8.

KENLIKT, kenly, seen far off, 358.

Kennett, bishop, 281.

Kent Knife, 160, 270.

" Runic Mon. 4.

" Swords, 163.

Kentigern, St. 172, 422.

Kenyon, R. L. 381.

KI, prefix, see I.

" = KIARPU, 334.

KIARN, ac. s. in., dear, beloved, 329.

KIARPI, dat. s., the GARTH, enclosure, 348.

KIAPAR, mansname, 311.

KIL, GILL, GILLE, boy, 311.

KILA, in Södermanland, 326.

KILAUD, womansname, 327.

Kilbar stone, 315, 444.

Killerup Bracteates, 249, 255.

Kilmalkedar stone, 229.

KIN, race, 366.

KIN-, KAN-, K-, KN-, KIN-, KUNI-, KINA-, KUN- RUNA- -RUNDAR-  
-STINA. &c. 278, 357, 358, and the Bröta stone under  
SAN. And see KN.

King, C. W. 113.

Kinneved stone, 21—3.

KIRAN, to CARE, make, 341.

Kirchhoff, A. 227.

Kirgiktörsoak stone, 152.

Kirk Michael stone, 56, 139.

Kirkburn Dial, 162.

Kirkby, J. de, 385.

Kirkby's Inquest, 197.

Kirkby-Stephen Church, 178; the sculptured grave-block  
found there, 179.

Kirkdale Dial, 161, 214, 366.

" stone, 184, 214.

Kirkebö stone, 316, 466.

Kirchen-middens, 180, 2.

KITA = GITA, to GET, let, 357.

KITELBARN, name, 426.

KITILPIRIPR, womansname, 357.

Klemming, G. E. 219, 354.

KN, see KIN.

" = KUN, KUP, GUN, war, battle, see Sparlösa.

Knabstrup Horns, 130.

Knife-handles and Knives, 133, 205, 270.

Knob and Ring or Button on Sword-pommel, 166.

Knoch, G. M. 354.

Knouau Early Iron Age find, 203.

Knut, St. 441.

" the Great, 445.

Kock, A. 390, 419.

Kolm & Mehlis, 259, 267, 8.

Kolind stone, 325.

Kolindsund Dog-collar, 107.

Kongs Husby stone, 322, 356.

KÖRA, 420.

Körkö, see Tjörkö.

Korpebro stone, 314, 316.

Korsödegård Sword, 168, 425.

KOPS MANS MINI, 358.

Kovel Spear-head, 230, 247, 266, 486.

Krag, J. 371.

Kragehul Box-lid, 133.

" Knife-handle, 133.

" Snake or Fish, 133—6.

" Spear-shaft, 33, 133—6, 166, 362, 390, 446.

KRAULATR, 333.

Krogstad stone, 31, 452.

Kronogård stone, 358.

Kruse stone, 3, 7.

Krusing, G. 125, 9.

KU-LIFR, KU-RIFR, KU-TIFR, 308.

Kugler, F. 428.

Kuhn, C. F. 442.

KUL, COLL, adoption, 146.

Kunila stone, 317, 318, 356.

KUN-, see KIN-, and p. 308.

KURIL, the lady, 295.

KUSTRU = KOPS TRU, 332.

Kvamme stone, 355, 378.

Lacroix, P. 117, 165.

Läderstad stone, 318.

Lagergren, J. E. 22, 287, 291.

" G. C. 325

Lagnö rock, 318.

LAL, mansname, 326.

Lamb (Christ), 443.

Lancaster stone, 184, 390.

Lance, see Spear.

Landgren, L. 291.

LANDMAN, 331.

Landnama book, 366, 374.

Lange, Prof. 15.

Languages endlessly capricious, 193.

Latin letter-shapes, 438.

Laurberg stone, 358.

Laws crescent-plate, 319.

Layamon, 306.

Leaden Coffins (Roman), 172.

" Fig. 169.

Le Blant, E. 2, 8, 16, 67, 100, 141, 160, 207, 232, 239,  
245, 278, 377.

Ledebyr, Hr. v. 251.

Ledinge stone, 58.

LEE, sickle, 376.

Leech-book, Dansk, 369.

Leeds stone, 215.

Leffler, L. F. 55, 314.

Lefroy, J. H. 307.

Legis, G. T. 226.

Leipzig Barbaric Gem, 254.

Leixner, O. v. 17.

Lena stones, 287, and under SAN.

Lenæus, K. N. 291.

Lerchenfeld, F. 15.

LEUTWIT, 447.  
 Lewis find, 130.  
 LIC-BEACON, grave-stone, 188.  
     " HOME, body, 176.  
 Lid stone, 174.  
 LIFSTIN, mansname, 351.  
 LIGHT & DARKNESS, on heathen grave-stones, 8.  
 LIKA, LONG, 329.  
 Liljegren, J. G. 20, 39.  
 Liljencron, R. 226.  
 Linas, Ch. de, 265.  
 Lincoln Comb. 37, 466.  
     " stone, 302, 370.  
 Lind, bishop, 254.  
 Lindal, P. J. 333.  
 Lindberg, C. F. 43, 297.  
 Lindenschmit, L. 5, 109, 158, 172, 229.  
 Linder, N. 31.  
 Lindholm Snake or Fish, 33, 34, 133, 361, 362, 449.  
 Lindisfarne codex, see Manuscripts.  
     " Coffin, 193, 462.  
 Linga & Yoni, 7, 8, 68, 425, 6.  
 Lingsberg stone, 330.  
 Lion, as a symbol, 345.  
 Litore solutoria, 379, 380.  
 Littré, facts of language, 2.  
 LITULF, mansname, 349.  
 Litzel, G. 108.  
 LIP, I LIP, 350, 445.  
 LIPEN, LIPIN, gone, 332, 376.  
 Ljung, J. E. 448.  
 Ljunga stone, 414.  
 LUGRITA, folk-right, 300.  
 Liverpool Museum, 163.  
 Llanvair-Talhaiarn font, 367.  
 LN or ML in the runic Futhork, 151.  
 LOAR, wife, 373.  
 Local surface-hindrances modify letter-shapes, 102.  
 Loccenius, J. 225.  
 Locharneart font, 195.  
 Löffler, J. B. 132.  
 Lofí stone, 320.  
 LOKÉ (the Scandian Devil), 57, 201.  
     " figure of, 179.  
 LONDON and LUND, 350.  
 Longinus, see Spear-bearer.  
 LOOK, to bless, 316.  
 Loosemore, P. W. 425.  
 Lorange, A. 4, 79—81, 86, 95, 106, 107, 131, 262, 369, 382, 405, 407, 408, 456.  
 Loscombe, Mr. 217.  
 Losh, S. 429.  
 LOW, grave-mound, 78, 175, 374, 391, 2.  
 Ludevig, J. P. 226.  
 Luke, St., his symbol, 410.  
 Lund Bracteate, 258.  
     " Comb, 466.  
 Lund stone, 321.  
 Lunda stone, 321.  
 Lundby stone, 322, 3.  
 I LUNDI, LUNDUNUM, 350.  
 Lungers-ås stone, 323.  
 Lutfallah in Málwáh, 128.  
 Lyde, W. 171.  
 Lynch-law, 77.  
 Lyons, P. A. 10.  
 Lysons, D. & S. 420.  
 Lytton, Lord, 113.

M-type M. 92.  
     " M. 151, 172, 429.  
     " H. 258.  
     " Y. 347.  
     " H. 408.  
 Mac Donald, Capt. 218.  
 Macbeth, king, 312.  
 Mackay, C. 3.  
 Maclean, H. 6.  
 Maclear, G. F. 434.  
 Macregol (Macreguil), the scribe, 32.  
 Madden, F. 130, 306.  
 MADE ME, the formula, 102.  
 Maeshowe stones, 214, 320, 341, 352, 393.  
 Maffei, B. 371.  
 Magic Mirror, see Cristal Ball.  
 Maglekilde amulet, 147.  
 Magnus (St.) Cathedral, 54.  
     " king, his Stadga, 145.  
 Magnussen, F. 6, 120, 294.  
 Magnusson, E. 10, 220.  
 Mainz grave-elab, 172.  
 MAL-SWORD, inlaid sword, 167.  
 Mallösa stone, 323.  
 Malsta stone, 32, 324.  
 Manmen find, 270.  
 MANISSE, see MESSE.  
 Manners, G. 216.  
 Mantle cut amiss, 335.  
 MANTR, man, 321.  
 Manuscripts: Arn. Magn. 187, p. 369.  
     " Bodl. Oxf. Rushworth Gospels, 92, 192, 373.  
     " " " Nero, D. II, 19, p. 14  
     " " " p. 14.  
     " Brit. Mus. Add. 10, 374, p. 10.  
     " " " Calig. XV, p. 292.  
     " St. Chad's Gospels, 183.  
     " Cambr. Corp. Chr. 144, p. 394.  
     " Dubl. Trin. Col. 11.  
     " " Bk of Ballymote, 10, 11.  
     " Leyden, 202.  
     " Lindisfarne, 183, 192, 445.  
     " Rome. Vat 266 fol. 9.  
     " Salzburg, S. 119, p. 12.  
     " Urbino. Cod. 290, p. 11.  
     " Vindob. Cod. 1609, p. 13.  
     " " " 1761, p. 13.  
     " olde-t in Scandinavia are only in Middle-Scandian  
     book-dialects, 52.  
 Manx stones, 98.  
 Marcomannic runes, 225.  
 Mere Hair-pin, 135, 420.  
 MARINGS, 55.  
 Mark, St., his symbol, 410.  
 Marker, Hr. 128.  
 Marlot, Dom. 166.  
 Martina stone, 324.  
 MARM, stead-name, 334.  
 MARSWIN, man-name, 334.  
 Martin's (St.) in Canterbury, 434.  
     " " near Limburg, the Ivory carving there, 467.  
 Martin (St.) of Tours 434, 5.  
 Martyrdom, 173, 178.  
 Maryport, 427.  
 MASE, name, 374.  
 Masham column, 466.  
 Mæso-Gothic, its sibilant, 396.  
 Mæss-singing loosens bonds, 380.  
 Massmann, H. F. 12, 13.

- Måstad stones, 5.  
 MATER SACRORUM, 372.  
 Mathew, St., his symbol, 410.  
 MAT-NOUT, mess-mate, 333.  
 Maughan, J. 285, 310, 433.  
 Maurer, K. 302.  
 Maximilian Museum, 158.  
 Mayer, J. 163.  
 MEAWE, MEW, MEWYS, name, 374, 377.  
 ? Mecklenburg Bracteate, 249.  
 Melbourne Museum, 166.  
 Meldal, P'astor, 125.  
 Mercury, the Gallic, 372.  
 Mere-stones, 358, 361.  
 MERLESWAIN, name, 377.  
 MEROLA, quid-name, 377.  
 MESKU, MAWISSEKU, with mildness, 280, 317.  
 MESR = MESTR, 347.  
 Mestorf, J. 250.  
 METAN, ac. s. m. MEET, worthy, 358.  
 Meyer, P. 437.  
 MIA, a maid 374.  
 Michael (St.) takes Thu(n)r's place as smiter of the fiend  
 and guardian of the dead, 179, 342.  
 Migration, 2.  
 MIX, MEK, ME, 166.  
 Miliscent de Monte Alto, 197.  
 MINSTER-MAN, monk, 181.  
 Mints, Roman & Barbarian, 288.  
 Mint-masters, 242.  
 Mint-master formulas, 242.  
 MIRILE, name, 92, 93, 100.  
 Missiles, inscribed, 135.  
 Mitchell, A. 23, 444.  
 MIP-KI[ar]pu, 331.  
 MIFKIN, under MØBKIN.  
 MICK KUPAN PIEN, 484.  
 MI or LM in the Futhork, 151.  
 Moe, M. 425.  
 Moodoc, St. 207.  
 Moissac Bell, 117.  
 Møjebro stone, 16, 17, 31, 362, 390.  
 Mølbech, C. 58, 367, 369, 446.  
 Molio's (St.) Cave, 320, 413.  
 Monk-Wearmouth stone, 214, 436.  
 Montelius, O. 37, 41, 67, 113, 167, 229, 240, 256, 260,  
 262, 267, 268, 270, 314, 343, 464.  
 Monuments, destruction of, 8.  
 Moorkjartan's Dog, 108.  
 Mörby stone, 144.  
 Mörylänga stone, 69.  
 Morris, R. 281, 316, 317, 365, 384, 427, 416, 7.  
 Mortillet, G. 444.  
 Moser, J. J. 225.  
 Moses, 243.  
 MOT, MOTI, stamp, coin, 348, 377.  
 Mother, name after, 323.  
 MØBKIN, MØBKIN, MØBKIN, neut. pl.; MØBKUR, f. pl.; MØBKIRIN.  
 MIFKIN, neut.; MIFKIN, MIFKIN, MIFKIN, 330.  
 Mound-burial, 63.  
 MUCUL, name, 377.  
 Mullenhoff, K. 4, 226, 371.  
 Müller, S. 37, 183, 254, 431.  
 Munch, P. A. 72, 220, 227, 320.  
 Müncheberg Spear-head, 269, 270, 486.  
 Mundy, S. 126.  
 Münster, bishop, 16.  
 MUNU, d. s. f. stead-name, 329.  
 Murray, J. A. H. 2.  
 Musellius, J. 253.  
 MIFKIN, MIFKIN, under MØBKIN.  
 MYSINGE, stead-name, 453.  
 Myths & Legends of the North, 201.  
 -N, pronom. ending, 104.  
 " , verbal ending, 59, 87, 134, 286, 287, 341.  
 " , slurring and nasalizing of, 157, 159, 173, 181, 396.  
 N not yet elided, 278, 9.  
 -N, -IN, -ING, nouns in, 385.  
 -NA, -NE, gen. pl. ending, 366.  
 Naiton, Nectan, king, 435, 6.  
 Names of weapons, 166.  
 " , peoples, 269.  
 " , Ekenames, 59, 89.  
 " , scribbles, 124, 157.  
 Nærå stone, 100.  
 Näs stone, 488.  
 Nasal (of helmets), 203.  
 Næsberg Bracteates, 247, 8.  
 NE, dot, 177. See ALI.  
 NEEG, to bend, 378.  
 Nei-h, J. 320.  
 Neminius, stave-row of, 14.  
 NEMO, NEMNE, all but, 419.  
 NEORCSNA-WANG, 57.  
 NERIAN, to save, 424.  
 Nes Brooch, 102.  
 Nescher, D. G. 354.  
 Net-weights, 107.  
 Nethil's Casket, 183, 390, 466.  
 NO-RUNE S, 151.  
 " " Q, 486.  
 " " Q, 247, 268.  
 " " X, 258, 268.  
 " " S, 420.  
 " " ? Q, 230.  
 NG a faint half-nasal, 285.  
 Nicetas Choniatus, 284.  
 Nicholas, abbot, 284.  
 " , bishop of Roskilde, 150.  
 " , H. 374.  
 Nicknames, see Ekenames.  
 Nicolaysen, N. 95, 118, 229, 384, 412.  
 Nielsen, O. 373.  
 Nimian, St. 172, 435.  
 Nis = Hordnas, 445.  
 Nith-song, 306.  
 NIV NG-CHAN, 121.  
 Njål's S-ga, 108.  
 Nöbbelöf stone, 324, 354.  
 NOMIN, mark (-s. &c.), 143, 388 foll., 455. — See -s.  
 Nömme stone, 325.  
 NOR, NOER, NURIS, &c., a baby, 143.  
 Nora stone, 287.  
 Norby stone, 41.  
 Nordendorf Brooches, 105, 157, 158, 273, 362.  
 Nordenskjöld, C. F. 26, 43, 68, 337, 449.  
 Normalized texts — wastepaper, 387.  
 Norrala stone, 325.  
 Norrköping Dial, 163.  
 North-English, 439.  
 Northern Museum, Stockholm, 105.  
 Northumberland, Duke of, 484.  
 Northumbrian Brooch, 184, 390.  
 " Casket, 183, 200.  
 " Runic Monuments, 4.  
 Norum font, 153.  
 Notini, Hr. 39.  
 Nouns, nom. s. in -s, 277, 388 foll., 488.



Nouns, old n. s. in -r, 277, 388 foll.

" nom s. in -e, 277.

" ac. s. in a vowel or half-vowel, 278.

" nasal, 278, 328.

" gen. s. f. in -ur, 278.

" in Old-North, 394, 397.

Numerals, no runic, 152.

" Runized Roman, 152.

" conventional half-runic, 152.

" modern runic, 152.

NUR, NURA, 356.

NURUS, daughter-in-law, 143.

NYTI FIAR, 342.

Ny Larsker stone, 55, 355.

Nyberg, N. 328.

Nyble stone, 41, 326, 355, and under SAN.

Nydam Sword sheath clasp, 124.

-O, -u, -A, &c. 3 s. p. of verbs, 84, 136, 173, 174, 278, 388, 395, 481.

" " " as nominal endings, 112.

" " 3 pl. p. ending, 395.

o for w, 6.

Oath-ring, 237, 244.

" -sweating, 443.

oc, ac, but, 174.

Oddum stone, 326.

Oden, see Woden.

Odensholm stone, 108, 326.

Ódman, J. 39, 65.

Odobesco, Mons. 265.

O'Donovan, J. 209, 347.

Offering-boards, 127, 8.

Ogham alphabets, 10, 11.

" Brooch, 157.

" stones, 7, 8, 127.

OH, see A.

Ohlershof stone, 17.

Ohthers the Norseman, 412.

ok, eke, also, 385.

Olaf Peacock, 108.

" Saint, 277.

Olaf's Saga, 350, 1.

Old Byland Dial. 161.

" North English, 157, 159, 173, 178, 181, 191, 2.

Olesen, J. 142.

Oliphant, T. L. K. 3.

Olsen, K. 142.

Olsson, P. 303.

-ON, subst. fem. ending, 375.

ON-LOTR, mansname, 334.

o'-SMEE, regard, bless, 181.

ONALAFBALD, name, 375, 378.

OND, AND, soul, 392.

One language in Scandinavia — an absurdity, 277.

ONLAF = OLAF I, p. 215.

Onsala stone, 327.

ONSK, quin-name, 378.

Oppert, Prof. 267.

Orans, on a grave-stone, 433.

Order of letters in the Futhork, 151.

Orja stone, 355.

OREN-HÖRDI, name, 414.

Orkney Saga, 284.

ORM-ALDR, 419.

Ormulum, tho, 181.

Ornamentation, 183, 432, 433, 438, 440.

Orstad stone, 99, 390, 426, 7.

Orsunda stone, 327.

Ösby stone, 68, 69, 355, 391.

OSGUT, name, 370.

ÖSTEINI, name, 341.

Östberga stone, 286, 357.

Osthofen Brooch, 98, 102, 159, 166, 273, 302, 391, 431.

OST-OSU, name, 341.

Oswald's (St.) Church stone, 484.

Oswulf, king, 197.

OTHER, runic forms, 53.

ÖTHILWALD, king, 184.

Ötte, H. 143.

Öurö golden Rood, 277.

Outyard Loka, 179.

Over-selo stone, 327.

Ownership, formulas of, 105.

OWNS ME, 159, 169.

OWEN, the glossator, 92.

P

P--marks, 172.

"Padding" in later transcripts, 439.

Pails, 137.

Painted runes, 335.

Palaeographic material, 463.

PALFREYMAN, name, 374.

Palgrave, F. 173.

Palimpsest stones, 8, 215, 370.

Palm-branch, 171, 2.

Paine Toke, see .Egili.

PANE — IT-ANE, 378.

Panizzi, A. 159.

Paradi-e, 57.

Paris, G. 445.

Passive verb, 388, 396.

" " not found in the oldest Northern or in its daughter — English, 389, 396.

Patronymics, 210, 278.

Pancher, Land-Rechte, 88.

Paulinus of York, 435, 439, 440.

Pauli, J. R. 128.

Paulus diaconus, 285.

Penates, 8.

Penmon Cross, 98.

Peringskiöld, J. 150, 329, 348, 350, 351, 357.

Perthes, B. de. 1.

PETER'S LAKE, 219.

" TONSURE, monkhood, 197.

Peterson, J. M. 35, 64, 122, 296, 303, 326, 333, 340, 342, 357.

" K. R. H. 40.

" L. 123.

Petrie, G. 23, 229.

Petrus Jacobi, 379.

Phallic stones, see Linga.

Philology, 387.

Phonetic marks, 407, 411, 484.

Phonice Barbaric Gem, 254.

Piedsted stone, 327.

Pig of lead, 169.

Pilbrow, Mr. 172.

Pilgårds stone, 328, 386, 455.

Pilgrims, 448.

Piper, F. 428.

Pistol's Sword, 165.

Place-names in d. pl. -w, 351.

Planes, 124, 5.

Pluquet, F. 374.

Pommels (triangular), 163, 166, 408, 428, 447.

Poole, G. A. 445.

Post-article, 388, 396.

Poste, Mr. 178.

Powley, Miss, 175.  
 Prayer-attitude, 453.  
   " formulas, 48, 48, 243, 316, 317, 352.  
 Prepositions in O. N. 398, 401.  
 Presentation-sword, 166.  
 Priapus & Cups, see *Linga*.  
 Printz, Dr. 79, 81, 86.  
 Procolitia-Carrawburgh, 427.  
 Pronoun dat. dual, OKS. 278.  
   " g. pl. m. USA, 278.  
   " ac. pl. f. TCA, 278.  
 Pronouns in O. N. 394, 398, 400.  
 Pucklechurch, 462.  
 Pudsey, H. 221.  
 Purnell, Mr. 217.  
 Pay altar-stone, 100.  
 Pyxes, 172.

**Q** often omitted in runic alphabets, 442.  
 QECQ, QUETCH, QUITCH, to shake, move, make tremble, 177, 8.  
 QERNYS, 229.  
 QUICK, still living, on grave-stones, 84, 356.

**R** and **A** for -R. 389.  
   " " as vocalic ending, 278, 335, 370, 389.  
 -R, nom. s. ending, 77, 84, 85, 98, 143, 173, 277, 388, 389, 396. — See -s.  
   " verbal ending, s. & pl., 395.  
 Refsal stone, 88—41, 391.  
 RAGFAST, mansname, 311.  
 Raine, J. 37, 169.  
 "RAISE", "GARE", a grave-stone, 801.  
 RAISE, RASSE, a cairn, 80, 175, 379.  
 RALPH, older & later forms, 59, 67.  
 Ralston, W. R. S. 213.  
 Ramstad stone, 330.  
 Randers pocket-alphabet, 442.  
 RASSTEN, see Eckerholm.  
 Rask, H. C. 379.  
   " H. K. 3.  
   " R. K. 360, 379.  
 RASKUR, mansname, 316.  
 RASSE, see RAISE.  
 RÆSTÆ, to rest, 328.  
 Rath-donnell, Lord, 807, 808.  
 RATI, outlaw, 847.  
 Read, C. H. 463.  
 Reade, G. H. 308.  
 Rebus, 232, 484.  
 Reeves, W. 192.  
 Reginaldus, 221.  
 Reidstad stone, 99, 406, 426, 7.  
 Reifferscheid, A. 9, 11.  
 Reims Sarcophagus, 166.  
 Relief stones, 344.  
 Reliquary, see Shrine.  
 REMULUS = REMUS, 203.  
 REBE, ruin, death, 175.  
 REST in the grave, 55.  
 Resta amulet, 146.  
 RESTÆ, to rest, 328.  
 Resurrection of Christ, 207.  
 Reusén, E. 181.  
 RH for HR, 116.  
 Rhabanus Maurus, 225.  
 Riant, P. 322.  
 Ricardus the architect, 221.  
 Richard, St. 448.

Richardson, H. 443.  
 Richert, M. B. 376.  
 Rieger, M. 4, 109, 111, 158, 274.  
 Rietz, J. E. 58.  
 RIKAN STRINK, rich, hard, elegant string or worm-ribbon, 327.  
 RIKMUTR = RIKMUND, mansname, 357.  
 Rimbo stone, 331.  
 RIME, to enlarge, 370, 1.  
 Rimes, runic, 332.  
 RING, in Gotland, 309.  
 Ring-mail, 237, 453.  
 Rings, 106, 118, 169, 199, 213, 215, 216, 251, 265, 269, 297, 404, 463, 466. — See Oath-ring.  
 RITU, 3 pl. p. REDDE, ordered, 351.  
 Rivett-Carnac, H. 7.  
 Robin Hood, see Ægili.  
 Robinson, T. W. W. 439.  
 Rockelstad stones, 89, 331, 358.  
 Rock-carvings, 93.  
 Rocks uplifted since they were inscribed, see Valsfjord, Væblungsmes, Framvaren, and p. 93.  
 Rodney, Lord, 126.  
 Rogberg, S. 325.  
 Roger de Caen, 187.  
   " J. C. 319.  
 Rogslösa stone, 331.  
 Rök stone, 41—64, 90, 456.  
 Rolf, Rollo, (Jarl), 173.  
 Rolleston, G. 77.  
 Roman stone at Brough, 170.  
   " " Lincoln, 370.  
   " Art in Britain, 434.  
   " letters, English words, 462.  
 Römer, Hr. v. 236.  
 Römes-fell Walrus-teeth, 411.  
 Romulus & Remus, 202.  
 Rönne Bracteate, 466.  
 RONOA, &c., not ROROR, &c. 243, 391.  
 Rood, golden, 277.  
 Rook, G. v. 68.  
 Rörbro stone, 332.  
 Rosetta stone, 5.  
 Roskilde Barbaric Gem, 251.  
 Ros-lagen, 269.  
 Ross, H. 426.  
 Rössig, K. G. 226.  
 ROSTEN, mansname, 358.  
 Rotbrunna stone, 332.  
 ROAR's expedition, 322.  
 Rudbeck, O. 337.  
 RUFRA, quin-name, 325.  
 RUG clan, 59.  
 Rügen stone, 16, 17.  
 RULÆFUS = ROLF's, 358.  
 RUNA, RUNE, &c., not RUNER, &c. 112, 243, 391.  
 RUNA-RITAR, RENOR-RITAR, RUNAR-RITAR, 322, 391.  
 RUNA-RAT, REMI-RAT, RUNI-ROBO, 322, 391.  
 Runes, Rune-staves, 379, 446.  
 Rune-bearing things, the latest, 125.  
   " -berget, see Hillesjö.  
   " -stones as boundary-marks, 380.  
   " words & Roman words, 462.  
 Runes, the so-called German, 225—7.  
   " redd twice, 210.  
   " Marcomannic, 225.  
   " not first magical, 229.  
   " used for magic, 379.  
   " painted, 335.  
   " Wendish, 226.  
 Runic a Greek alphabet, 183.

Runic Calendars. 219, 220.

" Cavels, 294.

" Coins, 348.

" " only struck by Scando-Angles, 241, 315.

" Fans, 220.

" Literature, 3--5, 450.

" Rings, see Rings.

" & Roman letters, 462.

" Stamps, 458.

" Tobacco-boxes, 220.

Rus. Rusi, Russian, 269.

Rushworth Gloss, 372, 373, 445.

Russwurm. C. 347.

Ruthwell Cross, 50, 98, 188, 189, 286, 301, 390, 391, 429.

480 foll. 439, 462, 467.

RTPUISL, mansname, 390.

Ryda stone, 356.

Rydberg, V. 5. 21, 32, 35.

Rydgvist, J. E. 59, 112, 157, 361, 366, 390, 455

Rygh, K. 73, 74, 77, 114, 115, 117, 118, 135, 411.

Rygh, O. 5, 93, 102, 105, 114, 168, 229, 245, 240, 262,

297, 335, 339, 369, 405, 412, 413, 427, 428, 445, 453.

S-runes, 103, 126, 134, 158--60.

" which sinks to s, 388.

-s. nom. in, 388, 488. — See -r.

" as passive ending, 389.

Sabb Sword. 362, 407, 447, 484.

Sabros, 165, 267.

SACERDOS = bishop, 191, 3.

Sæding stone, 147.

SAEN, SAIN, see SAN.

Sainthill R. 243.

SAKSE-TUNER = (w)ODEF. 278, 344, 441.

Saleby Bell, 84.

" stone, 456.

Salerno, princess of, 311.

Salmunge stone, 332.

Siam font, see Gällstad.

Samirð ware, 136, 137, 434.

SAN, SIN, I am, 394.

SAN. SAEN, SAIN, SIN, SEN, SINA, ISIN = SOOTH-stone, truth-pillar, witness, 419. — Besides on the stones at Årja (Vol. 2, p. 634), Nyble (Vol. 3, p. 326), and Tylsteg (Vol. 3, p. 348), I add:

*Bröda*, Södermanland. (Dybeck, Sv. Run. Urk. 8vo. No. 6; here and there broken at the edge). UHMAR LIT RAJ(SA) SAEN PINA AT IARUTA (= IARUND), MAH (= MAUO, kinsman) AUK FELHA (= FELLOW, comrade) SIN (his). — AUK (= HEWED, cut) BUÐUR KA(N RUN)A (= these-KEEN-RUNES, marking-letters).

*Golfvestad*, Upland. (Last copy by Dybeck, folio, No. 232). AHDAPR OK INKIÐUR (= INGEBORG) LITU RITA SENA IFTIR FAPUR SIN RUNFASTR, OK IFTIR RUNU, MOÐUR SI(SA). — IKULPR RISTI RUNI. — AHDAPR KIAMI (= KIARPI, GARED, made) BRO (the-BROW, bridge).

*Gran*, Upland. (Dybeck, fol. No. 39; C. Sæve, Uppl. F. M. F. Tidskr. 1, 29 and 2, 77). VIKIGR (= VIKING) AUK BALSI AUK AMIKR (bi)R RAISTU SAIN PEN(O) EFTIA KUPRIK, FAPUR SIN.

*Grödinge*, Södermanland. (Dybeck, Sv. Run. Urk. 8vo. No. 22). ARDLPR AUK PALPR AUK SIKSTIN AUK ...AR (? KUWAN) PAIR RISTU SAEN PIRSA IFTIR UALT, FAPUR SIN.

*Hogby*, East Gotland. (Lilj. 1161, Bantil 881. Now destroyed. The fellow-stone, continuing the grave-words, has never been found). PERKIL (RK) ILKA PAU RISTU SIN

*Husby*, Södermanland. (Lilj. 935, Bantl 732; a drawing by Baron O. Hermelin in 1870). MIKIFASTIR LIT

TA)ISA SAIN PINA IFTIR AULPR, FAPUR SIN, AUK STAF AULPR(I) SA)I (= to-AULIF SET, raised) PA AT (= THEN THAT, then as, when) I AUSPIKI (IN EAST-TING, in faray out East) HUK (= he-HEWED, slew) ASUR, IFTIR (mod. Swedish JEMTE, together with, even as, as also) KINA (his-foe-KINI) UISTIR (out-West).

*Jäder*, Södermanland. (Communicated by C. Sæve July 11, 1869. ASKAUTR RAISTI SAIN (F)ENA (afir .....). FAPUR SIN, FOSTRÄ (= foster-son) ARNA (of-Arm).

*Lena*, Upland. (Last and best copy, Dybeck, fol. No. 224). BRANTR OK SHIÐUR LITU RISA SAIN AT MONTA. BROFUR (his-brother).

*Snedby*, Upland. (Lilj. 416, Bantl 91). IKIPURA ISIN (r)AI(sit at) NI, STIC (her-step-daughter), AUK AT KIATILP(AR). FAPUR SIN, KRIKFARA (= a-Greek-farer, trader to Greece, the Constantinopolitan empire) K (= KUPAN = good).

*Thorslunda*, Upland. (Lilj. 771; C. Sæve, Uppl. F. M. F. Tidskr. 3, p. 76; Bure, Ms. 7, No. 91, D). ERN-BIURN LIT RISA SIN UFTIR .....HRIST (= risted-the-runes). — See SONRA.

Sandby stone, 330, 356.

Sanders, F. 449.

Sandwich stones, 160.

SAOTR, south, 352.

SAR, to himself, 329.

Sarcophagus slab, 424.

Särestad stone, 279.

SARLAND, Saracen-land, 322, 352.

SAROLOF, name, 361.

SARTI, name, 337.

SERP, soeth, 395.

Sasunnach, its meaning, 6.

SAUFARA, womansname, 325.

SAULE, 390.

Sæve, C. 6, 31, 42, 44, 50, 54, 58, 63, 112, 123, 148, 217, 265, 280, 284, 288, 290, 291, 296, 297, 308, 309, 312, 313, 321, 324--8, 332, 333, 338, 342, 343, 347, 357, 377, 418.

" P. A. 42, 125, 229, 317, 323, 328, 418.

Sæxo Grammaticus, 129, 132, 179, 294, 465.

Saxon, its meaning, 6.

" oldest grave-stones not in runes or in any Saxon tung, 8.

Scando-Anglic Coins, 241.

Sealand Runic Stone-axe, 426.

Scandinavian Coins, 351.

" Dialects in England, 215.

" Stems were Goths, 263 foll.

Schaeffer, W. 88.

Scherr, J. 16, 17.

Schlegel, J. H. 225.

Schliemann, H. 254.

Schlyter, C. J. 302.

Schwartz, E. 333.

Schwenter, D. 219.

Seyld Seafang, 383.

SE, SI, this, 355.

Sealand, Denmark, 57, 59.

" Die, 140.

" Stamp, 458.

Sebarham, in England, 259.

SE-ILGR, 414.

Seddinge stone, 333, 352, 456.

SEE, SIA, to bless, 279, 316.

Sehested Bracelet, 104.

" F. 234.

SEBS-ONÆ, sword-bald, 381, 386, 441.

SEL-NABI, &c. 414.

Selchau, C. 251.

Selsey Ring, 463.

SEM, SEM, in Jutland, 381.

- SENA, see SAN. — Serpent, see Dragon.  
 SET, 3 s. p. 342.  
 Seude stone. 114.  
 Severnstoke font. 220.  
 Sex, how verbally distinguist, 374.  
 Shakespear, 2. 58, 294. 305, 366, 363.  
 SEE & HOO, HO. 104.  
 Sheard, E. 415.  
 Shield, olden Norse. 168.  
 " -Boss &c. 81.  
 " Fettle, shoulder-belt. 54.  
 Show-stone, see Crystal Balls.  
 Shrines, 207, 208, 209.  
 st, 3 s. pr. subj., ba, 329.  
 -st, pronom. enclitic. 55.  
 SIA, see SEE.  
 Sickle-handles, 425.  
 Sidenblad, K. 336.  
 Sigdal stone, 27, 90, 100, 392, 426, 7.  
 Siger stones, 379.  
 Siglaif's stone, 328.  
 Sigmund's grand pillar stone to his father and brothers, 419.  
 Sigtuna stone, 338.  
 SIGUX, SIGUX, SIGNY. — Sigmund's Horse = the Wolf. 57.  
 Sigurd Fafne's-bane, his Saga, 54, 201.  
 Sigurðar-qrida, 55.  
 SIK, oneself, early fell away in England & Frisland. 177, 301.  
 SIK SILFAN KUIKIDAN, 350.  
 Simeon of Durham, 7, 197, 374, 377, 8.  
 Simmons, T. F. 282.  
 Simonson, dean. 353.  
 Simpson, J. 169, 173, 176, 179, 276, 285, 310.  
 " J. Y. 113.  
 SIX, TIRK (= TIERN, DYRING), mansname. 325.  
 " SINA, see SAN.  
 " his, her, their, now dead in English. 177.  
 Singing-mass, 329.  
 SIÖVN, seven, 279, 340. See siv.  
 SITIA STIN, to set up a grave-stone, 357.  
 Sitric, coin of, 313.  
 SIV-TINKIAR, South-Vinge men, 352.  
 siv, seven, 335. See SIÖVN.  
 Sjöborg, N. H. 39, 60, 226, 325, 345, 418.  
 Sjonheim stones, 265, 287.  
 Sjustad stone, 103.  
 -sk, as passive ending, 389.  
 Skå-Eng stone, 23 5, 27, 361, 374, 376, 448.  
 Skafså stone, 89, 334.  
 Skalmstad stone, 89, 334.  
 Skånåla stone, 335.  
 SKAMMALS = SKAMMALS, 25.  
 Skara stone, 336.  
 Skärkind stone, 26, 27, 40, 390, 392, 448.  
 Skeat, W. W. 316, 317, 364, 425, 429.  
 Skeberg relief stone, 345.  
 Skoe stone, 97, 370.  
 SKIDDY, SKIDMORE, name, 381.  
 Skien Bracteate, 260.  
 Skilled workmen in olden days, 195.  
 Skiold, P. 379.  
 SKITH-MAN, sailor, 381.  
 Skivum stone, 330, 413.  
 Skjerna stone, 315, 336, 413.  
 SKÖLTILÆ, name, 341.  
 Skön stone, 336.  
 Skönabäck Horn, 84.  
 SKONC, d. s. Skåne in Sweden, 351.  
 Skrämsstad stone, 336.  
 Skresta stone, 355.  
 SKYLDILEGA, adv. 342.  
 Slaka stone, 337.  
 Slave-collars, 107.  
 Slaves & slavery, 77.  
 Slavic tribes, 269.  
 Slay or Spatha, 444.  
 Sleipner, Woden's steed, 131.  
 Slidre dale, Norway, 80.  
 Slurrings, 67, 157, 385.  
 Småland stone, 337.  
 Smallest Ogham-stone known, 23.  
 " Roman-lettered " 23.  
 " Rune-stone " 22.  
 Smedby stone, under SAN.  
 Smith, A. 313.  
 " C. R. 157, 172, 262, 427.  
 " C. W. 267.  
 " H. 379.  
 SMUG, SMUGGLE, 134, 382.  
 Snula stone, 144.  
 Snake, or fish, of bone, 33, 133.  
 Snoldelev stone, 40, 116, 146.  
 SNORT, daughter-in-law, 143.  
 Snottstad stones, 311.  
 SNUSHA, daughter-in-law, 143.  
 Soapstone, see Scaite.  
 Sobieski's Sword, 165.  
 Söderberg, S. 466, 484.  
 Soderbo stone, 287.  
 Söderbom, O. 36.  
 Söderby stone, 374.  
 Söderköping stone, 338.  
 SOINOTE, eloquent, 317.  
 Solvesborg stone, 40, 64, 65.  
 Sonar-torrek, 34.  
 Sönderborg Barbaric Gem, 15, 250.  
 Sundevissing stone, 315.  
 SONNA, to SÖOTH, speak truth, truly testify, 356.  
 Sorterup, G. 230.  
 SOSKIRIP, woman'sname, 336.  
 Soudval, C. M. de, 226, 263, 268.  
 SOUTH, Scandian forms of the word, 352.  
 " Shields, grave-stone, 429.  
 SPARK-PI, 338.  
 SPARRE family, 331.  
 Sparlösa stone, 487.  
 Spear-bearer (Longinus), 438.  
 " -casting over the border, 135.  
 " -heads of iron, 80, 81, 267, 270.  
 " " bronze, 485.  
 SPEIR, to ask, 381.  
 Speyer Dog-figure, 108.  
 " -shafis, 133.  
 SPOONS, 84, 98.  
 Strezniovsky, Prof. 213, 220.  
 STAF, STAKE, STANG, grave-pillar, &c. 284, 5.  
 Staf-und stone, 338.  
 STAKE, see STAF.  
 Stamps, 458.  
 STAND, said of rune-stones, 355.  
 Stanford-bridge, 282.  
 Stapleton, Mr. 350.  
 STARKAR, name, 357, 8.  
 STATC, d. s. f. STEAD, grave-mound, 329.  
 Stavanger stone, 338, 445.  
 Stave churches, 335.  
 Stavelot Combs, 181.  
 Steatite, 22, 106, 107, 140.  
 Steel-wire inlay, 377.  
 Steenstrup, Jap. 22, 140, 288.  
 " Jon. 270.



Stenalt stone, 56.  
 Stenby stone, see Kålfvesten.  
 Stenderup stone, 357.  
 Stenersen, L. B. 348, 443.  
 STENHILL = STENK-HILL, grave-vault, 332.  
 Stenqvista stone, 41, 339.  
 Stenstad stone, 27, 40, 78, 374, 391.  
 Stentofte stone, 34, 35, 145, 357, 386, 391, 426 (p. 85, line 7, read *IKLÆHEDDUE*), 449, 455, 456.  
 Stenvik stone, 117.  
 Stephens, G. 4, 5, 54, 200, 292, 312, 325, 370, 384, 387.  
 " J. S. F. 8  
 STIGA I LIT, 350.  
 STINPER, man's name, 484.  
 Stobaus, K. 353.  
 Stockbauer, J. 410.  
 Stockholm Spoon, 84.  
 Stokes, M. 23, 192, 207, 229.  
 Stonehouse, Mr. 186.  
 STONES or MARKS, as grave-monument, in plural, 11.  
 Stoopt runes, 390.  
 Stop-marks, see Divisional marks.  
 STOP-URISA, the giantess, 414.  
 stow, in England, 295.  
 Strabo on lake-finds, 127.  
 Strand Brooch, 113, 114.  
 " stone, 453.  
 Strandebram stone, 340.  
 Stratford stone, 305.  
 Strelow, H. N. 382.  
 Strene-halch (Whitby), 180.  
 Strengri's stone, 352.  
 STRINK, string, rune-wind, 327.  
 Strinholm, A. M. 269.  
 Stuart, J. 420, 430, 431, 441.  
 Stubbs, W. 191.  
 Stribel, B. 254.  
 STULKUPPI, man's name, 484.  
 STURHARN, name, 348.  
 STÖRLADGR, quin-name, 348.  
 Sturleson, S. 371.  
 Styffe, C. G. 385.  
 Suhm, P. F. 225, 296.  
 SWIA, of the Swedes, 333.  
 SULKI, man's name, 342.  
 Sulzer, J. G. 203.  
 SUMA-ARAB, 420.  
 Sumpter-horse, as name, 374.  
 SUN, a -on, in gen. sing. 392, 3.  
 Sun, Sun-beam, = beautiful woman, 147, 428.  
 Sun-dials, 160 foll., 386.  
 Sundby stone, 347.  
 Sunná stone, 32.  
 SUPPLANA, of the South lands, 333.  
 Svantovit, at Ancona, 129, 132, 428.  
 Swart, P. 219.  
 Svartsjö stone, 139.  
 Svastika, see Fylfoot.  
 Sweden, O. N. runics, 19.  
 Sweet, H. 381—3, 439.  
 SUIKA, to betray, 286, 7.  
 Swillington Dial, 162.  
 Swine, symbolize Satan, 179.  
 Svingarn stone, 41.  
 SWINING, name, 352.  
 SWITH, -SWITHA, 382, 417.  
 Sword, iron, with Roman stamp, 81.  
 " -belt, 307.  
 " -fitting, 459.  
 " names, 166.

Sword-sheath clasps, 124. — See Pommels.

Swords, damascened, 81, 82, 270, 408.

" Hunish, 167.

" inlaid or inscribed, 164, 165, 270, 283, 408, 447.

" Kentish, 163.

" Runic, 84, 163, 168, 270, 408.

" Wiking, 270, 377, 408, 447, 459.

" willed as gifts, 167.

Sylling stone, 136, 342.

Sylvus, J. 386.

Szumowski, Szyszkowski, A. 267.

T elided, 347.

T-rune, peculiar one-armed, 486.

Tadmor bilingual stone, 429.

Talbot's Sword, 164.

Talus, 140.

TANAWITN, 447.

Tanem stone, 40, 116, 427.

Tång stone, 484, and in a note to the Foreword.

Tanum stone, 21, 40, 390, 1.

TARSTAR, in Helsingland, 301.

TASIR, girls, 275.

TASSY, a lass, 335.

Taylor, J. 171, 265, 3.

TEEM, to beget, 174.

Temple-guardian, Roman, 82.

TEX, 246.

Terra-cotta Die, 140.

Testby, see Kirkstad.

"fautonic" for "Scando-Gothic", 173.

T elided, 53.

-TH, verbal ending, lispt into -s and weakened to -r, 173, 395.

PAIS, ac. s. f. THS, 346.

Thani, P. 39, 293.

Thames fitting, 204.

" Knife, 106, 151, 159, 390.

PAR RUNO, 85.

PARS — PAR IS — THERE AS, = where, 52.

PAUN, n. pl. neut. THEY, 310.

Theodoric the Goth, 238, 486.

PEOW (youth, slave), word-forms, 384.

Thera letter-shapes, 429.

PEWZE, name, 76.

PIALFI, PIALFR, name, 339.

PIALFUNA KOPA, 335.

Thief-stone, 141.

PINGASTR, man's name, 327.

THING-LITH, king Knut's house-guard, 357.

Thingvoll stone, 342.

THIS, how spelt &c. 296.

" ac. s. m. 329.

Thisted stone, 147, 425.

PICTLB, man's name, 334.

Thomas Saga Erkih, 296.

Thomsen, C. J. 224, 237, 252, 362.

" W. 121, 270.

THOR, see THUNOR.

Thorer Jarl, 428.

THORFYS, 413.

Thorgård stone, 117.

Thorgrim's Saga, 428.

Thorlak, St. 441.

Thornhill stones, 209—12, 362, 390, 414, 447, 462.

THORR, 395.

Thóróddsen, J. T. 382.

THOROLF the church-builder, 335.

Thorp, see West-Thorp.

Thorpe, B. 367, 380.

PORSA TRUTIN = POR. 255.  
 Thorsåkra stone. 6.  
 Thorsbjerg Bow. 122.  
 " Die. 140.  
 " Shield-boss. 121. 390.  
 " Sword-chape. 76, 121.  
 Thorsen, P. G. 146. 296. 315. 326. 327. 336. 342. 357. 428.  
 Thorslunda stone. under SAN.  
 -PRU for -RPU. 278.  
 PULR, PULAR, Speaker. 278. 347.  
 PULG, mansname. 348.  
 THUNDER, name. 384.  
 PO(NO)R. POR, POR, the god. 243. 278. 279. 295. 384. 427.  
 " name. 374.  
 " his Hammermark. 408. 409. 484. See Fylfoot.  
 THUNDER-BLEAW. 371.  
 THOR & OTHAN (oath). 378.  
 POR UGI, may Thur bless!. 295. 358. 480.  
 POR UGI PIK. Thur bless thee!. 295.  
 THURBARN SKALD. 311.  
 THURMONTR = THURMUND. 358.  
 PERS. etin. giant. troll. 295.  
 TÖS. a lass. 335.  
 TÖSE stone. 84.  
 Tostrup, Hr. 102.  
 Toulouse finds. 127.  
 TOWN. TOWNE. name. 383.  
 Trade-marks. 408.  
 Transjö stone. 346.  
 Transubstantiation. 149.  
 Trap, C. A. 285.  
 Trial-pieces (by Coin-gravers. &c.). 257.  
 Triskele, Triquetra. 204. 443.  
 Trivet's French Chron. 6.  
 Trönnas, H. T. 102.  
 TRUMBERT, bishop. 191. 2.  
 Truro runic Pig of Tin. 169.  
 Tryggevalde stone. 347.  
 TS for ST. 277. 351. 444.  
 TUA, ac. pl. f. TWO. 52.  
 Tullylease stone. 192.  
 Tunbo stone. 348.  
 TUN. name. 383.  
 TUNA stone. 323.  
 Tune stone. 87 -9. 335. 390. 391. 395. 427. 453. 455.  
 TUNGA. a built grave. 315.  
 Tunna, the priest. 379.  
 Tunnacestir. 379.  
 Turkoman war-robbers. 127.  
 Tway staved carvings. 462.  
 Twig-runes, &c. 14. 46. 47. 426.  
 Tyfstege stone. 343. 348.  
 Tyrol never had runes. 289.

-U, -o. nom. & ac. s. 201. 356.  
 " " verbal ending. see -o.  
 UN'S ACRE, the ocean. 53.  
 UPLAT. 414.  
 UG. UGGIN, UGLY. 133. 384.  
 UKR. mansname. 338.  
 UL. ULL. name. 103. 370.  
 ULTHERRET, name. 383. 408.  
 Ulleröd stone. 229.  
 ULL, the god. 386.  
 -UM, -OM, -O, &c. 1 s. pr. ending. 393.  
 U-METR. 420.  
 UMCNARTS. 332.  
 UN. mansname. 336.  
 -UN, -U, -O, verbal ending. 278. 395.

UNBAIN. DAME. 384.  
 Undset. I. 5. 23. 25. 33. 73. 74. 93. 102. 115. 152. 260.  
 262. 267. 369. 408. 455. 486.  
 UNFLATER. 414.  
 UNGCET. US-TWO. 439.  
 UNIT = WUNIT. 420.  
 UNPINK. ONPIER. generous. 278. 312. 347.  
 UN-NEG. = UNNEG, far from. 202. 377.  
 UN-REN. simple. 181.  
 UNRCWE. mansname. 316. 467.  
 Upsala Axe. 36.  
 " Monastery. 329.  
 " Stones. 352.  
 UR. mansname. 316.  
 -UR. g. s. fem. ending. 143. 278. 375.  
 Urtunda stone. 349.  
 Urn, bronze, with Roman inscription. 82.  
 " of soapstone. 107.  
 Urskoug stone. 349.  
 URULF. mansname. 343.  
 USKI. YSKI. 412.  
 Utrecht Psalter. 293.

## W, slurring of. 460.

WA. GAMPE, WOXLI. &c. names. 50. 362.  
 Vablungnes cliff. 74. 90-4.  
 Vadstena bracteate. 151.  
 Vättersunda Church-door. 301.  
 WAGGS. Paradise. 57.  
 WAGSHOFDI. 414.  
 Wakeman, W. F. 23. 409.  
 Waksala stone. 350. 357.  
 Walby stone. 103.  
 Valdhy stone. 97. 369.  
 WALK. to go, pass. 175.  
 Walkyrie. nymph of Woden. 57.  
 " welcomes to Walhall. 131. 308.  
 Wallachia. 265.  
 Vallerberga stone. 350.  
 Wallin. J. 418.  
 Wallis. J. 3.  
 Wallman. J. H. 325.  
 Vallöby bronze Pail. 137.  
 Walrus teeth. 411. 412.  
 Valsjöfjord cliff. 73 -7. 121. 390. 458.  
 Vámbéry, A. 127.  
 WAMPE. king. 58.  
 Wanderer. 271.  
 Wanderings of men and things. 105. 118. 486.  
 Vunderstad stone. 425.  
 Wands in graves. 422.  
 WANG. ENG. ING. meadow. 57.  
 Weng Die. 140.  
 Vanga stone. 27. 28.  
 WANNERG. 36.  
 Wanley, H. 252.  
 Wapno Bracteate. 250.  
 War-galley in grave. 55.  
 " horse. 55.  
 " spoil. 127. 8.  
 WAR-EY. the island. 291.  
 Varby stone. 374.  
 WARE. in England. 295.  
 Varend law. 88.  
 Varholm. O. 27.  
 Variants of runes. 83.  
 WARIN. king. 52. 56. 57.  
 WÄRING. 446.  
 Warings. 269. 284.

- Varum stone, 36, 449.  
 Varpsund stone, 357.  
 Washing-bat, 125.  
 VASTA-DARK, 384.  
 Watkin, W. T. 429.  
 Vatn, J. L. 115.  
 " stone, 115, 116, 396, 427.  
 VÆLUF, mansname, 351.  
 Way, A. 448.  
 Wayside Hints, 1—3.  
 Weak Nouns, 389.  
 Weapons, inscribed, 135.  
 Weaving-slays, 262.  
 Veda stone, 351.  
 Vedsl, E. 123.  
 Weibull, M. 353.  
 Veile stone, 139.  
 Weland, 201, 202.  
 Welsh-Christian Art, 434.  
 Wendish runes, 226.  
 Weneman's Sword, 164.  
 Wensley stone, 192.  
 WEPT ALL CREATION, 438.  
 Verbs, 1 s. pr. 394.  
 " 3 s. pr. 395.  
 " 3 s. p. in -o, -i, see -o.  
 " 3 pl. p. in -un, 278, 286.  
 " 3 s. pr. subj. in -ai, 55, 278.  
 " inf. in -am, 278.  
 " in O. N. 394, 398, 401.  
 Vercelli codex, 430, 437.  
 Werlauff, E. C. 128, 284.  
 Wessely, J. E. 179.  
 Wessobrunn Prayer originally English, 24.  
 West-Thorp Comb, 36, 37.  
 Vesterås hand-quern, 229.  
 Westerberg, C. J. 340.  
 Vesterby stone, 351, 2, 357.  
 Westgotland Law, 358.  
 Vestmanna Law, 193.  
 Westmoreland, 171.  
 Weston, G. 98.  
 Westropp & Wake, 7.  
 Westwood, J. O. 92, 98.  
 Whale dying, 202.  
 " hunting, 412.  
 Whalley Chartulary, 10.  
 Wheaton, H. 226.  
 Whithy Comb, 106, 180, 466.  
 Whitcombe, Dr. 161.  
 White, R. M. 181.  
 Vi Moss, date about A. D. 300—350, p. 427.  
 " Bone Comb, 124, 390.  
 " Buckle, 125, 126, 390.  
 " Dice, 140.  
 " Sword-sheath clasp, 124.  
 Wiberg, C. F. 321.  
 Vible stone, 352, 445.  
 Viborg, Denmark, 305.  
 Viby stone, 368.  
 Vidalin, P. 363.  
 WIEDER, 377.  
 Wieselgren, H. 354.  
 " P. 291.  
 VIFI = *WEAVER*, 370, 1.  
 CIFIL, name, 330, 386.  
 Vigfusson, G. 139, 283, 363.  
 VIKT, d. s. = *Vik-ey*, 352.  
 VIK, place-name, 388.  
 VIKHUS, in Upland, 352.  
 Wiking relics in Scotland, 107.  
 Wikings, 208.  
 Viksjö stone, 88.  
 Wild-man or god, 281.  
 Wilder, A. 7.  
 Wilfrid, St. 435, 439, 467.  
 CILI, mansname, 358.  
 CILIN, " , 55.  
 Willed gifts, 167, 197.  
 Willett, E. H. 463.  
 William of Cloudesley, see *Ægili*.  
 " " *Palerne*, 316.  
 " " *Peterborough*, 221.  
 " *Rufus*, coins of, 278.  
 " *Tell*, see *Ægili*.  
 Wilson, D. 320, 413.  
 Vilunda stone, 41.  
 Wimmer, L. F. A. 4, 5, 64, 87, 97, 98, 111, 122, 126, 160, 259, 267, 303—5, 324, 375, 417, 428, 466.  
 WIN, WINE (pron. = *WEEN, WEENE*), friend, 176.  
 "Vinea Domini" = Holy Church, 410.  
 Vinge stone, 352.  
 -VINI, -DIN, -WIN, -WINE, name-ending, 342, 370.  
 VIN-ö, Sweden, 281.  
 Viollet-le-Duc, 117.  
 Virke stone, 353, 371.  
 Wirksworth Tiles, 229.  
 URSLAND, part of Estland, 284.  
 Virring stone, 357.  
 Visby Museum, 125, 328.  
 " Ring, 404, 456.  
 Wisén, T. 85.  
 WISH, name, 378.  
 Vistrand, P. G. 259, 351.  
 CITAN = *HITARN*, mansname, 385.  
 WITE, to bless, 317.  
 WITH STREALS WAS I ALL WOUNDED, 436, foll.  
 Witham Sword, 447.  
 Vitrified walls, 320.  
 VITRIK, VITRINT, honor-stone, 5, 342.  
 Uik-wong, 57.  
 Wittenheim, Al. 128.  
 WITTER, beacon, 326.  
 CIPAR, mansname, 385.  
 WLFOLD, name, 370.  
 Vocative formula, 100.  
 WODEN (OTHIN, ODIN), the god, 133, 201, 233, 268, 344, 384, 386.  
 " and *Egil*, 203.  
 " in *Walhall*, 131.  
 UOKNAL, 3 s. pr. subj. 55.  
 Woldemar-Erich Code, 88.  
 Voldtofte stone, 139, 428.  
 Wolff, J. 220.  
 Vonololl, Indian chief, 285.  
 Wooden grave-pillars, 116.  
 WOOF, WHOOP, 177.  
 Vordingborg stone, 189, 391.  
 Vorein stone, 118.  
 Worm, C. 280.  
 " Ol. 65.  
 Worsaae, J. J. A. 4, 123, 127, 130, 140, 203, 227, 237 foll., 249, 252, 270, 277, 427.  
 Vowel-interchange, 193, 392.  
 Wreay copy of the Bewcastle Cross, 429.  
 VREET, to, *WRITE*, 386.  
 Vreta stone, 311.  
 Wright, T. 369, 384, 394.  
 " W. 429.  
 WRITE, various forms of this word, 112.

WOLF and its feminine, 374.  
 WULFING, see ULFIHR.  
 WUNSC, WISH, 411.  
 Wycliffe stone, 211, 462.  
 Wylie, W. M. 448.

Y-rune, 134, 191, 230, 277, 348, 444.  
 Yarm stone, 189, 362, 462.  
 York, battle at, 212.  
 „ Gospels, 377, 383, 4.

York Manual, 381.  
 „ Museum Cross, 483.  
 Yorkshire Runic Mon. 4, 5.  
 YOUTH, 376.  
 Yttergård stone, 5, 344.  
 YVELCHILD (EADULF), 375.

Zawiska, le Comte, 267.  
 Zollner, J. F. 132.  
 Zupitza, J. 189, 439.

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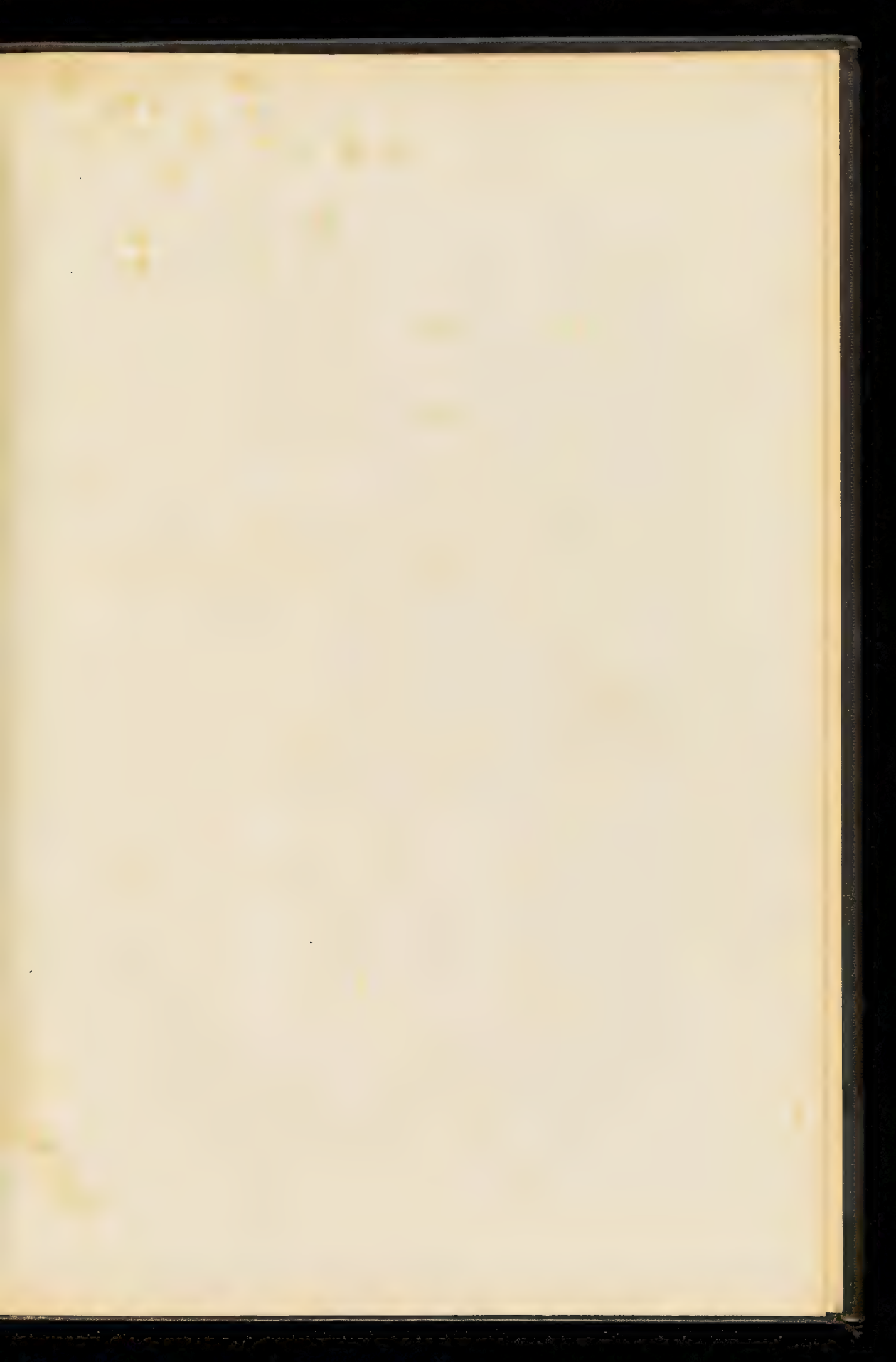
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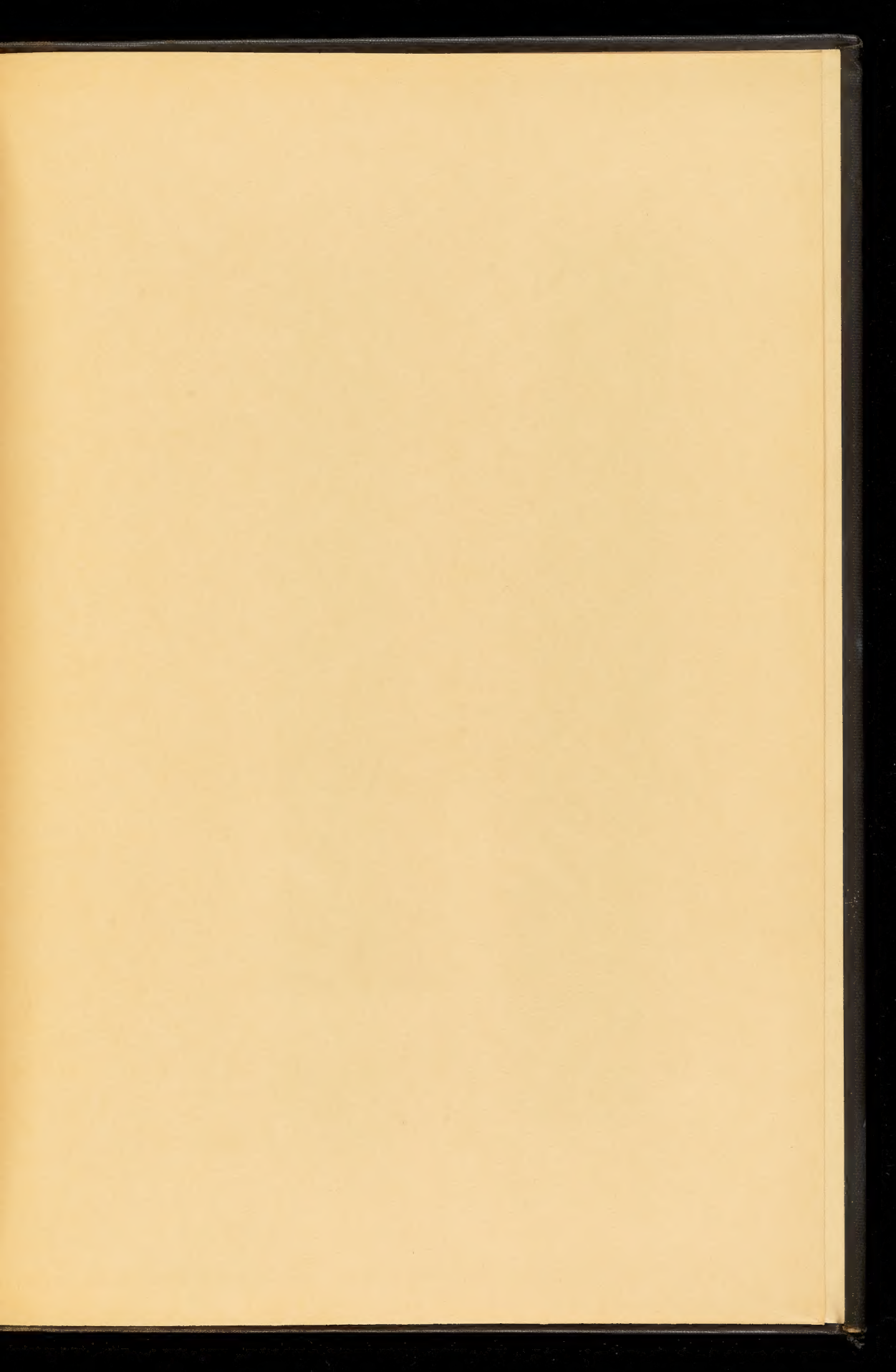
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